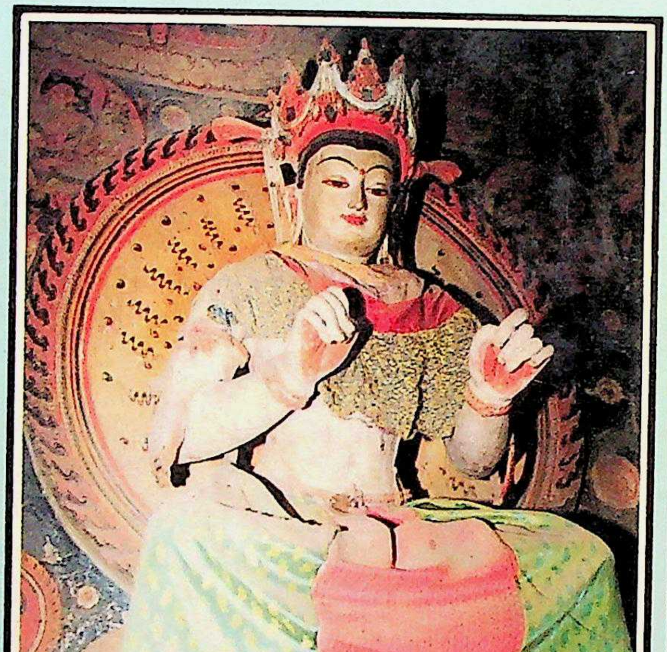
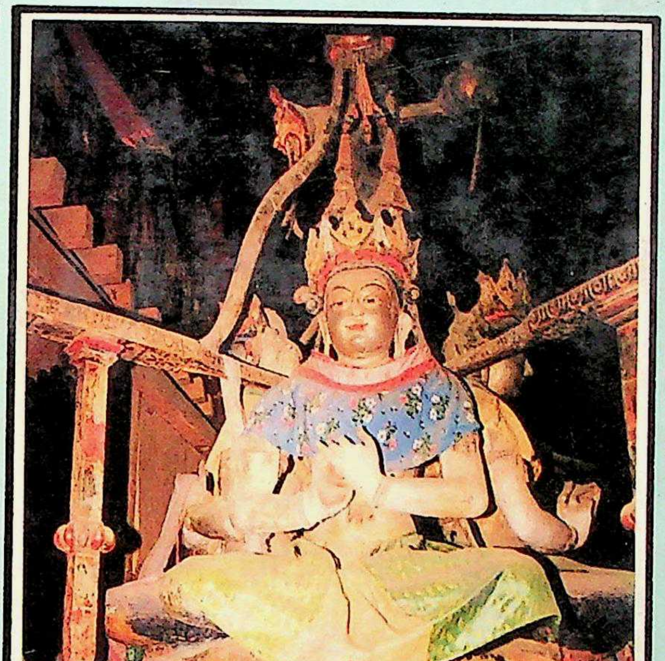
RATNA-CHANDRIKĀ

Panorama of Oriental Studies

(Shri R.C. Agrawala Festschrift)





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Devendra Handa
Ashvini Agrawal

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DEVENDRA HANDA

ASHVINI AGRAWAL

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Front Cover : 1. Clay statue of Vajrahāsa (?) on the southern wall of Dukhang, Tabo Monastery, *c.* 996 A.D.
2. Vairocana in the Dukhang, western face, Tabo Monastery, *c.* 996 A.D.

Back Cover : 1. Gaurī, Bharat Kala Bhawan, Varanasi.
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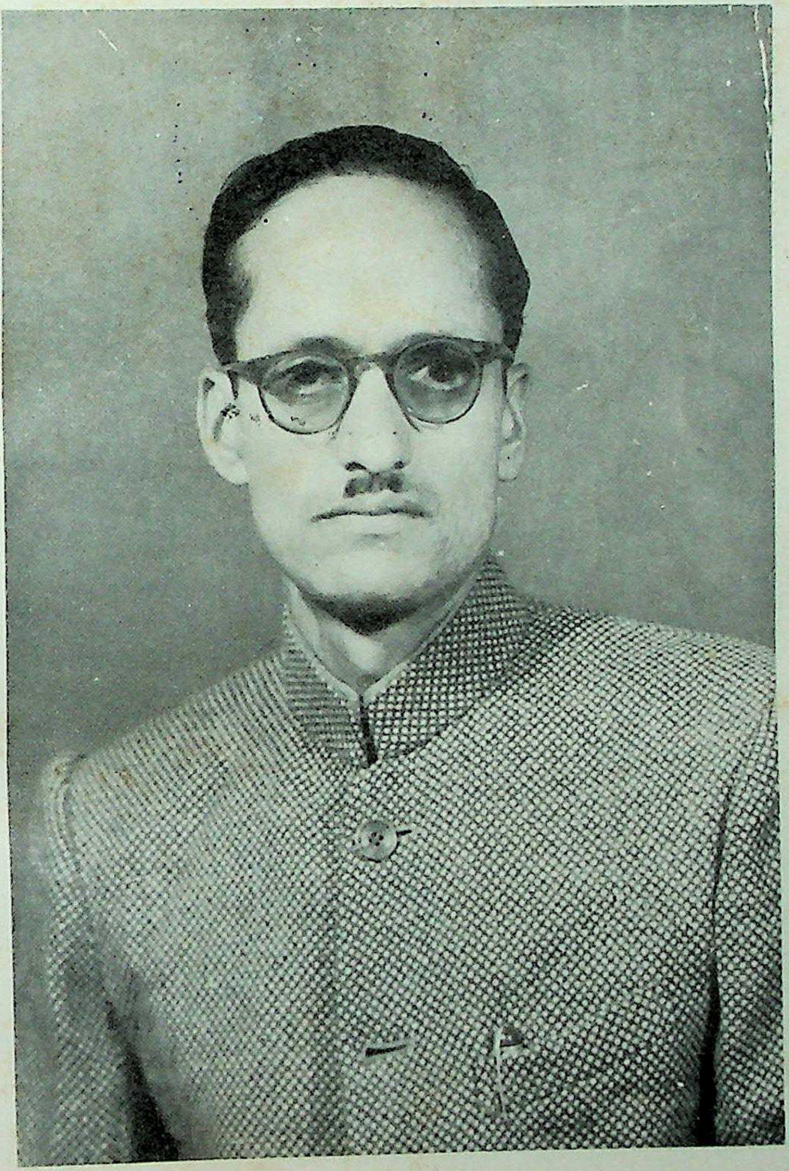

Shri R. C. Agrawala

Editorial Preface

The last decade has seen the publication of many a Felicitation and Commemoration volume. These publications, besides felicitating the savants in whose honour or memory they have been brought out, have provided a sumptuous feast of the latest researches in various branches of Indian and Oriental studies for the inquisitive students, teachers and researchers of Indology and Orientology. Not unoften, they have generated further researches also. It was with this dual motive of honouring a scholar and enriching the field of oriental and Indological studies that we took upon ourselves the work of bringing out a Felicitation Volume in honour of Shri Ratna Chandra Agrawala, an Indologist and Art Historian of international repute.

Shri Agrawala had a very brilliant educational career and won distinctions and scholarships from the primary to the post-graduate level. He won Dayaram Sahni Gold Medal by securing first class first in M.A. Examination in 1951 and obtained a research fellowship to study the Central Asian Kharoshthi Documents in the B.H.U. during 1951-53. He received training in Field Archaeology at Harappa in 1946 under the guidance of Sir Mortimer Wheeler and in Museum Techniques in France in 1961. He is associated with a large number of academic bodies, national and international committees and has presided over various conferences and seminars. The most remarkable work of his career, however, is to have brought to light numerous sites, temples, sculptures and other antiquarian remains from Rajasthan where he also excavated Ahar, Noh, Jodhpura, Ganeshwar etc. Lately, he has worked on the Copper Age Cultures of Rajasthan under an I.C.H.R. Project, bringing to light many hitherto unknown hoards of copper tools and adding new dimensions to the study of Copper-Bronze Age in India. His contributions on sculptures, Rajasthani in particular, have earned him a special place amongst the art historians of the country.

Shri Agrawala retired from the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Rajasthan, Jaipur in 1981 after serving it for more than three decades, first as Superintendent (1953-65) and then as Director (1970-1981). During 1965-70, he was on deputation with the National Museum, New Delhi as Keeper (Archaeology).

We got a very encouraging response from both Indian and foreign scholars when we wrote to them of our intention of bringing out this volume in his honour and requested them to contribute to it. It is with the valuable contributions of all the fellow workers that we have been able to accomplish this task and bring out this volume to present it to Shri Agrawala on his 63rd birthday on June 21, 1989 as planned.

We take this opportunity to thank all those scholars who have contributed to this Festschrift. We are thankful even to those friends who could not contribute to it but have sent their good wishes for it.

Even though we wished uniformity, we have, because of certain considerations, retained the transliteration schemes as adopted by the different contributors. Since the systems followed by scholars are internationally known, we hope that their adoption won't cause any difficulty to readers.

In spite of our best efforts, however, some mistakes have crept in for which we crave the indulgence of the readers.

Shri Manjit Singh, the Publisher, owes our gratitude for having done his job nicely and bringing out this volume in time.

We wish Shri R.C. Agrawala a long and healthy life.

Chandigarh
June 15, 1989

DEVENDRA HANDA
ASHVINI AGRAWAL

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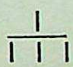
		2.	Apollodotus I square silver drachms with k and  : profile plots of weights
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Pl. 46.2. Sannati, close view of separate Rock Edicts I and II
Pl. 46.3. Dhauli (Orissa), separate Rock Edict I (*after* Hultzsch)
Pl. 46.4. Jaugada (Orissa), separate Rock Edict II (*after* Hultzsch)

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Shri R.C. Agrawala— A Glance at His Life & Work

A. Dates and Distinctions:

1. Born at Village Sadhaura, District Ambala (Haryana) on 21st June 1926.
2. Passed B.A. (Hons.) with distinction from the Panjab University, Lahore.
3. Received training in Field Archaeology at Harappa in 1946 under the guidance of Sir Mortimer Wheeler.
4. Passed M.A. in Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology from Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, in 1951 standing first in the University in order of merit.
5. Won distinctions and scholarships from Primary School to M.A.
6. Awarded prestigious Dayaram Sahni Gold Medal in 1951 for securing first class first in M.A. examination.
7. Awarded Research Fellowship of the College of Indology, B.H.U., Varanasi to study the Central Asian Kharoshthi Documents from 1951 to 1953.
8. Received training in conservation of Archaeological Monuments in 1960 as Government appointee.
9. Selected by the Government and received training in Museum Techniques in France in 1961.
10. Invited by the Calcutta University to deliver lectures on the Art and Culture of Rajasthan.
11. Selected Fellow of the Indian Archaeological Society, New Delhi.
12. President, Indian Archaeological Society, 1972 Session held at Kurukshetra.
13. President, Fine Arts Section, All India Oriental Conference, held at Ujjain in 1973.
14. Awarded Indian Council of Historical Research Project to work on the Copper Age Cultures of Rajasthan from 1981 to 1984.

15. Appointed Visiting Professor of Archaeology by the Vice-chancellor, Gurukul University, Haridwar in 1984.
16. Visited London (U.K.) as an expert appointed by the Govt. of India to investigate the case of the theft of two pillars of the Śuṅga period from Amin (Haryana).
17. Presided over different sessions of various seminars on art and archaeology from time to time.
18. Delivered Key-note address and presided over the Seminar on Indian Sculpture—Continuity and Change organised by the Dept. of Museums, Himachal Pradesh, Shimla in 1988.
19. Member of the International Committee for Archaeology and History of Internation, at Council of Museums since 1972.
20. Life-member, Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi.
21. Member of the Museums Association of India.

Positions Held:

1. Superintendent, Archaeology and Museums, Jodhpur-Udaipur (Rajasthan), May 1953 to October 1965.
2. Keeper, Archaeology Section, National Museum, New Delhi, October 1965 to March 1970 (On deputation at the invitation of the Govt. of India).
3. Director, Archaeology and Museums, Rajasthan, April 1970 to June 1981.
4. Head of the Archaeological and Museum Activation of Rajasthan, 1970 to 1981. Established Museums at Ahar and Dungarpur.
5. Former Director, the Board of Directors of Rajasthan Tourism Development Corporation, Jaipur, Rajasthan.
6. Editor, The Researcher, Bulletin of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Rajasthan, Jaipur, upto June 1981.
7. Trustee of the S.M.S. Museum, Jaipur.
8. Ph.D. & D. Litt. examiner in Art and Archaeology of several universities of India.
9. Consulting Editor of various research journals of Rajasthan, such as *Varadā*, *Śodha Patrikā*, *Maru Bhāratī* etc.
10. Joined as Deputy Director, B.L. Institute of Indology, Delhi on February 18, 1989.

Creative Contribution to Academic Field:

1. Explored numerous sites, temples and sculptures in Rajasthan and published hundreds of research papers in Indian and foreign Journals (For details see List of Publications *infra*).
2. Critically studied and published material from the Central Asian Kharoshṭhī Documents.
3. Excavated a number of important sites in Rajasthan such as Ahar, Noh, Jodhpura, Ganeshwar, thereby placing Rajasthan on the proto-historic map of India.
4. Worked on a Govt. research project on the Copper Age Cultures of Rajasthan after the discovery of pre-Harappan Copper Age Complex in Khetri Belt of Rajasthan. This work has since assumed national importance in Indian Archaeology.

Publications of Shri R.C. Agrawala

BOOKS

1. *Sculptures from Udaipur Museum*, Dept. of Archaeology and Museums, Rajasthan, Jaipur, 1960.
2. *Pottery Handles with Human Figurines and Allied Problems*, The Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda, 1970.

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7. Ganeshwar-Jodhpur Culture: New Traits in Indian Archaeology. *Harappan Civilization—A Contemporary Perspective*, Ed. G.L. Possehl, New Delhi, 1982.
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14. Ganeshwar Culture—A Review. *JOI*, Vol. XXXIV, Nos. 1-2.
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19. Some Proto-Historic Objects from South Eastern Rajasthan and Malwa. *Malwa Through the Ages*, Ed. M.D. Khare, Bhopal, 1981.
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33. राजस्थान में गुप्तकालीन मंदिर, विश्वम्भरा, बीकानेर, अंक XIX, 1987.

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78. पश्चिमी राजस्थान के कुछ स्मृतिस्तम्भ। वरदा, अंक 6, ख० 2.
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80. कुंभा राज्यकाल का सूरजखंड का शिलालेख। वरदा, अंक 6 खं० 4.
81. मेवाड़ के कुछ महत्त्वपूर्ण शिलालेख (चित्तौड़ से)। वरदा, अंक 9, खं० 1.
82. मारवाड़ के शिलालेखों में मुद्रा सम्बंधी सामग्री। शोध पत्रिका, उदयपुर, अंक 5, खं० 2.
83. खमणोर के दो महत्त्वपूर्ण लेख। शो० प०, अंक 7, खं० 4.
84. राजस्थान के अप्रकाशित लेख, (सेवाड़ा, मण्डोर, लोडवा, भीनमाल ताम्रपत्र)। शो० प०, अंक 8, खं० 1-2.
85. जगतसिंह का अप्रकाशित लेख (वि० सं० 1703)। शो० प० अंक 8, खं० 3.
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94. चित्तौड़ का एक अप्रकाशित शिलालेख। राजस्थान भारती, अंक 9, खं० 2.
95. भीनमाल का एक अप्रकाशित लेख (वि० सं० 1328)। नागरी प्रचारिणी पत्रिका (काशी), अंक 59, खं० 3.

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97. मेवाड़ के अज्ञात प्रशस्तिकार एवं कवि (शिलालेखों पर आधारित)। ना०प्र०प०, अंक 62, खं० 2-3।
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Vaja in the Rgveda

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According to the dictionaries the word *vāja* has many meanings, for instance "strength, vigour, energy, spirit, speed; contest, race, conflict, battle, war; the prize of a race or of a battle, booty, gain, reward, treasure; war-horse, steed..." (Monier-Williams). A wide—but often unsatisfactory—choice of meanings is also offered in the German translation of the *Ṛgveda*[1] by Geldner, who however has an unmistakable preference for "the prize of a race or of battle", over-estimating the relative frequency and importance of military and agonistic uses.[2] This preference (for "prize of victory") is even an almost stereo-typed feature of Renou's French translations of many *sūktas* of the *Ṛgveda*.[3] Discussing the meaning of this word in another publication[4] I arrived at the conclusion that its central or fundamental meaning must have been "a restorative, recreative, revitalizing, rejuvenating power or influence which can manifest or materialize in various forms or manners"—our traditional distinction between 'concreta' and 'abstracta' is inappropriate—and is then, as the context may require, translatable by various English (or, of course, other) words which allow the reader to form an idea of what the author may have meant. That is to say, *vāja* expresses, not a concept in the modern sense of the word,[5] but a complex of ideas, beliefs, conceptions, experiences converging in a power usually conceived of as substantial in character and manifesting in animal and vegetative life as the capacity for (continued) life, potency, strength, vitality, well-being, vigour, the last etymologically related word being perhaps an approximately correct English 'equivalent'. This 'holistic meaning' is indeed in harmony with the meanings of the words with which *vāja* is etymologically related: Latin *vegēre* "to move, excite, quicken"; *veget* and *viget* "to be lively, active", *vigil* "awake, alert"; *vigeo* "to be lively, vigorous", *vigor*. One should not overlook the preference of pre-modern languages for holistic concepts: Skt. *vana* is not only translatable by the English "wood", but also by "forest", "tree", "timber" and any object made of wood. It often appears that the modern languages of the West do not possess words that could cover the total semantic content of ancient Indian terms, so that mere contextual variants of the latter may impress us as different meanings or as special semantic developments. Too often scholars have tried to arrange the various uses in a sort of genealogical connexion and constructed quasi-historical, but in fact more or less logical developments of meaning. The best procedure would, at least in part of the cases, be to leave such a word, like, e.g., *brahma* or *dharma*, untranslated.

From many places it appears that the clarification of the *soma* juice is at the same time believed to be a process of production or generation of *vāja*: 9, 13, 3 f. "the *soma* juices of a thousand forms clarify themselves in order to win *vāja* (*vājasātaye*);[6] and with a view to winning *vāja* for us produce whilst clarifying thyself substantial restorative eatables and drinkables (*iṣaḥ*), O Soma"; 9, 86, 34 the *soma* clarifying itself is said to flow in order to procure great *vāja* that is *dhanya* "rich, auspicious, wholesome" (cf. the beginning of st. 35 "thou flowest for the sake of *iṣ* and strengthening food (*ūrj*)"); 9, 23, 6 "for Indra, O Soma, thou clarifiest thyself...; thou art desirous of winning (and bestowing or procuring: the verb used is here and elsewhere *san-*) *vāja*" (cf. 9, 63, 17; 9, 97, 10; also 1, 175, 1 etc.). Soma is also described as having, as it were, run to *vāja* (9, 33, 2; 9, 56, 2), that is[7] run to produce, acquire or bestow *vāja* (9, 37, 5; 9, 62, 16; cf. also 9, 87, 6; 9, 110, 4). Soma's streams run, like rain, towards thousandfold *vāja*: 9, 57, 1. In 9, 52, 1 the wish is expressed that Soma, who acquires and bestows wealth, may (when pressed) bring *vāja* by means of his juice. In 9, 107, 23 Soma is requested to clarify himself in order to win *vāja* for the sake of all manifestations of *kavi*ship.[8] Hence also 1, 133, 7: the one who presses *soma* wishes to win thousands as an unimpeded *vājin*. Notice that the uncomplicated domestic pressing of the *soma* aims also at the winning of *vāja* (1, 28, 7).

Passages such as the following throw light on the nature of the *vāja* that resulted from the efforts of those who pressed the *soma*: 9, 82, 5 "just as thou, O *soma* juice, brought in, for (our) ancestors...; *vāja*, do thou (now) clarifying thyself for (i.e. in order to procure for us) new welfare (*suvita*, prosperity)"; 9, 86, 18 "procure us whilst clarifying thyself overflowing *iṣ*[9] (cf. also 6, 24, 9), (a cow) that yields milk three times a day, brave men accompanied by cattle, *vāja*, anything sweet"; 9, 41, 4" ...*iṣ*, cows (cf. 9, 74, 8), gold, horses and (one might be inclined to translate "other forms of") *vāja*"; 9, 31, 1 ff.; 9, 42, 6; 9, 66, 27; 9, 67, 5; in 9, 74, 1 the possessor or winner of *vāja* (*vājin*) tries to win sunshine and rain (cf. 9, 97, 17), in 9, 80, 2 he prolongs the duration of the patrons' lives and adds to their fame (cf. 1, 91, 17 f.); 9, 109, 10 he is requested to clarify himself for the sake of resourcefulness and adroitness; 9, 110, 11 he acquires *vāja*, finds space, bestows energy whilst clarifying himself for Indra; 10, 148, 1. In passages that in connexion with the pressed and flowing *soma* mention wealth, happiness and other benefits without alluding to races or contests (see also 9, 69, 7 f.) there is in my opinion no reason for translating *vāja* by "prize of victory".

Attention may also be drawn to those effects which, it is hoped, the clarification of the *soma* will produce, when mention is made of *vāja*. In 9, 90, 4 the divine juice is besought to flow towards Heaven and Earth (here called *puraṃdhī* "abundances"), to win (and bestow) water, dawn, the light of the sun, cows and to bring together by shouting (by its noise) manifestations of *vāja* (which are of course expected to be as beneficial as the water and so on); 9, 96, 14 "clarify thyself (giving us) the rain from the heavens..., eager for *vāja* at the feast of the gods"; Soma is at 9, 1, 4 besought to run to that feast in order to bring *vāja* and renown (viz. to the institutor of the sacrifice); (cf. 9, 6, 3; 9, 44, 4; 9, 51, 5; 9, 62, 1; 9, 68, 7; 9, 76, 3).

The process of clarification is with all clearness desirable said to be promoted by the eulogists who polish or cleanse the tawny[10] deity in order to produce *vāja*: 9, 3, 3 *hárir vājāya mṛjyate*; 9, 17, 7; 9, 26, 1; (cf. also 9, 64, 16; 9, 96, 15; 9, 99, 2; 9, 106, 11 and 9, 68, 7). In 9, 26, 1 "the inspired sages have by means of their poetic thought cleansed the *soma*" one should not translate *vājinam* by "racehorse running for a prize" (Geldner, Renou[11]), but by "bearer of (or, rich in) *vāja*".

This is not to say that the poets of the *sūktas* that deal with the clarification and so on of the *soma* did not sometimes dwell on races and racehorses. On the contrary, they were well aware of the parallelism between the preparation of the juice and racing (cf. 9, 90, 1), because both these activities aim at the same result, viz. the generation or acquisition of *vāja*. Thus the poet of 9, 86, 1 f. says: "thy swift exhilarating draughts, O Soma *pavamāna*), that are roused by the (poetic) inspiration flow like (horses) born of fleet racers... The exhilarating swift draughts have quickly started like chariot-horses".[12] The occurrence of identifications or of passages that create the impression of stating an identification is no great surprise: "You who are pressing out *soma*, urge on the swift tawny bearer of *vāja* (*vājin*) which carries objects of value (*dhana*, which may be a prize but also something auspicious or wholesome) that he may go in order to procure *vāja*" (9, 62, 18)[13]. (See also 9, 62, 2). But from these passages we should not conclude that *vājin* in 9, 15, 5; 9, 28, 1 (which do not contain a simile) means "winner of the prize".

Nor should we deny that Soma *pavamāna* is sometimes implored to defeat rivals or enemies or to remove obstacles. But strenuous effort toward these goals requires strength, vigour, vitality which at times should be restored. That is, I would suppose, why *soma* sometimes flows *vājasātaye*: 9, 110, 1 f. "run about in order to win *vāja*, round about vanquishing enemies (or hindrances, *vṛtrāṇi*)..., for, O thou that clarifiest thyself, thou divest for the sake of (manifestations of) *vāja* (cf. 9, 99, 2)", and that is why "we are pleased with thee (rejoice in thee) in the great realm of the assemblies (concourses, competitions, *samarya*)". (Cf. also 9, 43, 6). Hence also 9, 90, 3 calling Soma a conquerer with a host of heroes, a winner of valued objects. (See also 9, 35, 4 (cf. st. 1 and 2) and compare, e.g., 9, 63, 2; 9, 90, 2 f.). In 9, 91, 4 Soma is requested to show or reveal manifestations of *vāja* by clarifying himself after he has destroyed the residence of the demon (that is, has assisted the worshipper in destroying it; cf. 9, 35, 3). (See also 1, 91, 18; 9, 37, 3).

In the following passage a translation "prize of victory" would credit the Vedic poets with too much sophistication. After having compared the pressing of *soma* with sexual intercourse (st. 11)[14] the poet of 10, 101, 12 urges (the) men to erect their *membrum virile*, to impel and push it (to penetrate, cf. AVŚ. 20, 135, 4) with a view to win *vāja*, which here must mean "sperm", a bearer of recreative power or life force par excellence. One might compare *AVŚ*. 6, 38, 3 mentioning the violent agitation (*tviṣ*) which is in the *vāja* (rut) of a bull, in the wind, the rain-god and Varuṇa's vital or sexual energy[15] and AVŚ. 6, 72, 3—which in Kauś. 40, 16 f. is used in a rite for sexual vigour—"let your member grow as large as that of the elephant, of the ass,[16] of a *vājin* horse".—In ṚV. 5, 84, 2[17] the earth is said to throw forth (discharge) the fertilizing fluid like a horse that "neighs *vāja* (rut, cf. 2, 43, 2, where Geldner rightly translates *vājin* by "rutting")": compare 9, 67, 4; if 10, 96, 10 *vā́jam ... acikradat* "neighed *vāja*" means "... victory", this may be due to reinterpretation.

That rivers, in which is (continuance of) life (*amṛtam*) and medicine (1, 23, 19 ff.), are associated with *vāja* is small wonder. The Sindhu is 10, 75, 2 said to have run for the sake of *vāja*; in 4, 3, 12 the immortal waters (of the rivers) are compared to a racehorse (*vājī*); in 1, 130, 5 to chariots that are racing for *vāja*. In 1, 3, 10 the river Sarasvatī is described as *vā́jebhir vājinīvatī* "rich in bearers of restorative power (especially horses)"[18]; in 7, 96, 3 she gives lovely-and-auspicious things, possessing (and bestowing) objects characterized by *vāja* (*vājinīvatī*); in 2, 41, 18 she is given the same epithet and is besought to delight in the sacred hymns and the expressions of realizing and emotional thought (*manma*),[19] no doubt an instance of the belief that the eulogies induce her to bestow *vāja*: see 7, 95, 6, where she is implored to give the one who praises her materializations of *vāja*. In 1, 23, 19 the gods are enjoined to be *vājinaḥ apā́m ... prá́śastaye* "rich in *vāja* in view of (or, with regard to) the glorification of the waters".[20]

As argued elsewhere,[21] Pūṣan is a friendly and beneficent god who represents prosperity or a well-nourished condition (*puṣṭi*) and concerns himself with the reclamation and cultivation of the land in which the Aryans were settling. He is implored to watch over the cows and horses of those who sacrifice to him and to acquire *vāja* for the eulogist *cum suis* ("for us", 6, 54, 5; cf. 6, 53, 10). He is a mighty "lord (this implies "dispenser") of *vājāḥ*" and is implored to make the materializations of restorative or recreative power increase (10, 26, 7; 9; cf. 6, 57, 1). The poet of 6, 53, 1 has yoked him like a chariot with a view to the acquisition of *vāja* and (poetic) inspiration (*dhī*), which no doubt is a *hysteron proteron* (cf. 1, 27, 11), because *dhī* is a means of obtaining *vāja*.[22] In 7, 35, 1 he belongs to those gods to whom the poet prays for auspiciousness, when it comes to the acquisition of *vāja*. He keeps the herds and possesses (or rather, gives) a house full of *vāja*, which here may be translated by "wealth" (6, 58, 2). So the question arises, why we should in 6, 55, 4 adopt Geldner's translation "Siegesgekrönt" ("crowned by victory") of *vājinam* (mention of possessions is made in st. 2 and 3). And why should we translate "make our hymns of praise flaming (rather, "much-prized and powerful", *dyumninaḥ*, 1, 138, 2) in the decisive battles (*vājeṣu*)" in 138, 2? This *sūkta* does not deal with combats or other military exploits, but with the god's comradeship and activity for the advantage of man, which are eulogized, that is, confirmed and consolidated (cf. st. 3; and, e.g., also 3, 62, 8). So *vājeṣu* rather means "every time when the god is bestowing restorative power".

The rising of the sun in the morning suggests a rejuvenating power in nature. The goddess Dawn, Uṣas, is quite intelligibly regarded as "the mistress of (continuance of) life" (4, 5, 13), as able or as willing to prolong the duration of (our) life (7, 77, 5; cf. 1, 113, 16), to bring new life (7, 80, 2; cf. also 1, 48, 10), a complete life with children (1, 113, 17), happiness, well-being, possessions (1, 48, 9; 13; 1, 92, 15 where she is called *vājinīvatī* "possessing that which is rich in restorative power by which new life and new food is obtained"; 10, 65, 10), (enjoyment of) food, refreshment (*iṣ*, 1, 48, 15; 5, 79, 8; 7, 81, 5). The maiden of the sun who possesses property and goods is at 7, 75, 5 called *vājinīvatī* and *citrāmaghā* "possessing wonderful benefits".[23] In 1, 48, 16, Uṣas *vājinīvatī* is besought to bestow property, materializations of *iḍā* ((sacrificial) food producing a strengthening or consolidation of the vitality and powerfulness of the eater (s)) and of *vāja* as well as prestige (*dyumna*); in 1, 30, 22 she is requested to come *vājebhiḥ* and to bring property. In 1, 48, 11 f. the goddess is implored to win and procure *vāja*, to come to the sacrifices of those who perform the correct rites and praise her, and to bring cows, horses, *vāja* and brave men. When Uṣas has waked up before everything else she is according to Geldner victorious (*jayantī*) and winning the prize (*vājam*, 1, 123, 2). What prize? About contests or games the poet is silent, but he does mention the best of objects of value, auspicious things, horses, cows (cf. st. 4; 6; 11;

12); *siṣā-santī* (4) is not "winning the goal", but "wishing to gain for bestowing". For a similar reason I would in 7, 75, 5 reject the translation "rewards, remunerations", which, on the other hand, is possible in 1, 124, 13; 7, 81, 6, because there it refers to the *dakṣiṇās*. In 1, 92, 8 Uṣas is *vājaprasūtā* "impelled by *vāja*"[24]: here *vāja* is, interestingly enough, taken to be a more or less active power that urges her to bring a wealth of sons. May we interpret 3, 61, 1 in a similar way?: Uṣas, besought to enjoy the eulogist's praise, is invoked as "being rich in *vāja* through (on account of) *vāja*".[25] Is this perhaps the reason for the use of the epithet *vājinīvati* in 1, 48, 6: were the birds that fly up in the early morning (cf. 5; 1, 124, 12) and whose sounds were believed to bring good fortune (2, 42, 2; 2, 43, 2 f.) supposed to transmit or induce *vāja*?

Savitar, who is elsewhere (5, 82, 1; 4, 54, 2) said to give food, continuance of life to the gods and life to men, is in my opinion in 10, 149, 5 not invoked on the occasion of a contest[26] (*vāje*, what contest?, the *sūkta* deals with cosmogony), but "for (a, another) manifestation of this creative and demiurgic power"[27] which he has displayed and now should assume the character of a *dakṣiṇā* (cf. 3, 62, 11).

The Maruts give or are requested to give (continuance of) life, possessions and so on (7, 57, 6), medicine (8, 20, 23; 25), refreshment (*iṣ*, in the form of rain, 1, 88, 1; cf. 1, 168, 2); in 5, 54, 14 a courser (*arvant*) and *vāja* which, I suppose, may refer to the restorative power that is to be generated by the courser. In 2, 34, 6 they are implored to make the poet's inspiration (*dhī*) swell like a milk-giving mare to fashion it with (like) *vāja* (rather than to cause it to be adorned with *vāja*): cf. 7, 36, 7 "those Maruts, the possessors (promoters) of *vāja* (*vājinaḥ* not "sieghaft", Geldner) must further our *dhī* and offspring".[28] In 7, 57, 5 they are besought to assist those speaking by their benevolence and to aid and support them with manifestations of *vāja* in order to make them prosper.

In harmony with those places where the Aśvins[29] are said or implored to give a long duration of life (1, 34, 11; 1, 157, 4; 4, 15, 9 f.), *ūrj* (strength, vigour, strengthening food, 1, 157, 4), have or bring honey (which was regarded as a form of *soma*, *ŚB*. 12, 8, 2, 15) in 1, 157, 4; 4, 45, 2, (fortifying) nourishment or refreshment (*pṛkṣ*, 1, 47, 6; 1, 139, 3; 4, 45, 2; see also 6, 42, 4, together with *iṣam ūrjam*; 5, 73, 8; 5, 77, 3), which they cause to swell (1, 34, 3), and to place the germ in females and bring the trees to life (1, 157, 5), these gods are also besought or stated to come with *iṣ* and *vāja* (1, 117, 1; 10), with a long span of life and *vājāḥ* (1, 116, 19), to bring as "possessors or bestowers of the goods that are characteristic of bearers of *vāja*" to the cattle and offspring of those speaking happiness and *iṣ* (8, 5, 20), to cause the *vājavatīr iṣaḥ* to swell "for us" three times a day (1, 34, 3).[30] In 1, 34, 9 their ass (cf. 8, 85, 7)—a lascivious animal[31] and the mount of deities presiding over fertility—is *vājin* (which is not Geldner's "siegreich")[32]. (On Indra and the ass see 3, 53, 5). In 8, 5, 5 the Aśvins are described as "most generous, winning (and granting) *vāja* to the highest degree, bringing *iṣ* (?)[33]..." But elsewhere *vāja* appears to denote the *dakṣiṇā* (8, 87, 6) or that special benefit that the inspired eulogy or the activity of the eulogists derive from divine favour (7, 67, 5[34]; cf. 1, 120, 9 and 10; 1, 112, 24; 8, 8, 21; 8, 9, 13; 4, 43, 7).

Agni, who often functions as a god of fertility and procreation[35], and is well known as "the son, i.e. manifestation or representative, overwhelming power" (*sūnuḥ sahasaḥ*), is 5, 9, 7 requested to grant wealth and prosperity, to strengthen those praying in combats and to assist them in winning the ardently desired *vāja* which here no doubt may stand for the eulogist's share in the booty; in the reference to victory in battle 5, 23, 2 the same god is said to be the true marvellous giver of *vāja* consisting in cattle; in 2, 2, 7 he is implored to make thousandfold *vāja* accessible. Elsewhere however *vājeṣu* may stand for "any occasion of generating *vāja*", or "on account of any *vāja*": 1, 36, 2 where Agni, whom men have made the increaser of their overwhelming power, is implored to be their helper on those occasions; 6, 48, 2 where he, it is hoped, helps, strengthens and protects them *vājeṣu*.

In 1, 145, 1 the god of fire is called "lord (dispenser) of *vāja*, of vigorous strength"; in 1, 66, 4 he gives *vayas* "vigour, vitality". In 5, 19, 4 he is said to contain *vāja* in his interior (*vājajaṭhara*). In 3, 25, 3 he is powerful because of (his) *vājāḥ*; in 2, 1, 12 he is solid promoting or furthering *vājāḥ*; in 3, 29, 7 he is *vājin*. From 6, 1, 11 it appears that he was believed to be able to produce and radiate *vāja*: (after a reference to his light that illumines heaven and earth) "shine for us farther with bulky, solid, rich *vājas*". According to 6, 48, 4 he worships the great gods, is besought to secure their assistance, offer (to them) and to win (*van-*) *vājāḥ*. For from him go in different directions the many assistances (*ūtayaḥ*) of the god (and) *vājāḥ*..., with the prayer "give us possessions" (3, 14, 6). In 3, 15, 6 he is requested to urge on manifestations of *vāja*. Hence 3, 27, 8 "(the god) who is rich in *vāja* is established (as the sacrificial fire) for the sake (of acquisitions) of *vāja* (as a result of the rites), he is led forwards for the sacrifices (that are being performed)"; cf. 3, 27, 11. And also 6, 16, 48 "the gods kindle Agni..., the destroyer of hindrances par excellence, by (through) whom the objects of value are brought (cf. 3, 11, 9), the demons are crushed, the bearer of restorative power (*vājin*)". (Cf. 10, 87, 1, where he is a killer of demons and *vājin*). When the god has exerted himself in performing his ritual task his roaring energies, his flame and the manifestations of his *vāja* are expected to rise up (10, 142, 6). It would seem that the *vājāḥ* that are aiming at fame which in 5, 9, 2 together with the sacrifices come to Agni, the *hotar*, are the various manifestations of *vāja* that accrue from these rites to the successful performer.—Agni's three *vājināḥ* (3, 20, 2) probably are his "restorative forces or capacities"[36].

Whereas Agni is 5, 13, 5; 5, 20, 1 described as the one who wins *vāja* to the highest degree (cf., e.g., 3, 22, 1; 1, 69, 5; 4, 6, 5 where his flames are compared to *vājinaḥ* "racehorses")[37], the *vājāḥ* are in 3, 26, 4; 3, 27, 1 said to appear, in 3, 27, 1 with the sacrificial ladle, which may point to Agni as the one through whom or from whom the *vājāḥ* are assumed to come forth or to proceed. If here and 7, 1, 3 the *vājāḥ* are the sacrificial gifts offered to the gods, the fundamental meaning "restoratives" is also clear.[38] In 7, 93, 6 *vājāḥ* denotes the gifts which the gods are expected to bring through Agni's intermediary (cf. st. 1 d; 2 d; 8 b). In 4, 3, 15 the god is requested "to take hold of these *vājāḥ* through (thanks to) (our) inspired thoughts (*manma*)". In 10, 11, 5 he has won *vāja* for the inspired eulogist. In 7, 93, 8 the eulogist hopes to acquire the *vājāḥ* from Indra and Agni conjointly, but in 5, 4, 1 he wishes to win, desirous of *vāja*, *vāja* together with the god; in 5, 4, 6 the god's protection is implored for the sake of *vāja*. (See also 5, 10, 1). In 3, 25, 2 Agni wins (and procures) manly strength (*vīryāṇī*) and *vāja* adding strength to (continued) life.[39] In 6, 13, 3 the inspired sage distributes the *vāja* that has been taken from the niggard. According to Geldner's explanation[40] the words 5, 15, 5 "the *vāja* must now protect (keep) the end of thy strength", addressed to Agni express the thought "the prospect of success prevents a participant in a race from failing"; irrespective as to whether the *vāja* is the "milking" (or 'milked' substance) in *pāda* b or protects it, it is in any case something strengthening, refreshing or restoring.

Indra's activities as a warrior god have often been too much emphasized, whereas those traits of his character that made him function as a demiurge remained in the background. Yet the likeness between some of his deeds and myths of other cultures concerning a divine personage that, while or before fashioning and/or arranging the world, had to overcome some opponent or enemy of the human race[41] is worth noticing. As is well known, Indra having slain Vṛtra let the waters flow (1, 32, 11; 1, 52, 8; 1, 80, 10 etc.). Now the usual modern translation of 1, 174, 4 cd seems to be "when he (Indra) by means of a fight let the waters (flow) and the cows go (cf. 1, 61, 10; also 9, 108, 6; 4, 17, 10), he... boldly carried away the prize (profits) of the victory (*vājāḥ*)". Sāyaṇa, however, who often explains *vāja* by "food" (*annam*), adds "he cleaned the corn, caused it to thrive". May we, with reference to 1, 80, 4 where Indra, after having destroyed Vṛtra, is requested to let the waters flow which are rich in "vital powers" (*jīvadhanyāḥ*) (cf. also 1, 36, 8 as well as 8, 3, 20), consider an interpretation "he refined the restorative potencies (which were generated by his exploits)"? In 4, 22, 3, stating that Indra, born as the greatest of gods, being great *vājebhiḥ* and by great acts of impetuosity, made heaven and earth tremble by his violence, *vājāḥ* may stand for something like "demiurgic restorative exploits".

We should also remember that warfare and raiding[42] were then already characterized by interrelated economic, social and ideological factors and that their resources were not only of a material nature, but also non-material such as fame (cf., e.g., 6, 19, 3)—notice also the combination of *vāja* and *śravas* in 8, 80, 5f.; 8, 103, 5; 9, 44, 6; 9, 83, 5 in non-military contexts—and prestige; by success in battle or raiding one could advance one's position and become able to redistribute part of the spoils obtained to others (cf., e.g., 7, 27, 1; 8, 54, 6).[43] In 4, 17, 8 (cf. 9) Indra is the one who kills Vṛtra and gains (*sanitā* which may also mean "gains for others") *vāja*; he is also the one who gives goods (that are given or received, *maghāni*). Here *vāja* may denote the advantages gained or generated by the victorious god which are a source of benefit for mankind or for his worshippers. Similarly 8, 95, 9 "thou destroyest the hindrances (*vṛtrāṇi*), wishest to gain *vāja*".

In connexion with the occurrence of *vāja* and its derivatives in passage dealing with hostile meetings and so on it may be recalled that races as well as other athletic contests and forms of competition (including warfare) which require uncommon bodily exertion and excessive application of energy are likely to create the impression that they generate and increase the power and energy of the performer, who, becoming aware of his greater vital strength, feels himself superior and able to perform extraordinary deeds. [Compare, e.g., 5, 4, 6 where Agni is urged to give his body (greater, special) vigour or energy (*vayas*) thereupon to frighten the *dasyu* away with his weapon]. Like various games, dance and dramatic spectacles these competitions, transferring potentials into outcomes and thus associated with creativeness and creation, often represent—or can be believed to represent or to be analogous to—wished-for events in nature, have widely—e.g. in ancient Rome, Africa and pre-modern America—come to be supposed to cause rain, to promote fertility and the growth of the crops, to give and prolong life, to restore strength and vigour and other such important processes.[44] Hence the application of the adjective *vājin* "rich in *vāja*" to race-horses and other strong and swift horses (e.g. 1. 162, 22; 1, 163, 12; 3, 38, 1; 4, 11, 4 *vājī vājambharáḥ*; 4, 38, 7; 5, 30, 14; 9, 93, 1; compare also places[45] such as 3, 2, 3 where the one who wishes to win *vāja* addressed his horse), in which Varuṇa has, according to 5, 85, 2 put *vāja*; which are believed to be able to win or acquire, for instance, sons (7, 37, 6), objects of value (1, 130, 6), property (5, 6, 3), fame (7, 90, 7; 8, 19, 6), and of course, *vāja* from which they derive their surname (1, 52, 1; 1, 60, 5; 1, 64, 13 together with valued objects). Interestingly, the relative statements often combine with similar opinions regarding eulogies or other potent utterances, that is of words that state, invoke or command the desired effects (1, 27, 9; 2, 2, 10; 7, 58, 4; 8, 92, 11 etc.; compare also 1, 129, 2). Hence also similes such as 1, 129, 2, where mighty persons endeavour to win Indra, being *vājin*, like a *vājin* courser; 1, 52, 1; or stanzas such as 7, 90, 7.—In 10, 34, 4 the die for gambling is *vājin*, translated "carrying off as gain"; but it is also a means of securing luck on festive occasions;[46] as a rite belonging to the royal consecration a game of dice probably was to recreate the universe and to bring about the king's rebirth.[47]

Those on behalf of whom the eulogist of the closing stanza 1, 101, 11 is speaking wish to win *vāja* through Indra's help; that this *vāja*, here probably as *dakṣiṇās* (for which see, e.g., 6, 37, 5; 8, 81, 8; probably 8, 95, 9), may manifest itself in various forms appears from the following enumeration of gods who are expected to confer it: Mitra, Varuṇa (cf. 5, 85, 2), Aditi, Sindhu (cf. 10, 75, 2; 8), Heaven and Earth. Accordingly, the assistance of this god who is rich in *vāja* (1, 4, 8) is invoked (1, 30, 6, where "on account of *vāja*" seems possible; also 8, 21, 1). The words *vā́je vājin* in 8, 52, 4 occur in a protracted prayer for donations, expected also when the god is not on the march, and correspond therefore hardly with "victorious in battle" (Geldner). In cases such as 1, 5, 3 "he must come to us with *vājāḥ*"; 8, 2, 19; 8, 16, 12 every listener could interpret the concept at will ("food", Sāyaṇa, "remunerations", Geldner etc.), but the context of 10, 147, 4 "strengthened by thee (Indra) the worshipper gains the *vāja* together with (his) men" seems to point to spoils. But in a case such as 1, 30, 7 *vāja* is after *yoga* "the act of yoking" and "undertaking"—as also elsewhere—used for a competitive undertaking in general.

There are also in the Indra hymns many places that attest to the practice known as *do ut des* or rather as *do ut possis dare* "I give in order that thou mayest be able to give"[48]: "praised as a possessor of *vāja* he gives *vāja* on the sacrificial ground"[49] (6, 24, 2); in 1, 63, 9 being fortified by sacred texts he is besought to bring a handsome (materialization of) *vāja*; in 2, 11, 16 those who have won his favour by their hymn of praise have obtained *vāja* (which of course may consist in some form of profit or victory) through his help. (Cf. also 6, 37, 5; 6, 50, 6; 7, 19 11; 7, 23, 4[50]; 7, 26, 5; 10, 28, 12).—The belief in stimulating and strengthening influence of the words of the eulogists can therefore be considered to explain passages such as 1, 129, 2 and 8, 81, 8 where the god is said or besought to win the *vāja* together with the inspired sages (*viprāḥ*).—In the final stanza 2, 12, 15 and in 5, 39, 3 the god splits open (enforces, makes accessible) *vāja* for his worshippers (cf. 4, 16, 8; 6, 17, 2; 8, 32, 18).

As already observed, *vāja* occurs often together with *iṣ*, another hardly definable or translatable word[51], which vaguely corresponds to something beneficial, enjoyable, comfortable with special application to refreshment or restoratives (eatables and drinkables). See, e.g., 1, 121, 14 "grant us materializations of *vāja* which form a cart-load for the sake of (with a view to) *iṣ*, fame..."; 1, 53, 5; 1, 167, 1...*ūtayaḥ* (see below) ...*iṣaḥ*...*rāyaḥ*...*vājāḥ*; 3, 30, 11; 6, 35, 4. In 2, 6, 5 Agni is implored for rain, *vāja* and *iṣaḥ*. In 10, 5, 4 the *iṣaḥ* accompany this god with a view to (in order to increase, I suppose) (his) *vāja*.—From places such a 4, 29, 1; 6, 25, 1 where Indra is invited to approach *vā́jebhir ūtī* it may perhaps be inferred that both concepts (*ūti* "help, favour, kindness") are more or less complementary. In 6, 25, 1 Indra, the impetuous one, is implored to assist those speaking with all his assistances (*ūtīḥ*) in the "slaying of Vṛtra" (which also stands for "removing obstacles etc."; cf., 3, 37, 5 f.) and, being great and a creative authority (*ugra*)[52], (also) with these acts of restoration (*vājebhiḥ*, not Geldner's "successes").

Not infrequently a poet seems to allow us to specify the range of the meaning to a certain extent. The eulogist who in the first line of the final stanza 8, 53, 8 is desirous of *vāja* and in the second is desirous of a horse and cattle wishes in all probability to receive a *dakṣiṇā* that consists of these animals: the *dakṣiṇā* is the very keystone of a sacrifice without which the oblations are not complete; as a special form of gift it is also the bearer of spiritual power and establishes a bond between donor and recipient by which both of them profit.[53] But when Indra and Agni are, as unconquered victorious killers of enemies, said to be the best winners of *vāja*, this is the booty (3, 12, 4). When, however, in the beginning of a hymn the beneficent and well supplied god is requested to come in order to lend assistance and grant the success (of the sacrifice), he is no doubt expected to attend that sacrifice, when that success is won and allotted (*vājasātau*, 4, 20, 2; I would avoid Geldner's "prize"). The chariot in which Indra is supposed to drive is *vājayant* "speeding for *vāja*" and *siṣāsan* "wishing to acquire" (5, 31, 1).

In many cases it is the poet himself who provides us with a specification: thus Indra is besought for *vājāḥ* consisting of offspring, wealth, renown (4, 36, 9), horses and cattle (6, 45, 21; 8, 2, 24), of horses, chariots, energetic men (10, 47, 5). In other cases, however, mention is made for instance, of *vāja*, cattle, and gold (7, 31, 3; cf., in an Agni hymn, 7, 5, 9); then it is far from certain that a translation "*vāja* such as..." is admissible. And are in 7, 93, 2 the wealth and the pasturage included in the *vāja* that is mentioned in the same line?—Or the poet confines the semantic range to one single meaningful unit by adding only one adjective: in 1, 11, 3 Indra and in 9, 20, 2; 9, 63, 14; 18 Soma is said to give or bring *vāja* consisting in cattle, the economic significance of which needs no comment. On the other hand, the addition of another vague or polyvalent word (e.g. 10, 147, 4 *vā́jam ... dhánā* "objects of value") is no great help, but at 8, 33, 3 mention is made of thousandfold gold-coloured *vāja* consisting in cattle. And what is the exact relation between the many gifts (*rātayaḥ*), the *vāja* consisting in cattle and the property (viewed from the angle of a donor or recipient), here probably a share in the booty[54] in 1, 11, 3?

Space forbids a brief discussion of Vāja, one of the three Ṛbhus,[55] the mythical artisans who rejuvenated their parents (e.g. 1, 20, 4), give wealth, cattle and prosperity, vitality, *vāja* (cf. also 2, 1, 10) and energetic men (4, 33, 8; 4, 34, 10; 4, 36, 8; cf. also 4, 33, 2 etc.), favour racehorses (4, 36, 6); was Vāja originally a specialist in rejuvenation or restoration?

Notes and References

1. K.F. Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, Cambridge Mass, 1951.
2. As to (verbal) contests see Gonda, *Vedic literature*, Wiesbaden 1975, p. 80 f.
3. According to L. Renou, *Etudes védiques et pāṇinéennes*, III, Paris 1957, p. 21 the basic idea expressed by *Vāja* is "prize, recompense awarded by a god" (not in the sense of "booty" which occurs in some contexts, at best "prize" in connexion with tournaments); see also *E.V.P.* IV, p. 29: the only meaning of *vāja* is "prix de victoire"; XVI, p. 103; 133 and H. Lüders, in *Acta Orientalia*, 13, p. 111.—For reasons of space I must desist from discussing translations proposed by other scholars.
4. J. Gonda, *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, Utrecht 1954; 2 Delhi 1969, p. 44 ff. (and see Index, p. 269); see also Gonda, *Epithets in the Ṛgveda*, 's-Gravenhage 1959, Index, p. 264.
5. Remember however that, except in the case of scientific concepts, the sense of words in modern languages is also implicitly vague and 'open', that is liable to supplementation.
6. In my opinion, not "prize of victory" (Geldner, Renou); S.S. Bhawe, *The Soma-hymns of the Ṛgveda*, I, Baroda, 1957, p. 64 translates "strength" (also elsewhere).
7. Not "run a race" (Monier-Williams).
8. Cf. Gonda, *The Vision of the Vedic poets*, The Hague 1963, p. 57 etc.
9. See above.
10. *Hari*: one should avoid translating this adjective by the words used in French, German etc. to denote Indra's bay horses (as, e.g., Geldner does; see 9, 3, 3; 9, 53, 4 etc.): there do not exist clear lines of division in the scale of colours (see S. Skard, The use of colour in literature, *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.* 95 (1946), 3, especially p. 205 ff.); the scheme of the ancients was different from that of modern English, which in turn does not, for instance, agree with that of the nearly related Dutch.
11. Bhawe, *Soma-hymns*, II, Baroda 1960, p. 43, prefers "the strong one".
12. See also 1, 135, 5; 7, 22, 1; 8, 1, 19 (cf. Gonda, *Vision*, p. 143); 9, 6, 5; 9, 13, 6; 9, 36, 1; 9, 43, 5; 9, 45, 4; 9, 63, 19; 9, 66, 10: 9, 70, 10; 9, 87, 5 and so on.
13. For *Vājin* see also 9, 53, 4; 9, 64, 4; 9, 87, 4; 9, 109, 10; 19 (where Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*, Leipzig 1873, 2 1936 translated "swift", or "horse", or "rich in sacrificial food", other authors "winner of the prize").
14. Cf. also Renou, *E.V.P.* XVI, p. 158.
15. The wind brings rain, rain is 'identified with' sperm (see J.J. Meyer, *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation*, Zürich and Leipzig 1937, II, p. 184; III, p. 153; III, p. 150); on Varuṇa the same, III, p. 201: 207; 228 ff.; Index, p. 325.
16. See below.
17. On this stanza see H. Lüders, *Philologica Indica*, Göttingen 1940, p. 751 ff.; Geldner, *Rig-Veda übersetzt*, II, p. 87; Renou, E.V.P., XV, p. 123.
18. See Gonda, *Pūṣan and Sarasvatī*, Amsterdam Acad. 1985, p. 47 (cf. p. 9). For 6, 61, 3; 4; 6; 12 see *ibidem*, p. 80.
19. See Gonda, *Vision*, p. 146.
20. As to the dative see Gonda, *Selected Studies*, Leiden 1975, I, p. 34 ff.
21. Gonda, *Pūṣan and Sarasvatī*, ch. VI ff.
22. Gonda, *Pūṣan and Sarasvatī*, p. 94; *Vision*, p. 150 ff.
23. See Gonda, *Epithets in the Ṛgveda*, 's-Gravenhage 1959, p. 99, 50 f.; 96; 102.
24. Renou, *E.V.P.* III, p. 31; 39.
25. The alternative is "a banal redundancy" (Renou, *E.V.P.* III, p. 67).
26. Thus Geldner, *Rig-Veda* III, p. 382 ("Siegerpreis"); Renou, *E.V.P.* XV, p. 34 "(compétition pour le) prix-de-victoire)".

27. As to the locative see, e.g., 6, 19, 12; cf. Sāyaṇa: *vāje anne nimittabhūte*, Cf. also 1, 35, 8; 5, 49, 2; 10, 35, 7 etc.
28. Cf. Gonda, *Vision*, p. 127 f.
29. See Gonda, *The dual deities in the religion of the Veda*, Amsterdam Acad. 1974, p. 42 ff.
30. See Gonda, *Triads in the Veda*, Amsterdam Acad. 1976, p. 73 ff.
31. I refer to Meyer, *Trilogie*, I, p. 116; 174 fn.; 182 f.; III, p. 295; on Indra III, p. 85; on Indra's relations with growth and fertility, III, p. 302.
32. Notice that in 1, 116, 2 *pradhana*, not *vāja* is used.
33. On *isháyantā* see Renou, *E.V.P.* XV, p. 119; XVI, p. 52 f.
34. On *dhī* and *puraṃdhi* see Gonda, *Vision*, p. 161 ff.
35. I refer to Meyer, *Trilogie*, III, p. 287. See also Gonda, *The relations between 'gods' and 'powers' in the Veda*, 's-Gravenhage 1957, p. 46 etc. For fire and renewal, rejuvenation and so on see C.M. Edsman, in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, edited by M. Eliade, New York and London 1986, V, p. 344 f.
36. Cf. Geldner's note, *Rig-Veda übers.*, I. p. 355; Renou, *E.V.P.* XII, p. 64; 123.
37. In 2, 10, 1 *vājı* means "bearer of *vāja*", not "(like) a race-horse" (Geldner's translation).
38. Otherwise Geldner, *Rig-Veda übers.* I, p. 361. See also H.D. Velankar, *Ṛgveda maṇḍala VII*, Bombay 1963, p. 203; "prix-de-victoire" (Renou, *E.V P.* XIII, p. 52).
39. See Gonda, *Four studies in the language of the Veda*, 's-Gravenhage 1959, p. 75.
40. Geldner, *Rig-Veda übersetzt*, II, p. 16. Cf. Renou, *E.V.P.* VIII, p. 28 and 113.
41. For North America sec A. Hiltebeitel, in *Encycl. of Religion*, V, p. 469; for other references (e.g. the struggle with the monster of chaos) G. van der Leeuw- *Religion in essence and manifestation*, London 1938; Gloucester, Mass. 1967, p. 579.
42. Now see also K. Werner, in *ABORI* 68 (1987), p. 510.
43. I also refer to B. Lincoln, *Encycl. of Religion*, XV, p. 339.
44. See, e.g., J.J. Mac Aloon, in *Encycl. of Religion*, V, p. 474 ff.; D. Handelman, *ibidem*, XI, p. 363 ff.; H. Webster, *Magic*, Stanford and London 1948, p. 501 ff.; A. Piganiol, *Recherches sur les jeux romains*, Strasshourg 1923, p. 137 ff.; M. Eliade, *Traité d'histoire des religions*, Paris 1949, p. 275 ff.; Gonda, *Aspects*, p. 46 f.; *Selected studies*, Leiden 1975, IV, p. 375 ff.; G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in essence and manifestation*, London 1938 (Gloucester, Mass, 1967), p. 376 who observed that the combat in the games is always a symbol of the staking of life, the contest between life and death": hence also the application of the term *vāja* to the 'prize'.
45. Where translations such as "siegesgewohnt", "siegreich", "winning the prize" are inadequate.
46. Meyer, *Trilogie*, II, p. 151; p. 329. For religious gambling, not easily separated from games, see A. Hiltebeitel, in *Encycl. of Rel.* V, p. 468 ff.
47. J.C. Heesterman, The ancient Indian royal consecration. Thesis Utrecht 1957, 's-Gravenhage 1957, p. 153 ff. (Now see also H. Falk, *Bruderschaft und Würfelspiel*, Freiburg 1986).
48. I refer to van der Leeuw, *Religion*, ch. 50.
49. On *vidatha* see Gonda, in *Modern India*, Vol. G.D. Birla, Pilani 1977, p. 399 ff.
50. Gonda, *Vision*, p. 151.
51. See also Renou, *E.V.P.* III, p. 27 f.
52. Gonda, *Ancient-Indian ojas*, Utrecht 1952, p. 6 ff.; 14 ff.; 25 ff. etc.
53. See Gonda, *Change and continuity in Indian religion*, The Hague 1965, ch. VII.
54. Gonda, *Selected Studies*, II, p. 480.
55. See A.A. Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, Strassburg 1897 p. 131 ff.

2

Avestan Haoma—a comparison with Vedic Soma

VED KUMARI GHAI

Comparative philology and comparative mythology have shown that Indian Āryans and Iranians were originally of one family. Since the year 1826 when a Danish scholar Rask hinted at the close affinity of the language of the *Zend Avesta* to Sanskrit, a large number of scholars have been working on these rich literary treasures of ancient Iran and their researches have proved that for the explanation of these Avestan texts, Vedic Sanskrit is far more useful than Pahlavi or modern Persian. Avestan *Sarad* is more near to Vedic *Śarad* than to modern Persian *Sal* and Avestan *Zaredaya* can be more easily recognised in Sanskrit *hṛdaya* than in modern Persian *dil*. A mere phonetic change like the change of Sanskrit *S* into *h*, of Sanskrit *j* into *z*, of Sanskrit *h* into *z*, of Sanskrit *K*, *t*, *p* into *kh*, *ph*, *th*, of Sanskrit *gh*, *dh*, *bh* into *g*, *d*, *b*, is sometime sufficient to translate an Avestan passage into Sanskrit. Compare the following words:

Sanskrit	*Avesta*	*Meaning*
sapta	*hafta*	seven
sukta	*hukta*	well said
sakrit	*hakrit*	once
jata	*zata*	born
ajati	*azaiti*	moves

Sanskrit	*Avesta*	*Meaning*
hasta	*zasta*	hand
aham	*azam*	I
satya	*hathiyo*	true
kratu	*khratush*	knowledge
prokta	*frokhto*	uttered
dirgham	*dragam*	long

This close affinity is found not only in languages but also in the contents of the most ancient literatures of both these countries. There is identity of many Avestan and Vedic deities, and many sacrificial terms as found in both literatures are same. Vedic priest Ātharavan is Ātharava of the *Avesta*, Vedic *iṣṭi* and *ahuti* are *isti* and *āzūiti* of the *Avesta*. Vedic *hotā* is Avestan *Zaota* and Vedic Soma is Avestan Haoma. Soma is derived from *Su* to press and Haoma is derived from *hu* to press. Both were pressed in Savanas-Havanas. In *Avesta* there is mention of two Havanas while in the Vedas the offering of Soma was made in three Savanas. Soma and Haoma both are described as growing on high mountains. The stalk from which Sóma is extracted is called *anśu* in Veda and *āsu* in *Avesta*. Both are described as possessed of healing powers. Both have similar epithets. Soma is *sukratu* i.e., wise and Haoma is *hukratu*. Soma is a popular god of the *Ṛgveda*. The whole of the 9th Maṇḍala of the *Ṛgveda* sings the glories of Soma. In the *Avesta* also Haoma is praised highly.

Ninth, tenth and eleventh *Yasnas* of the *Avesta* describe the myths, the prayers and the offerings of the Haoma.

The 9th chapter entitled Haoma Yast is a dialogue between Haoma and Zarathustra which contains some stories current in ancient times about the miracles of Haoma.

Being asked by Zarathustra Haoma relates how Vivanghvant, Āthwya, Thrita and Pourushaspa had prepared Haoma before the time of Zarathustra and had obtained brave sons. Vivanghvant who got Yima as his son can be easily identified with Indian Vivasvān the father of Yama and Manu, and Thrita is identified with Vedic Trita. In this Yasna as well as in the following two Yasnas, Haoma appears both as a plant the juice of which is extracted and drunk before the sacred fire and as a deity who is capable of giving various boons. Zarathustra adores Haoma and describes him as good, well endowed, righteous in its nature, good, inherently, healing, well shaped, well performing, successful, golden coloured with hanging sprouts, as the best for eating and the most lasting provision for the soul. He requests Haoma to give him six boons namely: The best life of the righteous, good, health, long vitality of life, conquest over hate and lie, conquest in battles and timely warning about the actions of evil doers. Haoma is further described as lord of the house, lord of the clan, lord of the tribe, lord of the land and a successful learned teacher. Haoma grants good husbands to unwed maidens and children to childless women. He grants knowledge and wisdom to those who have long sat searching books. Haoma is well versed in many sayings and true and holy words. He is requested to seize away the fleetness from the feet of the wicked and destroy his intellect.[1]

Soma in the *Ṛgveda* is given similar epithets. The epithet *vacaksana* which occurs about 31 times in *R.V.* is used eighteen times with Soma. He is described as bestower of wealth[2], seer[3], inspired sage[4], maker of seers[5], winner of strength, lord of sacrifice, Lord of cows, lord of heaven.[6] He is requested to bestow wealth on the worshipper and endow him with good heroic sons.[7] Being a performer of great deeds and destroyer of hundred cities,[8] he is requested to drive away the enemies.[9]

In *R.V.* 10.25.1, Soma is requested "to excite cxcellent and auspicious thought, intention, spirit, ability and inventiveness" of the worshipper.

In some verses of Yasna X of *Avesta*, Haoma is praised as a plant. The worshipper says "I praise the cloud that waters thee and the rains which make thee grow on the summits of the mountains and I praise the lofty mountains where the Haoma branches spread. It is stated in verses 26.30 of the Yasna X that a skilful god created Haoma and placed it on high mountains. From there the birds carried Haoma to the top of cliffs. Similar mythological accounts of the origin and carrying away of Soma are available in the *Ṛgveda* and in various *Brāhmaṇas*. In the *Ṛgveda* Soma is described as growing on mountains. Varuṇa is stated to have placed Soma on the mountains. The *Ṛgveda* 1.93.6. describes Soma as being brought by the hawk from heaven to the earth. In the *Avesta* as well as in the *Ṛgveda* there are references to bringing of the stalks of this plant, pressing it for extracting juice, straining it through a strainer, putting it into vessels and drinking it to get inspiration.

Ijashne ceremony about Haoma and Jyotiṣṭoma sacrifice are very similar in all respects. In Jyotiṣṭoma the stalks of the plant representing Soma are placed on a large flat stone and are beaten with another stone and strained through a cloth. The Parsi priests use a metal mortar with a pestle for pressing the stalks and use a metal saucer with nine holes for straining the juice. In Jyotiṣṭoma a portion of Soma juice is offered to the fire before the priests drink it but in Ijashne the Haoma juice is only shown to the fire and then a part of it is taken by the priest.

The elaborate rituals of Soma and Haoma and the nature of epithets used for them in *Avesta* and Veda naturally raise the question. Is Soma or Haoma to be regarded as a mere botanical entity or is it something more than a mere plant juice?

As regards the botanical nature of Soma, it is interesting to observe that the Vedic sages never mention its leaves, flowers, fruits, branches and roots. References are often made to its cap and head.[10] It is compared with the Sun and the fire[11] and is also called a pillar of the sky.[12] Drinking of Soma juice is said to produce exhilaration without evil effect[13] which is not the case in drinking Surā producing anger and folly with intoxication.[14] Scholars have tried to identify Soma with Sacros temma, Ephdra, rhubard, hops, cannabis Indica and other plants but no identification seems to be so convincing as the one suggested recently by Gordon Wassen in his paper "The Soma of the *Ṛgveda*: What was it?[15] He identifies Soma with "The *fly agaric Amanita muscaria*, the mushroom."[16] Describing the plant, he says "The *fly agaric* first appears as a fluffy ball dazzling white. As it swells and grows upward it bursts its white envelope and its brilliant red skin shows through the fragrants of white envelope that continue to adhere to the cap."[17] All these descriptions of the mushroom *Amanita Muscaria* bring it close to Vedic Soma. It grows in the mountains of Afghanistan. When it is ripe its white cap becomes red and can be well compared with the fire or the sun. With its stalk and cap it looks like a small column endowed with an appropriate capital. It is used for hallucingen purposes by North Asian tribes. The identification thus seems to be almost correct on botanical side. But we should not forget the other side. The language of the *Vedas* and so also of the *Avesta* is a language of symbols where wheel stands for unending time and lotus symbolizes the 1st sign of life. The epithets of Soma in *Avesta* and *Veda* suggest something more than a mere plant or plant juice. For understanding the symbolism of Soma we may take the help of *Brāhmaṇa* works which are the oldest commentaries on the Vedas. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* throws some light on the nature of Soma by saying:

reto Vai Somaḥ = Soma is Semen,
annam Somaḥ = Soma is food,
Yaśo Vai Somaḥ = Soma is fame,
Kṣatram Vai Somaḥ = Soma is strength.

Pointing out the relationship of Agni and Soma, *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* says "*Yad va ardram Yajñasya tat Somyam Yac Chuṣkam tad āgneyam*", i.e. that which is dryness of the sacrifice is Agni and that which is moisture of the sacrifice is Soma. Thus Agni is the fiery principle and Soma is the watery principle and the interaction of both these principles is the cause of whole creation which is symbolized by *Yajña*. The Soma ritual symbolises what is happening in the universe and in the human body. The fire is the metabolic life principle in the human body which is to be kept alive by offerings of food and Soma as food represents all the plants, trees cereals etc. This gross food is converted into various secretions which are described as Soma in the form of *Indriyo raso* (*R.V.* 9.47.3). The body is the big stone for pressing this Soma (*A.V.* 9.4.5 *bṛahannadrir abhavad* *yaccharīram*). Through these cups in the form of sense organs, the Soma is absorbed in the body and is finally converted into energy. Thus Soma-Haoma cult is definitely of high antiquity going back to a period when ancestors of Indians and Iranians lived together. Ancient works of both these peoples have preserved memories of Soma-Haoma as a plant possessed of medicinal properties and as a deity of eternal principles.

Notes and References

1. Yasna IX.
2. R.V. 9.52.5.
3. Ṛṣirvipraḥ 9.107.7.
4. Sukratuḥ Kaviḥ 9.12.4.
5. R.V. 9.46.5.
6. R.V. 35.4.5.6.
7. R.V. 9.40, 4-5.
8. R.V. 9.48.2.
9. R.V. 9.29.4.
10. R.V. IX 27.3, 68.4, 93.3.
11. R.V.
12. R.V.
13. R.V. IX 61.17.
14. R.V. VII 8.76.
15. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 91, No. 2, pp. 169-186.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*

3

Migrations and Trade between India and Soviet Central Asia

(*c.* 525 B.C. to 700 A.D.)

B.N. MUKHERJEE

A

The sixth century B.C. in the Indian subcontinent was marked by the predominance of the sixteen great states and also by the beginning of the expansion of Magadha (in south-west Bihar), destined to establish later the first pan-Indian empire. In the last quarter of this century parts of the north-western division of the subcontinent (like the territory of the Gandarians, i.e. Gandhāra on the west and perhaps also the east of a section of the upper Indus, the country of the Sattagudians, i.e. Śatagu, on the Gomal river, and "India" or Hi(n)du on the lower Indus) were annexed to the Achaemenid empire. It also incorporated sections of Transoxiana (like Sogdiana, Chorasmia, the Śaka country beyond Sugada or Sogdiana, etc.), now within the limits of Soviet Central Asia. This political feature of having parts of both North-Western India and Transoxiana under one central authority, introduced for the first time in the last quarter of the 6th century B.C., continued intermittently through the periods of the Bactrian Greeks, Kushāṇas and the Sassanids. In the second half of the 7th century A.D. the Arabs began their raids into Mawarannahr or Transoxiana, where their Islamic rule was well established in the first quarter of the 8th century A.D. The process of Islamisation which was later continued by the Turks, gradually brought Transoxiana in the orb of a West Asiatic civilization. In case of India, the first quarter of the 8th century A.D.—712 to be precise—witnessed the foundation of an Islamic government of the Arabs in Sindh, though the domination of Indian political scene by Islamic powers became a reality much later. From about the same period began certain mediaeval trends (including regionalism in cultural life), marking the beginning of the early or proto-mediaeval age. Thus for India as well as for Transoxiana *c*. A.D. 700 signifies the end of an era.

During the period so defined (*c*. 525 B.C.—*c*. A.D. 700) communications between the Indian subcontinent and Transoxiana, which began in prehistoric times, continued with varying degrees of frequency. In the epochs of common central authorities, as in the age of the Kushāṇas ruling over a vast territory from Transoxiana to Mathura or even to the east of it in India, absence of political barriers ensured comparatively unhindered movements of people, trade and ideas.

During the major part of the period in question different routes connected Transoxiana with India. A route to the north of the Takla-Makan desert in Sinkiang (or Xinjiang), running from the direction of Tun-huang (or Dun-huang), passed through Ku-mo (Aksu) and Wen-su (Uch-Turfan) to Su-lo (Kashgarh). Su-lo was apparently connected with So-chü (Yarkand) and Tsung-ling (the Pamirs), which were on the route to the south of the same desert. On the southern route Tsung-ling was connected with Chi-pin (within the limits of which was Kāśmīra). Wen-su (Uch-Turfan) had communicating link with the Sai or Śaka country (around Lake Issyk-Kul in Kirgizia). One could travel from Su-lo (Kashgarh) to Transoxiana where were Ta-yüan (the Fergana area) and K'ang-chü (once situated on both sides of the Iaxartes and including parts of Sogdiana between the Iaxartes and the Oxus). To the south of the Oxus was Bactra (Balkh), connected on one hand with Kaboura (Kabul), Kapiśā (Begram) and Lampāka (Laghman area) to the south-east of the Hindu-Kush and on the other with Alexandria in Aria (Herat area) located on a great road from West Asia. Aria had links with Drangiana (Seistan) and Arachosia (Kandahar region in South-Eastern Afghanistan). The latter must have communications with land of the Paropanisadai to the south-east of the Hindu-Kush, where were the above noted Kaboura, Kapiśā and Lampāka.

From the confines of the Indian subcontinent it could be entered through the Khybar Pass, Gomal Pass, Bolan Pass and Mula Pass. A line of communication connecting the lower Indus area with Iran ran through the inhospitable region of Makran in South Baluchistan. A very important, though difficult, route from Transoxiana to Chi-pin in North-Western India (including Kāśmīra) ran *inter alia* through Kashgarh, Yarkand and the Pamirs. On this route lay Hsien-tu or the "Hanging Pass", mentioned in certain Chinese texts and located by M.A.

Stein along the Indus from the south of Darel to Mirabat. Beside these routes, the subcontinent could have indirect connection with Transoxiana through the territory now in Chinese Central Asia and Tibet.[1]

B

The above noted routes, referred to in certain Chinese, Greek and Latin Texts, indicate that there could be, if necessary, movement of people between Transoxiana and the Indian subcontinent. The Śaka people (or tribe) may be counted among the earliest and the most well-known ethnic groups, which migrated from the first to the second zone during the period in question.

A comparative study of different statements in the *Ch'ion-Han-shu* indicates that when the Great Yüeh-chih had been driven out by the Hsiung-nu from their habitat between Tun-huang and the Ch'i-lien (i.e. the Nan-shan in the province of Kan-su or Gan-su in China), they migrated westward (apparently along the above mentioned "northern" route) and conquered the Sai or Śaka territory in the Lake Issyk-kul area (which they reached probably from Wen-su or Uch-Turfan on the "northern" route). The Yüeh-chih occupied the Sai or Śaka country, and the Sai or Śaka King moved southwards, crossed Hsien-tu and reached Chi-pin. As we have shown elsewhere, the name *Chi-pin* occurring in the *Ch'ien-Han-shu* signifies the political (or administrative) jurisdiction of a territory which could be reached from Central Asia through Hsien-tu and which had within its limits a portion of North-Western India including Kāśmīra [*Kāśmīra* > **Kāśvīr*(*a*) > **Kaspir* > Chi-pin, pronounced as *Kiei-pyin* > *Kā*(*t*)*s-pīn*(*-en*) in Middle Chinese and *Kiāi-pien* in Ancient Chinese]. Hsien-tu itself lay, as noted above, along the Indus from the south of Darel to Mirabat.[2]

It seems that the route of the Śaka migration from the Lake Issyk-Kul area, caused by the Yüeh-chih invasion, lay southwards, through *inter alia* the areas of Kashgarh and Pamirs, to Gilgit in the extreme north-western corner of the Indian subcontinent. Since the Yüeh-chih occupation of the Sai or Śaka country can be placed sometime between *c.* 174 and 160 or 158 B.C., the Śaka migration should have commenced in that period.[3]

This dating is strikingly corroborated by the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali, the earliest known Indian treatise referring to the Śakas. Patañjali, who flourished in about second quarter of the 2nd century B.C., indicated in his work that the Śakas and the Yavanas lived outside Āryāvarta, situated to the south of the Himavat and east of Adarśa[4] (on the ancient Sarasvatī?). Thus by the second quarter of the 2nd century B.C. the Śakas could have at least entered the complex of mountaneous region of the Himalayas. Their presence in this tract in the next century is proved by two or three Kharoshṭī graffiti at Chilas mentioning the name of King Moga, identifiable with the well-known Śaka ruler of the same name belonging to the early 1st century B.C. The term *Śaka* as an ethnic name is mentioned in one inscription at Alam Bridge and in one or two of the epigraphs at Chilas.[5]

It appears from the above that the earliest Śaka migration to the subcontinent took place in about the second quarter of the 2nd century B.C. from Transoxiana (in Soviet Central Asia) and across the Himalayas and through the Gilgit route into the north-western corner of the subcontinent. The group of Maues or Moga, who ruled in the north-west in early 1st century B.C., probably belonged to this branch of the Śakas.

The above inferences, however, do not negate the possibility of the use of other routes by some groups of the Śakas of Central Asia on their way to the subcontinent. There are sources indicating that the Śakas and some other groups of Scythian elements invaded (having pressed by the Yüeh-chih) Sogdiana and Bactria under the Greeks, and that, along with the Yüeh-chih, they were responsible in disrupting the Greek kingdom in Sogdiana and Bactria.[6] At least some of these Śakas settled down in or near Drangiana or Zarangiana (watered by the Helmand in South-Western Afghanistan). Their habitat became known by the late 1st century B.C. as Sakastana.[7] Here, living in the world dominated by the Arsacids or Imperial Parthians, the Śakas became mixed up, ethnically as well as culturally, with the Parthians or Pahlavas. The Śaka or Śaka-Pahlava group of Vonones ruled in Arachosia and perhaps also in the area of Sakastana or Seistan in the first half of the 1st century B.C.[8] The family of Śaka or Śaka-Pahlava Azes (I), which had connection with the group of Vonones, expanded its authority from Arachosia (including Kandahar) to the Indian subcontinent in the second quarter of the 1st century B.C. Azes I probably followed the route through the Gomal Pass and along the Gomal and Kurram rivers to Gandhāra.[9] Probably the same route was followed in about the second quarter of the 1st century A.D. by Pahlava Gondophares (I), who extended his rule from Sakastana and Arachosia to Gandhāra and other parts of North-Western India.[10] The group of Gondophares, which might have been the last of the royal Śaka-Pahlava families migrating to the subcontinent, was ousted by the Kushāṇas in the late second and/or third quarter(s) of the 1st century A.D.[11] These royal Śaka-Pahlava groups might have at times acknowledged suzerainty of the Arsacids on the Imperial Parthnians, who originally had hailed from Parthia or a territory now near the border of the U.S.S.R. There are indications that at different times of their imperial history (*c.* 250 B.C. to *c.* A.D. 227) the Arsacids took interest in the politics of North-Western India.[12]

The Śakas or Śaka-Pahlavas probably migrated to India in fairly large groups. Their numerical as well as political strength made a country along the Indus, particularly the lower Indus, known to the Greek and Latin authors as Scythia or Indo-Scythia. A portion of it to the west of the lower Indus was called

Śakakula in the *Kalakācharyā-kathānaka.* We do not know whether a part of this territory or all kingdoms of the Śakas (or Śaka-Pahlavas) (or Seistan in south-western Afghanistan) was referred to as Sak(r)astana in the Mathura lion capital inscriptions.[13]

The Yüeh-chih conquerors of the Sai or Śaka country (around Lake Issyk-Kul) did not live there permanently. It appears from the *Shih-chi* and the *Ch'ien Han-shu* that at least a section of them, pressed by the Wu-sun, migrated westward, came to the territory to the north of the Oxus, conquered Ta-hsia (Eastern Bactria in North or North-Eastern Afghanistan) and established their capital to the north of Kuei or the Oxus river. Chang Ch'ien, an envoy of the Han emperor Wu-ti, saw them here in *c.* 130-129 B.C. In Ta-hsia the Kushāṇas, which formed a branch of the Yüeh-chih people, founded a kingdom in about the second half of the 1st century B.C. It gradually developed into a vast empire stretching from Transoxiana to the interior regions of India.[14]

During the period of Kushāṇa hegemony (which ended sometime before *c.* A.D. 262) there were movements of peoples, ideas and trade between *inter alia* Central Asia and India.[15] Indian epigraphs refer to the presence of persons with Śaka or Śaka-Pahlava, Iranian, or Yüeh-chih (?) names and Indian sculptures portray persons with Śaka or Yüeh-chih dresses. North Indian sites of the Kushāṇa age have yielded terracotta human figurines with non-Indian features, head-dresses and costumes, which indicate how the local people and artists reacted to the appearance of the foreigners. The latter probably came to the areas in question as officials, soldiers, merchants, pilgrims, casual visitors, or immigrants.[16]

Another group known by the name Kushāṇa, but who did not necessarily belong to the Yüeh-chih stock,[17] became prominent in the early 5th century A.D. Its well known leader was Kidāra. In about this time the Kidārites or the group of Kidāra Kushāṇa of an area of Ta-hsia were pressed by the Juan-Juan (from the north of the Oxus). They first conquered Po-lo (Balkh) and then a part of northern T'ien-chu (or India), including Gandhāra.[18] The Kidārites later felt the pressure of the Hsiung-nu or the Hūṇas,[19] who by the middle of the 5th century became powerful in the Oxus valley, disturbed the Sassanid empire, and moved into North-West India. Though checked by the Gupta emperor Skandagupta in the third quarter of the 5th century A.D., they were able to establish a big kingdom (including a part of the Gupta territory) by the late 5th and early 6th century A.D. In about A.D. 520 Sung-yun noticed the presence of the ruling family set up by the Ye-tha (or Hephthalites or White Huns) in Gandhāra. In India the power of the Hūṇas was eclipsed in the second quarter of the 6th century A.D.,[20] while in Central Asia they were ousted by the Turks between A.D. 563 and 567.[21] The Turks then dominated continuously Transoxiana and Indo-Iranian borderlands till the advent of the Arabs.[22]

In the post-Kushāṇa and pre-Arab period different ethnic groups thus moved from Central Asia to the Indian subcontinent. Many families of such groups might have permanently settled in the Indian subcontinent.[23] It has been suggested that the Gurjaras (a section of which later founded a powerful empire) and the Jats entered India in the wake of the Hephthalite invasion.[24] Traders and (Buddhist) monks from Transoxiana could have visited the subcontinent during this sub-period concerned.[25] But in number they were insignificant in comparison with those who migrated in large groups.

In contradistinction to the people of Central Asia, including Transoxiana, the Indians responded, on their part, to the migratory situation by moving to the Indo-Iranian borderlands, West Asia and Central Asia mainly in small groups or as individuals, in pursuit of vocations, trade and missionaries. The only notable exceptions were a large contingent of Indians settling in Khotan[26] and the Gypsies migrating to different lands probably from an age falling within our period.[27] But these episodes had no connection with Transoxiana, now in the U.S.S.R. However, the Gypsies probably wandered across Armenia, another part of the U.S.S.R.[28]

A few sources indicate the psesence of Indians in Transoxiana. "Statues of emperors and of dark-skinned, armour-plated warriors of an exotic, allegedly South Indian type, were a feature of the so-called Hall of Black guards" unearthed at Toprak-kala (Uzbekistan). "This led Tolstov to believe that Khorezmian troops at that time included Indians, a view which is not shared by some Soviet scholars".[29] Ruins of Buddhist monasteries, found in Transoxiana and datable to our period, allude to connection with Indian Buddhist sects and perhaps to the presence of Indian monks.[30] Five gold bars from Dalverzin-tepe bear Kharoshṭī inscriptions referring to them as owned or donated by monks of Kalana or Kalyāṇa (Kalyan, near Bombay).[31] According to a legend, a native of Pushkalāvatī (Charsada in N.W.F.P., Pakistan) travelled to a far off site for the purpose of decorating a Vihāra, which can be located in Transoxiana.[32] The evidence of the use of Kharoshṭī and Brāhmī scripts and the Prakrit language[33] and the discoveries of the representations of some Brahmanical deities[34] in different localities in Transoxiana also indicate India's cultural influence. These as well as the data-suggesting Transoxiana's trade with India may point to the presence of Indian traders in the former territory (see below). However, India's overall influence in Soviet Central Asia was never so abiding as in some localities of Chinese Central Asia, where even royal families and administration were probably Indianised.[35]

C

One of the reasons of contact between the Indian subcontinent and Soviet Central Asia was trade. There are indications of long distance trade between the north-western section of the Indian subcontinent and parts of the areas now in

Turkmenistan and Transoxiana of the U.S.S.R. in the pre-historic, proto-historic and early historic times.[36] The same situation might have continued and even improved upon in the late 6th century B.C. when sections of Transoxiana as well as north-western India came under the political jurisdiction of the Achaemenids and later under the Bactrian Greeks.[37] An indirect trade link between China and India via Transoxiana (as in later ages) may be envisaged for the Maurya age, if the *Arthaśāstra's* reference to *Chīnapaṭṭa* (Chinese silk) can be dated to about that period.[38]

Chang Ch'ien's report of *c.* 130-129 B.C., qouted in the *Shih-chi*, furnishes the first Chinese evidence of trade between Shen-tu (the country on the lower Indus) and Ta-hsia (eastern Bactria) controlled by the Yüeh-chih from the north of the Kuei (Oxus) river. The people of Ta-hsia were "clever at commerce" and its capital (Lan-shih) had a market "where all sorts of goods" were "bought and sold". Merchants of Ta-hsia used to visit markets in Shen-tu to buy materials".[39] By sometime of the 1st century A.D., if not from an earlier age, Chinese silk began to reach even the Indian port of Barygaza (Broach) via (Transoxiana) Bactria and routes in the subcontinent.[40] The rock engravings at Chilas displaying horses and an inscription referring to the liking of (the Indo-Parthian ruler) Gondophares for good horses[41] may allude to trade in horses conducted through the Gilgit route. This line of communication was connected by a route through Shu-lo (Kashgarh), a well-known commercial area, with Ta-yüan (or the Fergana region), famous for its fine horses.[42]

The Kushāṇa rulers, who understood the importance of trade as a source of revenue,[43] gained from India's trade with China via Bactria and Transoxiana. They also conquered parts of the Indian subcontinent, including Shen-tu or the lower Indus country, in order to control the Indo-Roman trade.[44] According to the *Hou Han-shu*, the Kushāṇas became "extremely rich and strong" after conquering Shen-tu, which had direct commercial relation with Ta-chin (Roman Orient).[45] Transoxiana and parts of India under the Kushāṇas became participants in this international trade. They were also partners in the internal trade of the empire, conducted through Bactria and the territory of the Paropanisadai, including Kao-fu or Kabul and Kapiśā or Begram, Kao-fu excelled in commerce.[46] Interesting articles of beauty and worth of Indian, Chinese, Egyptian, Syrian and Western origin of about 1st century A.D. have been unearthed at Begram II.[47] These include pieces of carved ivory of Indian origin, which remind us of those at Dalverzin-tepe.[48] Indian origin or influence is suggested by the bronze figure of a dancing girl discovered at Kara-Bulak.[49] Certain incised designs on pottery at Kosam are comparable with those on earthern wares of some nomadic tribes of Central Asia.[50] We also notice impact of materials brought from outside the empire on commercial items of different provinces including the regions in question. Imported "toilet trays" influenced and inspired production of similar objects at different sites like Taxila, Yavan, Ushtur Mulla, Dalverzin-tepe, etc.[51]

Horses from Ta-yüan in Transoxiana were surely imported into the Indian provinces of the Kushāṇa empire. As indicated by the evidence of K'ang T'ai, by the middle of the 3rd century A.D. the Yüeh-chih merchants began to supply horses to South-East Asia (including Ko-ying, to be placed in Malay peninsula or Sumatra).[52]

It appears that in Kushāṇa times Transoxiana's commercial link with India involved terminal trade as well as trade in transit. This character might not have changed in the post-Kushāṇa period as well. Horse apparently continued to be exported to India from Central Asia.[53] At least a part of China's trade with India passed through Transoxiana. Various sources indicate that China's major item of export was silk, and it received from or through India coral, pearl, glass, a few types of precious stone, and certain kinds of fragrance (like storax, bdllium, costus, myrrh, etc.).[54] In China's overland trade with the "West", Sogdian merchants played a great role.[55] In the first half of the 7th century A.D. Hsüan-tsang noticed international commercial markets in Sa-mo-kin (Samarkand) of Transoxiana and also in Ka-pi-shi or Kapiśī (to the south-east of the Hindu-Kush), which politically dominated *inter alia* Kan-to-lo or Gandhāra (Peshawar district of the subcontinent).[56] In the second half of the 6th and in the 7th century the zonal domination of the Turkish empire, extending from the frontiers of China to those of Persia and also to the confines of the Indian borderlands,[57] probably gave stability and security to Indo-central Asian trade. This trade, so far its Chinese, Persian and Central Asian aspects are concerned, somewhat declined by the late 7th and early 8th century when the Persian gulf ships began to sail to Canton to buy *inter alia* silk textiles of China.[58] This must have affected Sogdian traders the great carriers of Central Asian trade.[59]

The mechanism of Central Asia's trade with India is not very clear. The motivating factor was no doubt the lure of economic gain. One of the most important articles of commerce was Chinese silk which was in great demand in the Roman empire. The other important items were surely horse and different kinds of fragrance. On Indian sides we hear of commerical enterprisers (*vaṇik*) and itinerant traders (*sārthavāha*). Probably goods caused to be produced or procured by the former were carried through the overland routes by the latter. There must have been halting and trading stations on the routes.[60] The trade was carried on by barter, perhaps supplemented in certain sub-periods, as in the Kushāṇa age, by coins.

In view of the evidence of Indianisation of several localities on the trade-routes of Chinese Central Asia of Indian elements in art and religion in Transoxiana of the Kushāṇa and post-Kushāṇa periods, we may guess the presence of

Indian traders in the territory to the north of the Oxus. The Sogdian merchants' familiarity with Gilgit route is perhaps suggested by Sogdian graffiti on rock at Ziarat, Khomar, Shatial and Hunza in the extreme north-western corner of the Indian subcontinent.[61] The Indo-Transoxianan trade, however, could have been carried on, at least partially, by intermediaries of other countries.[62] The high noon was probably reached in the Kushāṇa period, in the wake of the international commerce involving China, Central Asia, India and the Roman empire.

D

Trade involved movement of people and the latter promoted transmission of religious ideas and culture. More often than not the missionaries travelled in the wake of trade. But the spread of culture resulted also through large scale migrations.

Inter-tribal rivalries and sometimes also ecological factors compelled peoples in or near Central Asia to migrate[63] and thereby set in motion chains of reactions, which often ended with the settlements of Central Asian tribes in the subcontinent. The outsiders, particularly the ruling groups from Central Asia or elsewhere, were not received by the Indian society with open arms. The orthodox writers and law-givers initially reacted against the foreign peoples with non-Indian customs and beliefs. However, gradually they accorded to these groups grudging recognition and ultimately accepted them within the four-fold caste system. Perhaps these peoples were politically and economically too important to be ignored by wordly-wise law-givers, who had to depend on the munificence of the rulers and the rich.[64]

In the *Mahābhāshya* the Śakas and the Yavanas were described as Śūdras who were "not expelled" (from the dish) (i.e. who were considered as "clean").[65] The *Manu-smṛiti* included the Śakas and certain other warlike peoples of foreign origin among the Kshatriyas who had gradually become *vṛishalas* (or contemptible men like Śūdras) for not observing daily rites and for violating injunctions in the Brāhmaṇas.[66] The *Harivaṁśa* and a few Purāṇas refer to them as Kshatriyas, who were prohibited from performing prescribed rites.[67] The famous Sagara legend apparently explains the reasons for degradation of their (social) status, but it really indicates their inclusion in the traditional system of the indigenous society. It seems that attempts were made to create the impression that the peoples concerned had been from time immemorial members of the indigenous society and that they had to be degraded in, and not ousted from, the caste-bound society.[68]

The Śakas and some other non-indigenous ruling peoples, on their turn, became patron of Indian religions and culture. They also contributed to the varigated nature of Indian society, having been responsible or instrumental in introducing several "foreign" traits in Indian culture in the post-Maurya, Śaka-Kushāṇa and post-Kushāṇa phases. As we have demonstrated elsewhere, such traits can be noticed in certain types of dress, ornament, head-gear and footwear, food-habits, utensils, furniture, music, systems of reckoning dates (including the introduction of the so-called Vikrama and Śaka eras), and Scythic and Central Asian elements in early Indian speeches, vocabularies, dramaturgy and rituals.[69]

Indians, including traders, missionaries and other migrants, contributed tremendously to early Central Asian art, science and culture, spiritual as well as material. The impact was no doubt, so far as the known data suggest, more abiding in the east than in the west.[70] Nevertheless, the deep Indian impact can be traced in the religious movements, art, architecture, vocabularies of early Transoxiana (i.e. Soviet or western Central Asia).[71]

The continuity of early Indian traits in mediaeval and modern Central Asia is not, however, clear in all desirable details, though, as demonstrated by B.A. Litvinsky, Indianism in thought and art made an impact on the Central Asian civilization of the Islamic period.[72] It is therefore imperative for the Soviet and Indian scholars to study in depth the feasibility of survival of early Indian and Central Asian traits in modern Central Asia and India respectively. The results of such investigations, done by a team of scholars, may allow us to discern the Indian or Central Asian grains in the mosaic of Central Asian or Indian culture.

Notes and References

1. *Hou Han-shu*, ch. 118; *Wei-Lüeh* quoted in P'ei Sung Chih's commentary on the *San-Kuo Chih*; Strabo, *Geographikon*, XI, 8, 9 and XV, 1, 11; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, VI, 21, 62-64; M.A. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I, p. 8; B.N. Mukherjee, "Evolution of the connotation of the Name Shen-tu", *Our Heritage*, Calcutta, Vol. XXXIII, pt. II, p. 71.
2. B.N. Mukherjee, *An Agrippan Source—A Study in Indo-Parthian History*, Calcutta, 1970, p. 193.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 209, n. 41. It is clear from the *Ch'ien Han-shu* that the Yüeh-chih left their "original home" between Tun-huang and Ch'i-lien (in Western Kansu) in the period of the Hsiung-nu ruler bearing the title of *Lao-shan-shan-yu* (*CHS*, ch. 96A, p. 14B) and that they were (at least partly) driven away from the Sai country by a chief of the Wu-sun some time after the conquest of that territory from the Sai or Śaka people when the same Hsiung-nu monarch was still ruling (*ibid.*, ch. 61). The name of the Hsiung-nu king is known as Chi-chu (*ibid.*, ch. 110, p. 10b). He ruled from 174 to 160 or 158 B.C. (A.L. Basham editor), *Papers on the Date of Kanishka*, Leiden, 1968, pp. 362-363; B. Watson, *Record of the Grand Historian of China*, vol. II, New York and London, 1961, pp. 173-175). Hence the Śaka movement towards Chi-pin began sometime between 174 and 160 or 158 B.C.
4. Patañjali, *Mahābhāshya*, II, 4, 10.
5. A.H. Dani, *Chilas, the City of the Nanga Parvat* (*Dyamar*), Islamabad, 1983, pp. 64, 70, 73 (no. 53), 93 (no. 72), 99 (no. 78), 102 and 110; *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient*, 1978, vol. LXV, p. 17.
6. For references to and a discussion on the sources, see *ASSIPH*, pp. 70 f.

7. The *Stathmoi Parthikoi*, datable to the late 1st century B.C. mentions Sakastana (sec. 18) (*ASSIPH*, pp. 211-12).
8. *ASSIPH*, p. 84 f.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 85 f and 167 f.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 98f.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 216 f. In this connection we should also note the possibility of a Śaka or Scythian invasion across the Hindu-Kush. A passage of the *Ta Es Ton Tyanea Apollonion* by Philostratus refers to "the Scythians who once invaded the country across the Caucasus" (III, 20). The intended country, as it is clear from the context, was India. And if the Caucasus included the Hindu-Kush, then the passage alludes to a Scythian invasion across the Hindu-Kush. But the statement occurs in connection with a mythical story and the name Caucasus might have also alluded to the Himalayas in general (Strabo, *Geographikon*, XV, 1, 11).
12. *ASSIPH*, pp. 13 f.
13. For references to and discussion on the sources, see *ibid.*, pp. 41 f.
14. *Shih-chi* ch. 123, pp. 3b and 5b; *CHS*, eh. 96A, p. 14b; *ASSIPH*, pp. 111-112; *The Calcutta Review*, 1985, vol. III, no. 1, pp. 29-31.
15. B.N. Mukherjee, *The Rise and Fall of the Kushāṇa Empire* epilogue; "Art in the Kushāṇa Empire: The Scope and Importance of its Study", *Calcutta Review*, vol. III, no. 1, 1985, pp. 29 f.
16. *Central Asia in the Kushāṇa Period*, vol. II, Moscow, 1975, p. 111.
17. B.N. Mukherjee. *The Kushāṇa Genealogy*, Calcutta, p. 92, n. 1.
18. *Pei-shih*, ch. 97, (reproduced in the *Wei-shu*, ch. 102, p. 8b).
19. *Pei-shih* ch. 97 (reproduced in the *Wei-shu*, ch. 102, p. 10a).
20. R.C. Majumdar (editor), *The Classical Age*, Bombay, 1954, pp. 34-39; A Biswas, *The Political History of the Hunas in India*, New Delhi, 1973, pp. 45f.
21. V.V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, Leiden, 1956, p. 7; P.C. Bagchi, *India and Central Asia*, Calcutta, 1955, p. 11.
22. V.V. Barthold, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
23. For an example we can refer to the Hūṇas mentioned in early mediaeval epigraphs.
24. V.A. Smith, *The Early History of India*, Oxford, 1924, pp. 422. Attempts have been made to trace the origin of certain Rajput clans to foreign hordes (*ibid.*, pp. 428 f).
25. I-Ching, *Chinese Monks in India*, (translated L. Lahiri), Delhi, 1986, pp. 4, 43 etc. In the Kushāṇa period Ghoshaka, a Tuhhāra, attended the Buddhist council convened by Kanishka I.
26. This is known from a local tradition (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1944, p. 86).
27. *The New Book of Knowledge*, New York, Vol. VII, 1973, p. 433; *Bhāratakosha* (in Bengali), vol. III, Calcutta, p. 521; J. Sampson, *The Dialects of the Gipsies, of Wales*, Oxford, 1926, pp. 1f.
28. See above n. 27.
29. G. Frumkir, *Archaeology of the Soviet Central Asia*, Leiden, 1970, p. 97.
30. B.A. Litvinsky *Outline of History of Buddhism in Central Asia*, Moscow, 1968, pp. 1 f. In the 7th century Prabhākaramitra of Nalanda travelled to the territory of Western Turks and taught Buddhism to their chief (R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 609).
31. *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 1981, vol. XXIII, nos. 1-2, pp. 163-164.
32. A. Foucher, *L'art Greco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra*, vol. II, (2), Paris, 1922, 1, 644.
33. For example see V.V. Vertogradova, *Indian Inscriptions aud Inscriptions in Unknown Lettering from Kara-Tepe in Old Temiz*, Moscow, 1987, pp. 101.
34. For examples we can refer to representations of dancing Śiva and Mahishāsura-mardinī at Pendzhikent.
35. B.N. Mukherjee, "Central Asia (including Northern Afghanistan)", *The Cultural Heritage of India*, vol. V (edited by S.K. Chatterji), Calcutta, 1978, pp. 703 f, especially pp. 704 and 716-717.

36. *Afghanistan*, 1969, vol. XXII. no. 2, pp. 16-19: 1970, vol. XXIII, no. 1, p. 89; *East and West*, 1976, vol. 26, p. 13; B. and R. Allchin, *The Rise of Civilization in India and Pakistan*, New Delhi, 1983, pp. 106, 107, 186, etc.
37. B.N. Mukherjee, *Kushāṇa Coins of the Lands of Five Rivers*, Calcutta, 1978, pp. 84-85. Importanee of trade must have been apparent to the Achaemenid King Darius I, who "looked to making a gain in everything" (*History*, III, 89), and to the Bactrian Greeks, who became "powerful" on account of the variety of products of the fertile soil of Bactria (Strabo, *Geographikon*, XI, 11, 1).
38. Kauṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*, II, 12.
39. *SC*, ch. 123, p. 5b.
40. *Periplous tes Erythras Thalassess*, sections 48 and 64.
41. *Chilas*, pp. 67, 99, 175, 181, etc; *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 1984, vol. XXVI, pp. 11-12.
42. *CHS*, ch. 96A, pp. 18a and 20b.
43. B.N. Mukherjee, "Revenue, Trade and Society in the Kushāṇa Empire", *Indian Historical Review*, vol. VII, nos. 1-2, pp. 24 f.
44. B.N. Mukherjee, *Economic Factors in Kushāṇa History*, Calcutta, 1970, pp. 11 f.
45. *HHS*, ch. 118, pp. 9a and 9b; *T'oung Pao*, 1915, s. II, vol. XVI, p. 690.
46. *HHS*, ch. 118, p. 9a.
47. M. Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, London, 1954, p. 193.
48. *Ibid.*, G.A. Pugochenkova, *Les T resors de Delverzine-Tepe*, Leningrad, 1978, p. 88.
49. B. Stavisky, *Mittelasien Kunst der Kuschan*, Leipzig, 1979, pl. 169.
50. *Central Asia in the Kushan period*, vol. I, Moscow, 1974, pp. 92-93; J.C. Gardin, *Céramiques des Bactres*, Paris, 1957, pp. 93 f.
51. *Information Bulletin*, International Association for the Study of the Cultures of Central Asia, no. 1, Moscow, 1982, pp. 47 f.
52. *K'ang-Tai's Wu shih wai kuo chuan* quoted in the *T'ai-p'ing Yu-lan*, ch. 359; *EFKH*, pp. 37-39.
53. Hsüan-Tsang, *Ta T'ang Hsi-yu-chi*, Chuan I; L. Gopal, *Economic Life of Northern India, c.* A.D. 700-1200, Delhi, 1965, pp. 91 and 116.
54. For a detailed study of these items with reference to the sources of informations, see Xirru Liu, *Ancient India and Ancient China, Trade and Religious Exchanges*, A.D. 1-600, Delhi, 1988, pp. 54 f.
55. L. Boulnois, *The Silk Road*, London, 1966, pp. 149 f. Colonies of Sogdian merchants grew up on routes to China. These traders must have also dealt with the goods of Seres which according to Ammianus Marcellinus of the 4th century A.D. were used to be sold along with Indian articles at Batne (near Zeugma on the Euphrates) (*Res Gestas*, XIV, 3, 3). A Sogdian merchant called Maniakh received the honorific title of Tarkhan from a Turkish Kagan and visited capital of the Byzantine and Sassanian empire to promote Sogdian trade (A. Belenitsky, *Central Asia*, London, 1969, 113); (L. Boulnoise, *op. cit.*, p. 147).
56. Hsüan-Tsang, *op. cit.*, Chuan I and II.
57. *Ibid.*, Chuan I; V.V. Barthold, *op. cit.*, p. 7; L. Boulnois, *op. cit.*, p. 153.
58, Wang Gungwu, "The Nan Hai Trade", *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Socity*, vol. XXXI, no. 2, pp. 75 and 79; G.F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring*, Beirut, 1963, pp. 46-50; K.N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean, An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750*, Cambridge, 1985, pp. 50-51.
59. No doubt, by the sixth decade of the 6th century a silk industry was born in the Byzantine empire. But it still needed foreign raw materials (L. Boulnoise, *op. cit.*, p. 146).
60. The *Stathmoi Parthikoi* enumerates such stations in the Parthian empire from Mesopotamia to Arachosia near India. We may guess that in the Indo-Central Asian trade Buddhist monasteries could have been used as carakansarais.

61. A.H. Dani, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

62. A. Belenitsky, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

63. In this connection see A.J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, Abridgement of vol. I-VI by D.C. Somervell, London, 1949, p. 170.

64 B.N. Mukherjee, *Mathura and Its Society—The Saka-Pahlava Phase*, 1981, p. 197.

65. *Mahābhāshya*, II, 4, 10.

66. *Manu-smṛiti*, X, 34 and 44.

67. *Harivaṁsa* (edited by R. Kinjawadekar), XIV, 1-9; *Vāyu purāṇa, pūrvārdha*, 88, 122 f; *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, III, 62 120 f; etc.

68. For references to the sources narrating the Sagara legend and a discussion on it, see B.N. Mukherjee, *The Pāradas—A Study in Their Coinage and History*, Calcutta, 1972, pp. 53f. Similarly a native origin of some Rajput clans, probably hailing from outside, was concocted in a novel way. They were described as having originated from a sacrificial fire-pit (V.A. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 428).

69. *MISSPP*. pp. 112 f, 121 f, 122 f, 176 f and 200 f. It is interesting to note that cumin (*jīrāka*), pomegranate (*dāḷima*) and onion (*palāṇḷ*) are considered by some scholars, though on not very convincing grounds, to have been introduced in India by the Śakas. According to Hsuan-tsang, (*op. cit.*, Chuan III), peaches and pears were introduced in the subcontinent by hostages from a vassal state of China to the court of (Kushāṇa) Kanishka (I).

70. L. Hambis and others, *L'Asia Centrale, historic et civilisation*, Paris, pp. 86f; B.N. Mukherjee, "Central Asia (including Northern Afghansitan)", *The Cultural Heritage of India*, vol. V, pp. 703 f.

71. G.M. Bongard-Levin, "India and Central Asia—Historico-Cultural Contacts in Ancient Times", *Studies in Ancient India and Central Asia*, Calcutta, 1971, pp. 203 f; *India, 1985-86 Ezhegodnik* (edited by P.V. Kushchobin), Moscow, pp. 226 f; B.A. Litvinsky, *Outline History of Buddhism in Central Asia*, Moscow, 1968, pp. 3 f; A. Belenitsky, *Central Asia*, pp. 51 f; etc.

72. *East and West*, ns, vol. 31, nos. 1-4, 1981, pp. 35 f". Not only Buddhism as an a ideology but also the cultic buildings and art connected with this ideology were an important integral part of the culture of the people of Central Asia before the advent of Islam, and had a considerable influence on the development of Central Asian Civilisation of the Islamic period". (*ibid.*, p. 66).

4

Social, Political and Economic Systems: The Buddhist Approach

KEWAL KRISHAN MITTAL

Buddhism, as one of the major world Religions having a unique Philosophy, has admirably managed to survive and prosper through all sorts of vicissitudes for the last over 2500 years. It has been co-existing in all situations with all sorts of Social, Political and Economic Systems all the while under all kinds of circumstances of theirs—of dominance of the one at one time and of the other at another time, of the one in one region and that of the other in another and the like—without ever specially favouring the one against the other or frowning at any one of them. The reason for such an attitude of active impartiality towards and a sympathetic understanding of all the contending social, political and economic systems, on the part of the Buddhists, lies in that Philosophic Wisdom (*Prajñā*)—their world-view—that enjoins on them a balanced life of compassion (*Karuṇā*), friendliness (*Maitṛ*), joy (*muditā*) and indifference (*upekṣā*) towards all.

Before we understand as to what are the basic and fundamental doctrines of that philosophy as also how does a grasp of them helps one to make one's peace with all and quarrel with none—a goodwill for all and malice towards none—it would be appropriate to remind ourselves of the teachings of the Buddha which have come down to us in the form of four noble truths enunciated by the Buddha himself, according to the tradition. The first noble truth is that of suffering (*Duḥkha*) in accordance with which nothing that is there in the world is beyond the sway of decline and death (*jarāmaraṇa*). The second is that of the cause of suffering (*Duḥkha-Samudaya*) which in its elucidation and explanation turns out to be nothing but ignorance (*Avidyā*) which leads to decline and death (*jarāmaraṇa*) through impressions (*Saṁskāras*), consciousness (*vijñāna*), psycho-physical organism (*nāmarūpa*), six-sense-organs (*ṣadāyatana*), contact (*sparśa*), feelings (*vedanā*), desire (*trisnā*), grasping base (*upādāna*), will to be (*bhava*), birth (*jāti*). The twelve-linked chain of causation (*dvādaśanidāna*) represents the fact of being and becoming in the world. The third noble truth is that of the cessation of suffering (*Duḥkha-nirodha*) and is indicative of the end of ignorance bringing about the bliss of the *Nirvāṇa*—The *Summum Bonum*—through *jñāna* i.e. the perfect understanding. The fourth noble truth is that of the suffering removing eight-fold middle path (*Duḥkha-nirodha gāminī Aṣṭāṅgika madhyamā pratipadā*) consisting of the eight steps such as those of the Rightview (Samyakdṛṣṭi), Right Resolve (*Samyak Saṁkalpa*) Right Speech (*Samyak vāka*), Right conduct (*Samyak ācāra or karmānta*), Right livelihood (*Samyakājīva*), Right effort (*Samyak Vyāyāma*), Right mindfulness (*Samyak Smṛti*) and Right or properly balanced intellect (*Samyak Samādhi*).

It is with the properly balanced intellect that the cause of suffering i.e. ignorance is destroyed through understanding the real character of the world. The real character of the world according to such an understanding is an affirmation of the fact of *jarāmaraṇa*) i.e. decline and death in accordance with which there is no existent—be that an individual, a group, an institution, an ideology or a system (Social, Political, Economic or of any other nature) that having come into being does not meet its decline and death. Death, itself however not being a total extinction means only a change of being from a nature of one kind to another different or opposed to the earlier one. This ensures the continuity of the world through all its changes and brings forth the 2nd characteristic of the world i.e. Impermanence (*anityatā*) in accordance with which nothing is there that stays put in the same very nature for ever. In fact, in accordance with this characteristic of the world, there is no moment without change. A third characteristic that is there of the world is that it has no being which is substantial in character (*anātmatā*). Nothing here has a self-identity (*ātmā*).

Having such an understanding of the world in terms of its triple character of *Duḥkhatā*, *Anityatā* and *Anātmatā* there arose in Buddhism three schools of Philosophy as far as the understanding of the ontological aspect of reality is concerned. One of them namely, *Sarvāstivāda* holds that any individual, society, social, political or economic system at any given present moment represents the push and pull of its past and future. One with sufficient experience of the dynamic nature of things can and does know about the past and can predict about the future of that thing. What we are as youths is determined, in a large measure, by our childhood and in what way are we going to develop as the old ripe men does depend similarly on what sort of a character as youth do we have.

Feudalism, Capitalism, Socialism and Communism, if they are the Economic Systems in continuation with each other then at any given time whatever be the state of affairs that shall be representative of all of them having in it all their elements--with good as well as bad points.

Another, the *Śūnyavāda* holds that precisely because of the *Duḥkhatā*, *Anityatā* and *Anātmāta* character of the 'beings' in the world no thing, no person, no system (Social, Political or Economic) can be regarded as 'this', 'other than this', and 'neither this nor other than this'. If we thoroughly examine any system then we are bound to realize that the same is not what we take it to be on a cursory glance. Nor is it just the opposite or the other than that, nor both nor neither. Reality according to this stipulation is free of the four categories (*catuṣkoṭivinirmukta*) of description we are familiar with. A Democratic System that allows Watergate type scandals can not be described as a democracy. Nor, of course, can it be described as other than a democracy. It would be a contradiction in terms if we say that a democracy is not a democracy and the fourth statement that it is neither a democracy nor a non-democracy sounds meaningless. "The Peoples' Democracy" is, of course, a misnomer.

The Third Philosophic School of Buddhism, namely *vijñānavāda* considers all beings, systems, institutions and ideologies as nothing but as many items in a fleeting dream as it upholds the view that a world with the above said triple characteristics can be nothing but a dream world only. If our truth is as strange as is fiction then what is the line of distinction between a waking life experience and a dream life experience? We can not draw any such line. All our quarrels about various ideologies are there when we sharply differentiate them from each other. We can not do so if every one represents all, is unidentifiable in itself or is mixed up like the dream stuff.

Having such a Philosophic understanding alone Buddhism has gone on with its welfare-seeking way faring from its inception to this day having 'For the Happiness of the many and for the good of the many' (*Bahujana Sukhāya Bahujana Hitāya*) as its motto wherein the many really is that logical some which means all and the criterion for deciding about the beneficiaries is not at all the distinction in terms of the followers of this ideology or the other.

A Buddhist's friendliness and compassion are as much for the 'haves' as for the 'have nots' for, he thinks that there are no such absolute distinctions. A 'have' of today may become 'have not' tomorrow, a 'have not' (proletariate) in economic terms may be a 'have' in physical process (a 'capitalist' of a sort) and a 'have' (capitalist) in economic terms may be utterly lacking in capacity to perform the function of a labourer and thus shall be a 'have-not' of a sort. All progress, all production, comes out of co-operation between the 'haves' and 'have nots' through sharing in their respective capabilities and not through any conflict as is wrongly understood, by some so called 'progressive' upstarts.

Buddhism stands for co-operation co-existence and common weal of all irrespective of their changing social, political and economic garbs and so, I think, do all the other major Religions of the world, each of them in its own way. The Social, Political and Economic Systems are changing, removing and replacing each other in quick succession and thus are affecting each other. Internal changes too go on taking place within each one of them. Either each one of them is just a conglomeration of the items wellfitting, illfitting, congenial or hostile etc. so that it is not possible to characterise it properly as this, that or the other or even though it can be characterised but that characterisation of it is extremely relative and ephemeral like a dream experience. Buddhism takes full note of this situation and it is this that enables it to maintain its active impartiality, friendliness and compassion towards one and all.

5

The Concept of *Yugas* and the Doctrine of *Karma*

Y. KRISHAN

The concept of *yugas* runs counter to the doctrine of *karma*. This would be quite evident if we examine the nature of *yugas*.

(i) A *mahāyuga* is of the duration of 12,000 divine years or 4,320,000 human years. It consists of four *yugas*: *Kṛta* or *Satya*, *Tretā*, *Dvāpara* and *Kali*. Each *yuga* is of different duration. *Kṛta* is the longest running 1,728,000 human years and *Kaliyuga* being the shortest having 4,32,000 human years only.

(ii) The quality of moral life of the four *yugas* also varies considerably. *Kṛta* is a perfect *yuga* in which *dharma* or righteousness prevails. Men and women do virtuous deeds, *puṇya karmas*. Decadence sets in with the end of *Kṛta*; in the *Tretā* there is decline of one-fourth of the *dharma*; in *Dvāpara*, *dharma* and *adharma* match each other; and in *Kaliyuga*, *dharma* is reduced to one-fourth. In other words in Kaliyuga, *adharma* predominates. Thus the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*[1] XII. 3.18-25 states that in the *Satyayuga* people practice truth, compassion, asceticism and charity; in *Tretā*, *Dvāpara* and *Kali yugas*, these virtues progressively decline to three-fourths, half and one fourth. In consequence violence, discontent, falsehood and hatred increase correspondingly. In *Satyayuga*, *sattva guṇa*, predominates, in *Tretā*, *rajas*, in *Dvāpara* *rajas* and *tamas*, and in *Kaliyuga*, *tamas* predominate. *Bhāgavata* XII. 3.25-29. According to *Vāyupurāṇa* 8.65 and *Kūrma-purāṇa* 1.27.17 the life style is materially different in the four *yugas*: it prescribes the practice of supreme meditation (*dhyānam param*) in the *Kṛta*, of knowledge (*jñāna*) in the *Tretā*, sacrifices (*yajña*) in the *Dvāpara* and Charity (*dāna*) in the *Kali* ages. *Garuḍa-purāṇa*[2] 223. 23, 27, 28 also avers that in the Kaliyuga, men are vicious, ruthless and evil-minded. *Garuḍa-purāṇa Dharma* (*Pretakhanda*) II. 20.18 says "from the beginning of *Satya-yuga* to the end of *Dvāpara* nobody became a *preta* and nobody suffered from *preta*". In other words *pretas* are a phenomenon of *Kaliyuga* only.

(iii) *Kaliyuga* has peculiar features. In this age of evil, a man will acquire by trifling exertion as much eminence in virtue as is the result of arduous penance in the *Kṛta*, the age of purity (*Viṣṇupurāṇa* VI.1.58).[3] In fact, *Viṣṇupurāṇa* VI. 2.14-20 says that virtues take ten years in the *Kṛta*, one year in the *Tretā*, one month in the *Dvāpara*, and one day and night in the *Kali yugas* to bear fruit. To quote this *Purāṇa* VI. 2.31-37 again "in the *Kali* age duty is discharged by very little trouble by mortals whose faults are washed away by the water of their individual merits; by Śūdras through diligent attendance only upon the twice born, and by women through the slight effort of obedience to their husbands". *Kūrmapurāṇa* 1.28-36 says *Anāyāsena sumahat puṇyamāpnoti mānavaḥ aneka doṣaduṣṭasya kalereṣa mahān guṇāḥ.* In spite of many ills of the *Kali* age it has a great merit that man can acquire very great virtue with consummate ease (through the worship of Mahādeva). Therefore *Kali* age is considered to be the best of all the ages: *anenaikena guṇena sarvaśreṣṭhā.*[4] *Bhāgavata* XII. 3.51-52 says "Indeed there is one great virtue possessed by the *Kali* age, the storehouse of (all) evils ...... By merely chanting the names and glories of Śrī Kṛṣṇa one is freed from (all) attachments and reaches the Supreme. What is attained in *Satyayuga* by one contemplating the Lord Viṣṇu, in *Tretā* by one who propitiates him through sacrifice, and in *Dvāpara* through worship (of the Lord), is attained in the *Kali* age (merely) by chanting the name and singing the praise of Śrī Hari. The *Garuḍa-purāṇa*[5] I. 223.36-37 reiterates: The only one great redeeming feature in the *Kaliyuga* is the fact that reasons will be able to shake off the fetters of re-birth, by once singing the praise of Kṛṣṇa. The merit, which is acquired by meditation in the *Satyayuga*, by celebrating religious sacrifices in the *Tretā*, by serving the god in the *Dvāpara*, may be acquired in the *Kaliyuga* by singing the praise of Viṣṇu".

(iv) Another peculiar feature of the *yuga* theory is that, according to the *Kūrmapurāṇa* 1.45.20-21 these *yugas* occur only in the Bhāratavarṣa and nowhere else. *Karmabhūmirayam viprā narānāmadhikāriṇām.* According to the *Brahmavaivarta* 28.15 *śubhānāmaśubhānānca karmanām janme Bhārate/ Puṇya kṣetre atre sarvatra nānyatra bhuñjetajanāḥ//* The good and evil deeds are born in the sacred land of Bhārata or India and they are experienced by the people here and nowhere else. Thus India is the *Karma bhūmi*.

The Buddhists[6] also accepted the theory of *Kalpa* or great time cycle; they held that the universe evolves and dissolves through four great *Kalpas*; each *Kalpa* has four *yugas*: *Kṛta*, *Tretā*, *Dvāpra* and *Kali*, which are dominated by good and evil in different but definite proportions as in Hinduism. The Buddha is not born in *Kaliyuga* in which evil predominate overwhelmingly. The periodic destruction[7] of the world is brought about by the predominance of evil: passion, hatred and infatuation.

The Jainas also believe in two great time cycles:[8] *utsarpiṇī* (ascending or progressive) and *avasarpiṇī* (descending or regressive). Each of these time cycles is divided into six time stages (*kālas*)—varying from totally unhappy or bad (*duṣamā-duṣamā*) to entirely happy or good (*suṣamā-suṣamā*) in the *utsarpiṇī* and vice versa in *avasarpiṇī*.

In the first stage of *avasarpiṇī* the people enjoy a life of complete happiness; their needs are supplied by *Kalpa vṛkṣas*, wish fulfilling trees: they have no effort (*Karma*) to do to obtain them. In fact they enjoy the fruits of good deeds done in their previous lives. It is *akarmabhūmi* or *bhogabhūmi*. The life span is very long and is free from sorrow and suffering. In subsequent stages there is diminution and eventual disappearance of *Kalpa vṛkṣas*, decrease in the life span and stature, increase in suffering and growth of violence and social conflicts.

However in the 3rd and 4th time: stages of these time cycles, good and evil, happiness and unhappiness are, more or less, balanced. It is not only in these time stages that human beings can attain enlightenment.

The Jaina concept of time cycles is not essentially different from that of the Hindus and Buddhists.

The concept of time cycles, *yugas*, is patently contrary to the law of *karma*. It is illogical that there be concentration of virtue in one age and of evil in another. Surely such a concentration of good or evil in a particular period of time could not be due to good and evil actions, *Karmas*, of individuals.

Again it is paradoxical and irrational that in *Kaliyuga* a person can earn considerable stock of merit by little effort, limited good *karma*, whereas in *Kṛtayuga*, it should take considerable effort, much good *karma*, to obtain the same stock of merit. In other words, results or consequence of *karmas* are not dependent on the quality and quantity of *karmas* but on the *yuga* or time stage in which they are done. This robs the doctrine of *Karma* of its moral significance.

It is also wholly un-understandable that *yugas*- time span concept should have limited geographical application, that is *Bhāratavarṣa* only whereas the doctrine of *Karma* is universal in its operation. Likewise it is anomolous that a person can hope to become a *jina* only in certain time stages and not in others, his ethical discipline and penitential practices notwithstanding.

These incongruities and contradictions between the doctrine of *Karma* and the concept of *yugas* appear to arise from the fact that the two are entirely different in their origin and content. Pargiter[9] had explained that the theory of *Caturayugas* or a *mahāyuga* was a later development. "It was a fanciful brahmanical elaboration." More specifically the doctrine of *Karma* has ancient roots going back to the *Vedic* period and it was formulated in the most ancient *Upaniṣads*.[10] The concept of *Caturayugas* was formulated in the *Purāṇas* after the solar *yugas* of the *Siddhānta Jyotiṣa* displaced the lunar *yuga* of the *Vedāṅta Jyotiṣa* in about the 2nd-3rd century A.D.

Further the doctrine of *Karma* is a theory of causation within the 'framework' of infinite time (*anādi*—without a beginning and *ananta*—without an end) and perpetual growth and decay, creation and dissolution of the phenomenal world; the theory of *yugas* postulated temporary pauses or interruptions in the cosmic evolution and varying proportions of time-spans and their moral quality, *dharma* (righteousness) and *adharma* (unrighteousness). In particular, the doctrine of *Karma* is a doctrine of moral retribution, individualistic and personalistic, whereas the theory of *yugas* is cosmogonic. There are thus fundamental differences between the doctrine of *Karma* and the concept of *yugas* and the attempt at hybridization produced such incongruous results.

Notes and References

1. C.L. Goswami (ed. & tr.), *Bhāgavata Mahāpurāṇa*, Gorakhpur, 1971.
2. M.N. Dutt (tr.), *Garuḍa-Purāṇa*, Calcutta, 1908; *Garuḍa-Purāṇa*, translated by a Board of Scholars, Delhi, 1979, Part II.
3. H.H. Wilson (ed. & tr.) *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, Delhi 1980 and *Vāyupurāṇa* 23.72; 58.72.
4. Wilson, *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 873, fn. 18.
5. M.N. Dutt, *Ibid.*, p. 741.
6. R.S. Hardy: *A Manual of Buddhism*, Varanasi 1967, pp. 6-8.
7. *Visuddhimagga* XIII.
   He Warrens *Buddhism in Translations*, New York 1963 (ed.), p. 329.
8. *Bhagavatīsūtra* 7.6.12.18; Jinasna *Mahāpurāṇa* (ed. & tr.) Panna Lal Jain, Bhartiya Jnana Peetha, Kashi 1951, Vol. I-III, 1.237; Jinasena; *Harivaṁśapurāṇa*, (ed. & tr.) Panna Lal Jain, Bhartiya Jnana Peetha. J.C. Buhler, *The Indian Sect of the Jainas*, Calcutta 1968 (reprint), Biographical Notes & p. 7. P.S. Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification*, Delhi 1979, pp. 30-31.
9. F.E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, Delhi 1962, pp. 175, 178. *Purāṇas* in *Encyclopaedia of Religion & Ethics*, Edinborugh, Vol. X, pp. 449-451.
10. Y. Krishan, 'The *Vedic* Origin of the Doctrine of *Karma*', *South Asian Studies*, Cambridge, 1988.

6

Some Notes on the Bent-Bar Coinage

R. J. HEBERT

In choosing an appropriate topic for the Shri R.C. Agrawal Felicitation Volume, it has seemed apposite to me to write on a subject in which Shri R.C. Agrawal had an early and continuing interest. Looking over his many publications ranging from 17th century Ḍhabbūka to the early local coins of Rajasthan, from the 6-headed Skanda to punch-marked coins in the Sikar Museum, and from medieval coins of Mewar to the Varamalāta and Vyāghrumukha, it seems quite apt and correct to report and comment on a hoard of some fifty bent-bar coins of the Upper Ganges Valley sent to us some time ago for study and possible acquisition (*Plate* 6.1-3). Neither the find spot nor the circumstances of the group are known, nor is it certain if the hoard is complete.[1]

Scholars have classified bent-bars into two groups, those of the Upper Ganges Valley: the silver-plated pieces issued by the states of Kuru and Pañchāla which controlled the region north of Delhi from the Age of the Janapadas until the 4th century when the area was incorporated within the Kingdom of Magadha, probably by Mahāpadma Nanda, and those of the Indus Valley: the silver pieces issued by cities of Taxila to the east of the river Indus and Gandhāra to the west of that river. The latter group can be subdivided into two groups: the flat bars, and the bent-bars.[2]

The silver plated copper bent-bars have already been noted in the numismatic literature and are considered to be imitations of the Taxila pieces. The copper pieces are not known in Pakistan where the silver pieces have been found, but are found farther east, for example at excavations at Kosam, near Allahabad.[3]

The weights of the pieces left with us for study are as follows:

10.536 gr.
10.726 gr.
10.733 gr.
10.753 gr.
10.794 gr.
10.836 gr.
10.867 gr.
10.937 gr.
10.941 gr.
10.998 gr.
11.026 gr.
11.071 gr.
11.168 gr.
11.201 gr.
11.252 gr.
11.254 gr.
11.267 gr.
11.303 gr.
11.320 gr.
11.330 gr.
11.335 gr.
11.344 gr.
11.359 gr.
11.392 gr.
11.393 gr.
11.402 gr.
11.438 gr.
11.444 gr.
11.489 gr.
11.491 gr.
11.512 gr.
11.520 gr.
11.522 gr,
11.593 gr.
11.593 gr.
11.599 gr.
11.605 gr.
11.603 gr.
11.672 gr.
11.701 gr.
11.783 gr.
11.821 gr.
11.945 gr.
11.962 gr.
12.161 gr.
12.277 gr.

This represents a mean weight of 11.353 grams which is correct for the śatamāna tariffed as equivalent to the Persian shekel or double siglos of 11.2 gr.[4]

There may be some value in quoting Gupta's remarks on the bent-bar coinage of Gandhāra since much of what he says can be applied to the Upper Ganges coinage as well.[5]

> Gandhara issued coins of the peculiar shape of a concave long bar, about 1″ to 1.75″ in length and averaging about 0.4″ in width. The bars appear to to be strips cut from oblong ingots. The width of the ingots determined the length of the coins, the thickness remaining the same. The strips were, therefore, cut into a width which, combined with the other two dimensions, gave the required weight. After being cut, the bars were adjusted more exactly to the correct weight by chiselling the corners and in some cases the obverse sides. A common symbol was punched on them twice, one each at end of the bar. The coins were struck while hot on a wooden anvil, which resulted in the concaveness of the coins. The dies used for punching the the coins were substantially wider than the pieces; so the complete impression of the symbol is rarely seen. The symbol is a circular design composed of six tridents and a pole radiating from a central circle. The coins in a fresh condition would be in the proximity of 183 grains; but they are generally found between 150 and 180 grains, according to their condition. Sometimes on the obverse, i.e., on the concave side, some minute punches are also noticed, which were subsequently punched on them as test marks. Since these coins are found in that part of the country, which was within the bounds of the Persian Empire from the end of the sixth to the middle of the

fourth century B.C., some scholars think that these coins were based on the weight standard of the Persian *siglos* and represented double *sigloi*. Coins of smaller denominations weighing 90, 80, 43, 20 and 7 grains are also known as having been used by this state. They are different in shape from the above coins and are cup-shaped, irregular pieces and bear only one punch of the same symbol which is found on the bigger coins.

It is very unfortunate, in view of the importance of this kind of material, that the find-spot and the circumstances are unknown. Nevertheless, there may be some value in reporting this group with indications for the use of scholars interested in early Indian monetary history.*

Notes and References

1. The circumstances of the find are vague as usual. A British dealer acquired them more than four years ago from a South Asian wholesaler who stated that the hoard was complete and that it had come from the Upper Ganges region which is consistent with what we know of the find spots of this type of material. The pieces were then turned over to an Ameriean scholar who kept four for his own collection and turned the rest over to us for study and possible acquisition. The pieces were purchased for us by the well-known firm of Stack's and werc displayed in our exhibit, Aditi: The Monies of India, which opened October 24, 1985 and which only recently came down.
2. PP. 530-1, Michaen Mitchiner, *The Ancient and Classical World 600 B.C.—A.D. 650* (London, 1978). It is important to note that Joe Cribb in "Investigating the introduction of coinage in India—a review of recent research," *JNSI* vol. 45 (1983) pp. 80-101, disputes the validity of the historical methodology employed to establish the date for the inception of coinage in India, and upholds John Allan's views that the concept arrived in the area in the 4th century B.C. It should also be noted that there do exist in a private collection in this country a 1/4 śatamāna, 1/12 śatamāna, and a 1/16 śatamāna (the latter with a design of 5 prongs).
3. C.C. Das Gupta, "Coins from Kosam Excavations." *JNSI*, vol. 12, No. 1 (June 1950), pp. 74-81; Dolly Mukherjee, "Copper bent-bar coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, *JNSI* vol. 41 (1979), pp. 1-7, who describes 109 coins forming part of a hoard found during excavations at Kauśāmbī during 1837-38 at the Mauryan level near the Aśokan Pillar (see Das Gupta); Michael Mitchiner, *Origins of Indian Coinage*, London 1973.
4. It is not may intention, in making this comparison, to imply that the bent-bar pieces were not of indigenous origin or that they were derivations of Persian or Mesopotamian ingots. There are good reasons for considering them of Indian origin.
5. pp. 12-13, P.L. Gupta, *Coins*, New Delhi 1969. Conversions are as follows: 183 grains=11.792 grams; 180 grains=11.664 grams; 150 grains=9.720 grams; 90 grains=5.832 grams; 80 grains=5.184 grams; 43 grains=2.785 grams; 20 grains=1.296 grams; and 7 grains=.453 grams.

* Photos courtesy Charles Rand, NNC Staff Photographer.

7

Experimentation in the Coinage of Apollodotus I

DAVID W.MAC DOWALL

The existence of two kings called Apollodotus in the Indo-Greek series, Apollodotus I ruling in the Paropamisadae and adjoining provinces, a contemporary of Eucratides and Apollodotus II ruling in the Panjab and adjacent provinces very much later, right at the end of Indo-Greek rule, a contemporary of the Indo-Scythian king Maues, is no longer in doubt. The thesis for which Jenkins,[1] Guepin,[2] Wilson and I[3] argued thirty years ago against Narain,[4] has now been established irrefutably by three important recent discoveries:

(a) Two coins of Apollodotus I have been discovered in the French excavations at Aï Khanoum, the Bactrian Greek city on the river Oxus that was destroyed by the nomad invasion of Bactria shortly after the 24th regnal year of Eucratides.[5] One was a square bilingual Indian silver drachm of the Elephant/Bull type, the other a square bilingual copper coin of the Apollo/tripod type attributed to Apollodotus I. These finds in a secure archaeological context establish a clear *terminus ante quem* for the reign of Apollodotus I—before the 24th regnal year of Eucratides Megas.

(b) The 1973 hoard of Alexander, Seleucid and Bactrian silver tetradrachms found in the Aï Khanoum excavations[6] contained a unique Bactrian

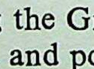
Attic tetradrachm of Apollodotus. The latest tetradrachms in the hoard were Agathocles (3), Antimachus I (2) and Eucratides Megas (1). This hoard gives equally clear and independent evidence for the context of Apollodotus I—before the end of the reign of Eucratides Megas.

(c) The hoard of Indo-Greek and Kṣaharāta silver drachms from Gogha on the Gujarat seacoast[7] contained Indian silver drachms of Apollodotus II types—the diademed bust/Pallas thundering type with coins of the Kṣaharāta satrap Nahapāna of the first century A.D., demonstrating the continued currency of the latest Indo-Greek drachms (here of Apollodotus II) into the satrap period.

There can now be no possible doubt that Apollodotus I was an early Indo-Greek king, one of the first to rule extensive territories south of the Hindu-Kush mountains, and the first king to issue a bilingual Greek/Kharoshthi silver coinage for his new provinces.

We can distinguish three series in the silver coinage of Apollodotus I :

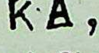
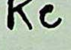
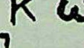
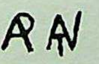
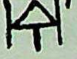
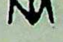
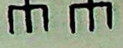
The first series consisted of round Attic hemidrachms, a denomination taken directly from the Attic/Seleucid monetary system of Bactria, struck to a weight standard of 2.1 gm., half the weight of the Bactrian drachm of c. 4.2 gm.[8] Being intended for use in India, their legend giving the king's name and titles was placed on the reverse in Kharoshthi, translating the Greek of the obverse. In deference to Indian numismatic tradition of the time, and possibly because Apollodotus was a sub king and not the king of Bactria, there was no royal portrait. Both obverse and reverse types were drawn from characteristic Indian animals—the elephant and the Indian humped bull. Unlike most contemporary Bactrian issues, the coins had no monograms.

The second series consisted of square Attic hemidrachms—the same denomination, with the same obverse and reverse types and legends, struck to the same weight standard, but now in square shape more like that of the existing Mauryan punch marked silver.[9] This series now has Mauryan symbols on the obverse—a six-armed symbol, a solar symbol, river and Buddhist stupa or chaitya of the type found on punch-marked silver. In the reverse field above the bull is a symbol that seems to be a Greek monogram  .

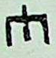
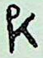
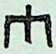
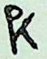
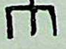
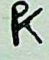
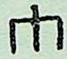
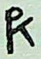
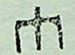
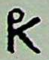
The third and principal series consisted of the familiar square Indian drachms of Apollodotus I, struck to the new higher Indian weight standard of 2.45 gm., but retaining the same obverse and reverse types and legends as in series 2.[10] Parallel to this emission of square bilingual silver Indian drachms, Apollodotus I struck square bilingual copper coins with a figure of Apollo standing with his name and titles in Greek on the obverse, and a Tripod with his name and titles in Kharoshthi on the reverse.[11] The denomination broadly copies the shape of the oblong copper coins with a pronounced incuse of Pantaleon, Agathocles and the preceding Mauryans; but Apollodotus no longer strikes his coppers with a prominent incuse and now puts his name and titles in Kharoshthi, not Brahmi script. Most of the square silver and copper coins of Apollodotus' third and principal issue have a Greek monogram on both obverse and reverse side of the coin. This is an innovation. His predecessors Pantaleon and Agathocles had no monogram on their square coppers struck in India, and Apollodotus himself had no monograms on his Attic hemidrachms. It is also a major development of Bactrian practice. Most Bactrian issues had a monogram but only one—on the reverse side of the coin.

Monograms and Mints

The monograms found regularly on the Indo-Greek coinage remain a baffling and unsolved mystery. Cunningham,[12] who had an unrivalled knowledge of the distribution and find spots of the coinage, tried unsuccessfully to relate the component Greek letters of the monograms to the names of supposed mint towns. Tarn[13] appositely reminds us that the eastern Greek kingdoms in Bactria and India were Seleucid successor states copying the coinage of the Seleucids; and that the monograms on Seleucid coins represented moneyers—mint masters, city magistrates, officinae controllers or responsible officials in charge of the operation of minting coins, holding offices that may at times have been hereditary. Monograms may also represent the initials of recurring Greek names and identity of monogram is not necessarily an indication of mint identity. Even so the basic problem remains. We still need to know, if it can be established, which mint locations were associated with particular monograms representing the initials of the same name in a particular coinage.

Mitchiner,[14] who regards Apollodotus I as an associated sub king of Eucratides attributes every monogram of Apollodotus I, as of other kings to a specific mint: ,  and  to Panjhir, ΞΕΝΟ to Pushkalavati,  to south Chach,  to north Chach,  to Taxila,  to Jammu on the silver, with a comparable range of attributions for the square coppers. If the pattern that Mitchiner envisages is correct, it would be reasonable to find it reflected in the pattern of coin finds in the provinces that these multiple mints might have been expected to serve. In hoards of silver drachms, we should find differing proportions of monograms in hoards from different localities reflecting the location of the supplying mints; and in site finds of copper coins we should find the supposedly local monograms more commonly in finds from their own province—in the primary provinces of the Paropamisadae, Arachosia, Gandhara and Taxila. But this is not the case with the silver and copper coins of Apollodotus I.

The monogram distribution of silver drachms

Monogram counts are available for two major finds containing substantial numbers of silver drachms of Apollodotus I, Cunningham's publication of the First Bajaur hoard from Gandhara[15] and Bivar's monogram count of the coins in the Kabul Museum from the Mir Zakah "hoard" from Arachosia.[16] In each hoard the monogram  or  is to be found on more than 60% of the square bilingual silver drachms of the Apollodotus I. The commonest monogram in the Bajaur hoard in Gandhara is  with 36%. But this is also the commonest monogram at Mir Zakah in Arachosia with 42%. The next most common monogram in the Bajaur hoard is  with 24%. But it is also the second most common monogram at Mir Zakah with 26%. If one considered solely the Mir Zakah material one might begin to think that these two monograms were those used in Arachosia or at those mints serving the trade route through Gardez. But if one considered the Bajaur hoard material in isolation one might well make the same claim for Gandhara. The evidence is sadly quite inconclusive about any geographical localisation for either monogram. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that both  and , the commonest monograms found in both Arachosia and Gandhara, were in fact simply the two monograms used most extensively by Apollodotus I and consequently are those most frequently encountered in Gandhara, Arachosia or indeed anywhere else.  and  are the two monograms represented in the local collection of the Kandahar Museum[17] and are both to be found on the seven coins of Apollodotus I in the 1833 hoard from the Hazararajat beyond Charikar in Afghanistan.[18] Indeed  and  also constitute some 60% of the monograms on the square silver drachms of Apollodotus in all the major coin collections.[19]

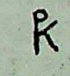
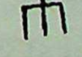
The percentage of these monograms represented in the Bajaur hoard from Gandhara and in the Mir Zakah "hoard" from Arachosia represents nothing more than the proportion of coins struck with them generally by Apollodotus I.

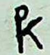
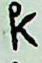
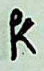
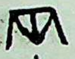
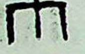
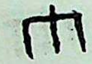
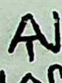
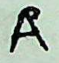
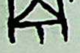
The monogram distribution of copper coins

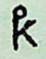
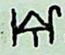
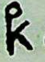
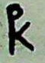
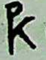
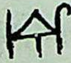
In the Mediterranean world it has been proved conclusively that copper coins of any ancient city are always found in greatest numbers at or near the place of issue. Hoards of silver *may* be found near the place of issue; but silver coinage was widely used as a medium of trade and a city's silver coins may be found in hoards far from its original place of issue. Consequently to infer the location of an issuing mint, one must primarily rely on its copper coinage and the pattern of its distribution.[20] If the monograms of Apollodotus I really indicate the products of different mints located in different provinces, this should be seen clearly in the geographical distribution of the monograms on the finds of his copper coins.[21] There is now quite a significant amount of evidence available. We have coins from the Butkara[22] and Taxila[23] excavations, and the Taxila finds have been restudied by Dobbins.[24] The British Museum has important coins from the old India Office collection[25] and many of the copper coins seem to have come from Masson's collection made at Begram. The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge has copper coins from the Masson collection from Begram presented by the India Office in 1906.[26] The registers of the Patna Museum record that some of its coppers of Apollodotus I came from Sarai Kala near Taxila.[27] The collections of Allard, a general in the army of Ranjit Singh, formed in the Panjab in the 1830's and of Le Berre, architect of the *Délégation Archaéologique Francaise en Afghanistan*, formed in Afghanistan in the 1960's are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale,[28] Paris. One or two other provenances are recorded in Paris and Oxford.

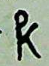
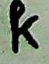
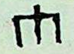
The results are remarkably clear and consistent. Each of the principal monograms found on the copper coins of Apollodotus I is attested from find spots in both his western provinces (Arachosia and the Paropamisadae) and his eastern provinces (Gandhara and Taxila) in almost equal proportions. Individual monograms are certainly not localised to any particular locality or province. On present evidence the inevitable and inexorable conclusion is that the monograms on the coinage of Apollodotus I do *NOT* indicate the products of different mints.

Metrology of the square Indian silver drachms

If the monograms of Apollodotus I do not indicate the product of different mints, they could *either* mark the product of different contemporary officinae at the same mint and serve as marks of quality control (a system that is well attested in the later coinage of the Roman Empire)[29] *or* they could mark the product of successive stages of production at the same mint. An analysis of the metrology of the square silver drachms solves the problem very neatly. When the weights of coins with the two principal monograms are shown graphically in a percentile plot,[30] it can be seen (*Fig.* 7.1) that the median weight of  at 2.44 gm. is slightly but significantly higher than that of  at 2.385 gm.—by some 2%. This minor but significant difference between these two main monograms suggests that the very small variations between the median weights of coins with different monograms throughout the silver drachms is not accidental. In each case the mint has struck the issue to the same theoretical standard of *c*. 2.46 gm., but in different issues (marked by distinct monograms) differing proportions of the coins issued were struck at the theoretical standard (*Figs*. 7.2 and 7.3).

Issue	*Monogram* *Obverse*	*Monogram* *Reverse*	*Weight at 50% point* *gm.*	*Weight at 80% point* *gm.*
1.		A	2.445	2.46
2.		C	2.44	2.45
3.		ω	2.42	2.44
4.			2.42	2.43
5.			2.39	2.43
6.			2.365	2.42
7.			2.36	2.44
8.	ΞE	NO	2.325	2.40

N.B.—Issues with monograms 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6 are placed in this sequence from the weight plottings of examples in the BM, Oxford, Paris and A.N.S. collections. To account for all the regular monograms and issues of Apollodotus I silver Indian drachms, the rare monograms  ω, , and ΞE NO have also been included in the table; but it has been necessary to include all weights of these known to me to establish a significant pattern. These three monograms are not therefore strictly on the same base as issues 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6. The position of  ω clearly follows closely the analogous  A and  C issues. There is less certainty about  and ΞENO

The use of ΞE on the obverse and NO on the reverse of Issue 8 gives us a well known Greek personal name, about which there can be no possible doubt. As it consists of only four letters, there was no difficulty in giving it in full when both the obverse and reverse fields could be used. Xeno was no doubt some sort of moneyer concerned with the production of that particular issue. The use of both the obverse and reverse field for a moneyer's monogram or name was itself an innovation. The practice was not known in the Greek coinage of Bactria. It starts with the first three issues of this series which have a combination of  on the obverse and A, C, or ω on the reverse. This clearly suggests three successive issues of a moneyer , with a name that includes the letters K, T, I or A—such as Krateros, Krates, Kratulos, Kratinos, Kritias, Krito, Krinagoras. There are many possibilities. Once the innovation of placing a monogram on the obverse as well as the reverse side of the coin had been made, the practice continued at Apollodotus I's mint even after the occasion for it had ceased. One issue put the same monogram  on both obverse and reverse, two rare issues which employ only one monogram, place it on the obverse (not the reverse position that had been the invariable practice in the Bactrian coinage). Two other issues utilise the obverse as well as the reverse to expand the limited detail that can be expressed in one monogram. The practice of placing an additional monogram on the obverse did not however survive the death of Apollodotus I. It is only subsequently found on the square coppers of Polyxenus and then right at the end of the Indo-Greek coinage when multiple Kharoshthi letters are added to the coinage.

In conclusion

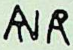
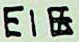
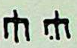
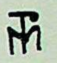
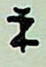
Apollodotus I was the first Indo-Greek king to strike a coinage in silver, south of the Hindu-Kush mountains; and the successive series of his coinage show an interesting range of experiments to ensure the acceptability of his new coinage in territories that had previously used punch marked silver. Initially he tried to introduce a series of Attic hemidrachms complementary to the denominations used in Bactria. But even after he had introduced a new square Indian drachm struck on a new weight standard of *c.* 2.46 gm., his mint still experimented with the extent to which a proportion of coins in an issue could be struck below the theoretical standard that was being maintained. The monograms marked these successive issues. The remarkably uniform distribution of copper coinages with these monograms through all his provinces conclusively rules out the hypothesis that the monograms were the marks of different mints under Apollodotus I.

Notes and References

1. G.K. Jenkins, The Apollodotus Question: Another View, *JNSI* XXI (1959) pt. I pp. 20-33.
2. J.P. Guepin, Apollodotus I et Eukratides, *Jaarboek voor Munt en Penningkunde* 1956 pp. 1 ff.
3. D.W. Mac Dowall and N.G. Wilson, Apollodoti Reges Indorum, *Numismatic Chronicle* 1960 pp. 221-228.
4. A.K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks* (Oxford, 1957) pp. 64-69; and Apollodotus and his Coins, *JNSI* XIX (1957) pp. 121 ff.
5. P. Bernard, *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum* IV. *Les Monnaies hors trésors Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Francaise en Afghanistan* XXVIII pp. 66-67 and 97-105.
6. C.Y. Petitot Biehler, Trésor de Monnaies Grecques et Greco-Bactriennes trouvé a Aï Khanoum (Afghanistan), *Revue Numismatique* 1975 pp. 23-57.
7. John S. Deyell, Indo-Greek and Ksaharata Coins from the Gujarat sea coast, *Numismatic Chronicle* 1984 pp. 115-127.
8. D.W. Mac Dowall and N.G. Wilson, *loc. cit.* pp. 224-226.

9. R. Curiel et D. Schlumberger, *Le Trésor de Mir Zakah, Trésors Monétaires d' Afghanistan, Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Francaise en Afghanistan* XIV, pp. 86-87.
10. A.N. Lahiri, *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins* (Calcutta, 1965) p. 93 type 3. Pl. VII nos. 4 and 5.
11. A.N. Lahiri, *op. cit.* p. 94 type 4, Pl VII nos. 6 to 8.
12. A. Cunningham, *Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East* (1884) pp. 228-229.
13. W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (Cambridge, 1951) pp. 437-441.
14. M. Mitchiner, *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage* (London, 1975) Vol. 2. pp. 115-119.
15. M.C.F. Martin, A Find of Indo-Greek Hemidrachms in Bajaur, *Numismatic Supplement* XXIII (1927) pp. 18-25.
16. A.D.H. Bivar, Monogram Counts from the Kabul Collection, communication to the C.N.R.S. colloquium in Paris, November 1988, to be published with the proceedings.
17. D.W. Mac Dowall and M. Ibrahim, Pre-Islamic Coins in Kandahar Museum, *Afghan Studies* I (1978) p. 21.
18. C. Masson, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1836 p. 15.
19. 55% in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; 56% in the American Numismatic Society, New York; 57% in the British Museum, London: 58% in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris; 66% in the Indian Museum Calcutta etc.
20. Cf. G.K. Jenkins *loc. cit.* pp. 26-27.
21. See Fig. 7.1. Distribution of Copper Monograms of Apollodotus I.
22. R. Göbl, *A Catalogue of Coins from Butkara I* (Rome, 1976) p. 13.
23. J. Marshall, *Taxila* (Cambridge, 1951), 63 ff.
24. I am indebted to Dr. Dobbins for details of the monograms on coins of Apollodotus I from the excavations.
25. The fine coins in the India Office Collection were given to the British Museum in 1882, *British Museum Quarterly* XVIII, p. 77. These included coins from the numerous copper coins in the Masson collection from Begram. Masson in his *Narrative of Various Journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Panjab* (London, 1842) pp. 148-150, says that by 1836 he had collected 13, 474 copper coins from Begram and acquired a further 60,000 in 1837.
26. *The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge Annual Report* 1906 p. 3 "The authorities of the India Office most kindly placed at the disposal of the Museum a remainder collection of oriental coins". A contemporary manuscript note in the trays says "many of them were collected by the explorer Masson".
27. I am indebted to the Indian Institute for Research in Numismatic Studies at Nasik for permission in their archives information from the registers of the Patna Museum.
28. General B. Allard, an officer of Napoleon's army, entered the service of Ranjit Singh in 1823. In 1835 he brought to Paris 328 coins collected in the Panjab. He died in 1839. 17 of the coins offered to Louis Philippe came to the Bibliothèque Royale and 40 of his other Indo-Greek coins were given to the Bibliotheque Nationale in 1843. They can be identified by their accession tickets. M.Le Berre's collection, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris was formed in Afghanistan while Le Berre was the architect of the Délégation Archéologique Francaise en Afghanistan about the time that the enormous find from Mir Zakah was appearing in the Kabul bazaar.
29. See R.A.G. Carson, System and Product in the Roman Mint, *Roman Coinage. Essays presented to Harold Mattingly* (Oxford, 1956) pp. 227-239.
30. For the principles and merits of showing coin weights graphically in this way, see W. Esty, 'Percentile plots and other methods of graphing coin weights' in the forthcoming *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1989. I am indebted to Professor Este for many discussions on this topic and for showing me his forthcoming article in advance of publication.

Eastern Provinces

Gandhara & Taxila								
Butkara excavations	1							
Taxila excavations		2		1		1		
Jamal Garhi			1					
Sarai Kala				1	1			
Charsadda							1	
Allard collection (Paris)	2		1	1	1	2		
Total	3	2	2	3	2	3	1	16

Western Provinces

Arachosia & Paropamisadae								
Begram from Masson (Cambridge)	2	3	2	1	1	1		
I.O.C. coins (British Museum				2			2	
Le Berre colledtion (Paris)	1				1	1		
Total	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	17

Fig. 7.1. Distribution of Copper Monograms of Apollodotus I

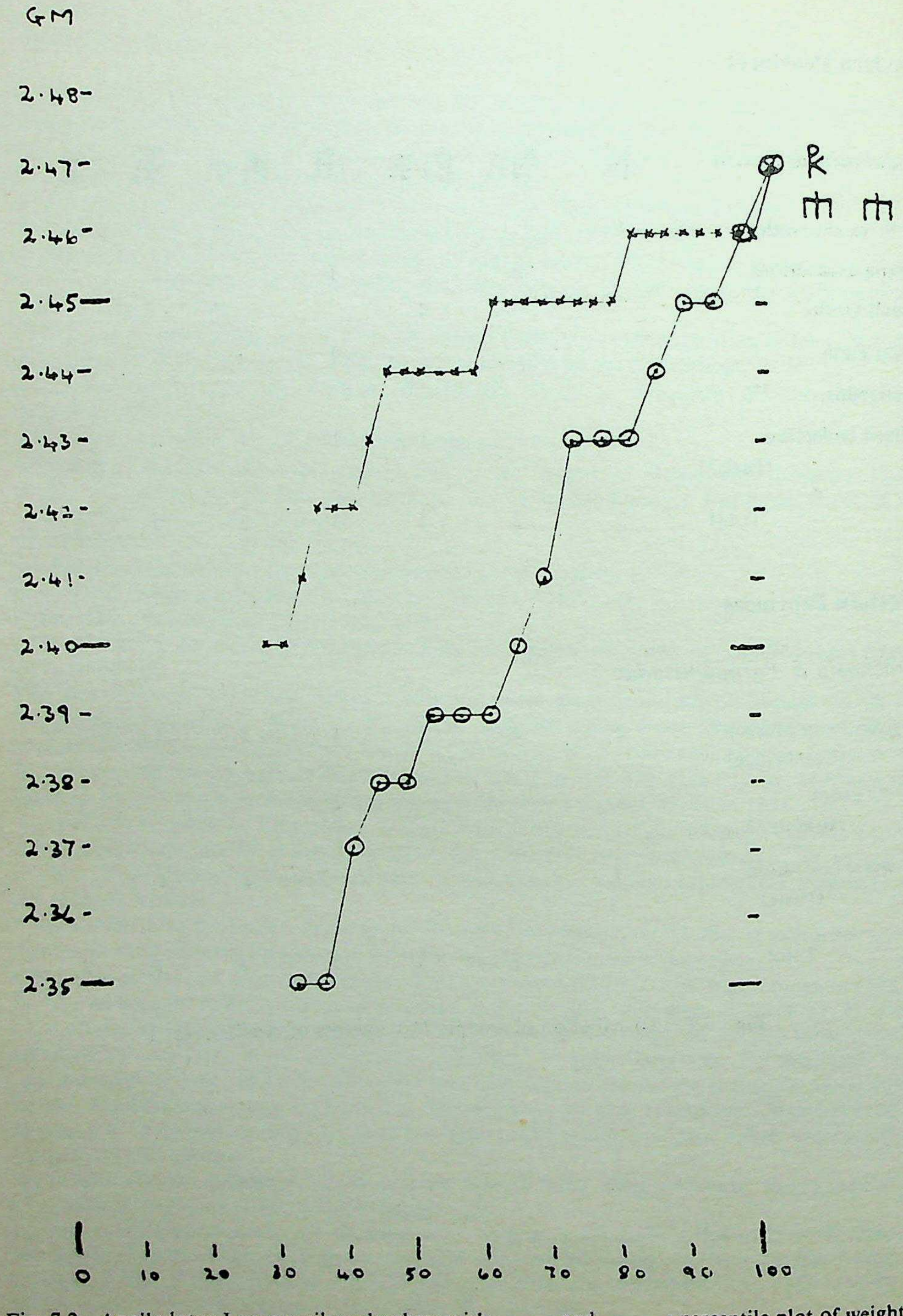


Fig. 7.2. Apollodotus I square silver drachms with and : percentile plot of weights.

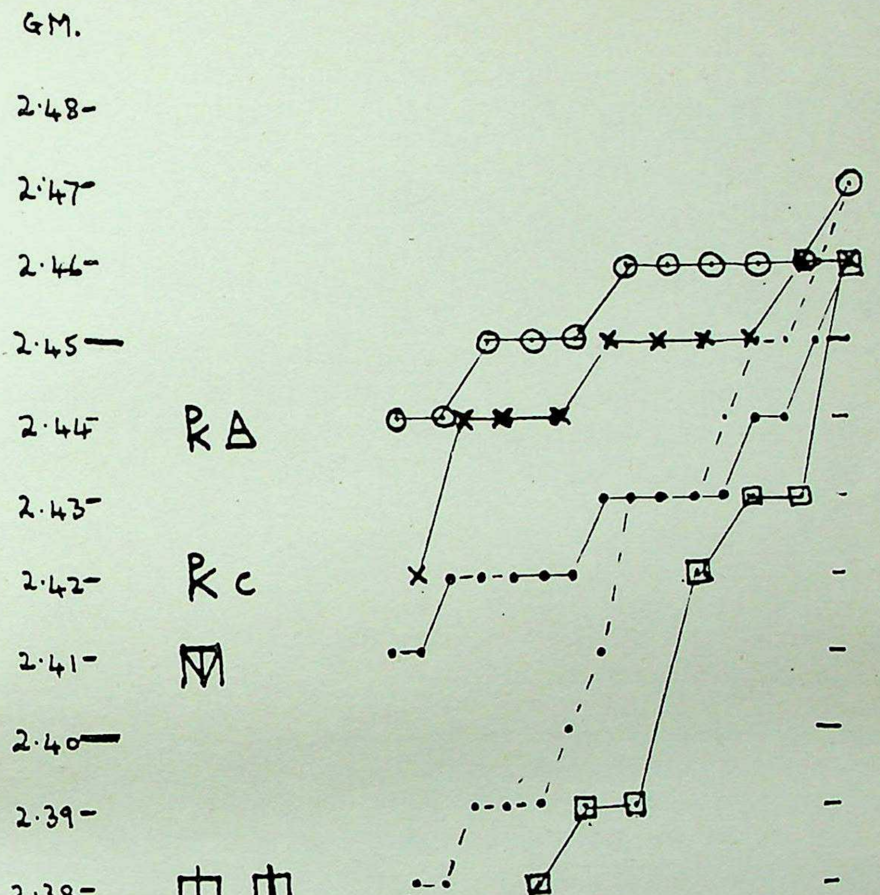


Fig. 7.3. Apollodotus I square silver drachms : percentile plot of weights.

8

Pots without Pans

R. MORTON SMITH

I am very happy to pay a tribute to Professor Agrawala. I would have liked to present some work on the punch-marked coins, but could probably not do so satisfactorily in time. But art motifs can be used as a guide to historical dating, and their development and obsolescence is always of some interest. This time we choose the pot, primarily in connection with the column or pillar, and the treatment is extended to the sides of windows and statuary niches.

In sculptural ornament the pot seems to be a decorative motif only in Indian cultural tradition. We find a flower-vase at the base of a decorated column in Islamic architecture in the 15th century, and what could be taken as an Islamically decorated pot in the same position in buildings of Iltutmish in Delhi, *c.* 1230, and possibly at Bukhara Maghak-i-Attari about the same time, but long after Mahmud's conquest of the North-West of India. The European urn is only an architectural ornament on facades towards the 18th century, and does not support columns. Otherwise the pot is not an ornamental motif in ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece, Persia or China.

Indian motifs need a symbolism to survive, and this the pot has. It is a birth symbol; there is the pot of the womb, and the pot of jar burial whereby one returns (especially as an infant) to the earth's womb. These ideas are reflected in the name Kauṇḍinya, from Kuṇḍin, having a pot. So when the pot is not supporting a column in Indian art, it is always sprouting flowers or vegetation, Sanchi II to Gadag about AD 1200. A plain pot sprouts a creeper on Sanchi I North gate, but on the West gate, and almost always it is a decorated pot that does so. The creeper frame seems to be an innovation of Sanchi I, but is not found at Sanchi II or Barhut, though the creeper coping with Jātaka scenes there may have suggested it. The pillar begins with axial symbolism, and if it acquires the phallic tones of the liṅga, the pot could represent the scrotum; but in admitting this possibility, one must also admit that the pillar never has any obvious phallic resemblance, and its ornamentation emphasizes this, as it is always interrupted by horizontals. And while at Sanchi I pillars begin from a pot, we also find some with no base (North gate, F 38), as at Barhut, Besnagar, and the caves of Bhaja and Bedsa (the plinths of Aśoka's and Heliodorus' pillars being underground).

The general course of the pot is that it is first at the bottom, then at top and bottom, then at top only, whence vegetated it returns to top and bottom; I cannot show any case where the vegetated pot is at the bottom only supporting a column. The unvegetated pot at the bottom becomes indistinguishable from a moulding. The pot is at first on the ground, as it were, e.g. at Sanchi I, but it soon acquires plinths. Even when not bearing a column, the ornamental pot usually gets a plinth, though not always (F 81 at Amaravati, G 1 & 4 at Anurādhapura, but not 3). When we have pots at top and bottom of a pillar, they are similar. We will deal now first with the pot at the bottom, then at the top, and then both.

On the North Gate at Sanchi I we have a plain pot emitting a creeper, and at the other side, a plain pot supporting a pillar (F 39); so too on the East Gate, (ZC 17). The pots have a base. But also on the North Gate (ZC 8) we have a creeper issuing from a pot with lotus decoration (symmetrical top and bottom, with pearled band in between), and (with a different band) a similar pot supporting a column (F 37-8) and a column with no base (F 38). The pots on F 37-8 or ZC 17 have a (thick) base, but those on ZC 9 seem to stand on a plinth. It seems that the pillar is getting into the pot in the 1st century B.C. Decoration of the pot seems to have appealed in Central and East India, but the pillars of the Western caves are all plain, and when India influences Gandhara, the pots for pillars are normally plain, e.g. GAP 39 (Jamrud), 120 (at Peshawar), Butkara I (AMI 82) (one incised line on the shoulder). But we do find some ornamentation, e.g. BAG 123 from Mohammed Nari with pearl band, while 122 from Loriyan Tangai has the lotus pot (cf. Sanchi), while BAG 50 from Haḍḍa is plain.

But Gandhara has also learned from India the figure in relief on the pillar which we first find at Bodh Gaya where the pillar comes out of a pot on plinths, having bead and reel about the neck and lotus petals round the shoulder, and rope-pattern base. A yakshī is emphasizing the birth/fertility symbolism (F 41). We find the same idea in 2nd century Mathura, ZC 74b, but here standing on a plain pot. In Gandhara for this the pillar becomes a pier, and the pot and figure are sunk in a frame, e.g. AAA 50-1 from Shotorak, GPA 153 from Ranighat, 359 Kalawan, 361, 367 Mardan, 369 from Karamar; all these are on lotus-ornamented pots, as are GAP 362 & 364 from Sahri Bahlol, which have pots on top and bottom. On pots plain with pearl band we find Hāritī from Loriyan Tangai BAG 112, GAP 365 at Lahore; Hāritı has no frame, nor do the Yakshas on plain pots (always on plinths) on GAP 152 at Peshawar. We next have the statue on the (flat) pier, on a base with lotus decoration, disconnected from the base of the pier, which becomes an upturned lotus flower; we might suggest this as the origin of the Buddha/divinity standing/sitting on a lotus (which also meets the requirement that the divine does not touch the ground (cf. Śakuntala's truth act in the story of Nala). Indian influences, frequently translated into Gandhara idiom, are reflected in Gandhara, e.g. the spiral curls of the Buddha, especially from Kushāṇa times, and GAP 362 & 364 above-mentioned can be paralleled with JAM XLVI.3 of Mathura; so too the animals on top of the pillars of BAG 122 & 123 above.

Plain and decorated pots seem to coexist, perhaps uneasily for some time; Sanchi I, North & South gates have the mixture. At Bodh Gaya while the yakshī pillar of F 41 is on a decorated pot, the columns on the gateway pillar with Sūrya are on plain pots. In Gandhara pillars on pots are a decided rarity, the Greek base moulding of the round pillar being much preferred. Mathura has a divided allegiance; the pillars of JAM XLIII, XLIV & XLVI have no pot base; JAM XLV and ZC 74 have a plain pot, while JAM VII & XI (JA 29 & 35) & XII have ornamented pot base and a lotus capital well on the way to being an Amarāvati style decorated pot. Significantly JAM XLV with no plinth, has a purely lotus capital, and should be earlier, only plain pots appear in the Western caves, at the bottom only, and they end with the early period of excavation; the only one I find later is a very squashed pot at the porch of Ajanta XIX. But we have the decorated pot at Anantagumphā in Orissa, and at Amarāvatī there is no undecorated pot supporting a pillar. Indeed I can not be sure of finding a pot at the base only of a column, though at Jaggayyapeta we have the yakshī pilaster with the decorated lotus pot base and banded lotus capital.

We may ask how does the pot get up to the capital? We suggest the answer comes from the Western caves; the lotus petals get smoothed out and the capital acquires a bottom rim, e.g. at Karle and completely rounded at Nasik X, where the capital is more like a pot than a lotus. Kanheri seems to mark the transition. At Pitalkhora we have capitals of lotus form but textile decoration in vertical of horizontal bands; in Mathura too we get banded capitals where the bottom half retains lotus petal, but the top has no relation. At Amarāvatı the decoration of the top repeats that of the pot at the bottom, and I do not think we find the pot at the top only anywhere before it appears at top and bottom. This is clear with the vegetated pot. The pot at the top does not occur in Gandhara except for GAP

362 & 364 above (at Butkara, AMI 82, where Indian influence is apparent, we seem to have a double capital).

We should notice the ornamentation of the early pot. At Sanchi (F 37-8) we have lotus petals pointing up from the bottom, down from the top, with an ornamental band (various) in between, a thick base, and neck and rim. This ornamentation is developed in the north, e.g. Mathura, but more uniformly in the Amarāvati area. The Sanchi pots are small, but at Amarāvati there is more room for ornament, and we find bead-&-reel at the base and the neck (ZC 87), Jaggayyapeta (AIU fig 76). The lotus capital develops to meet this ornamentation; once it gets banded, the top or bottom half may retain the lotus petal, but the progress is towards the pot; thus in the Begram ivory (of the Mathura school) the top half is lotus petal, but the band and a 2nd band are bead-&-reel. AMI 111, while *ib.* 112 we have again lotus petal at the top and bottom, with hatching above bead-&-reel in the middle. While there can be some hesitation between the pot and the lotus capital, there is no doubt about the potness of the capitals on SABM I & IXd at Amarāvatī, Barrett's early phase. On small scale representations the decoration of the pot (top and bottom) reminds one of the later āmalaka (both types alternately up the pillar of SABM IXa, Barrett's Late phase), e.g., ZC 92b, continuing at Nagarjunikonda (R 71b, KAI 145, pl. 26).

The plain pot becomes a moulding; it may be hard to say which it is, e.g. at Nalanda F 100, R 19A, and this is emphasized when it becomes square, e.g. ZC 446 of Chidambaram, ZC 321, the pillar of Avalokiteśvara's throne. But old motifs can survive obscurely; e.g. on KAI pl. 32 we have a plain pot at the bottom of the pillar of Padmapāṇi's throne, while the pot at the top has become a mere moulding (c. 9th century); while on FIS 12 a pot with broad lotus petal up and down supports the pillar.

There is one development of the pot capital which does not seem to be gradual but suddenly appears, the lavishly vegetated pot. We find it at Ajanta XXI, Nasik XV, Aurangabad III (F & B XLIX, XXI, LXVI respectively) at the top only, i.e. it appears 450-500. It does not seem to be at top and bottom so far, or at Ellora, but we can so find it at Deogarh Daśāvatāra ZC 110 (top only ZC 111), and at temples 15 (JID 28 & unfinished) 141, and probably temple 12 (Bottom only illustrated, JID 13-4); so too both top and bottom at Gyaraspur, Gwalior (IABH LXXXVII.2, the Sūrya temple at Osian, *ib.* LXXXIV.2 of the 10-11th centuries; the Vaital Deul at Puri, ZC 326 and Alampur Fi 116. At the little Sas Bahu of Gwalior. F 294, and at IABH LXXXXVIIA.1 Udayeśvara temple of Udaipur we have the vegetated pot only at the bottom of the pillar. The date of the Sas Bahu is about 1100, so that the motif had a long life. We find it surviving in a very minor way at the bottom, not the top, at Patan and Bhatgaon in the 17th century (HA p. 13, pp. 196-7). And we find the same pot reused from the 9-10th century in the Qutb mosque in Delhi, at top and bottom of the pillar. At Ellora Kailāśa and the Jain Jagannātha Sabhā (F & B LXXXIVd, XCII) the vegetated pot comes under the exaggerated torus of Elephanta type, whose origin we might see in Ajanta XIX. We might add to those cited, Fi 236 of c.1000 AD, very like FIS 12, but with differently ornamented pots at top and bottom, and Fi 254 of Udayeśvara, Udaipur, where the top pot has practically become a triangle, and JID 75 at Badoh, Gadarmal, top only, where the pot has become like a spearhead. Add: Aihole gateway by Galaganātha HCCH XXIV; Pattadkal Jain temple, *ib.* LIV, at bottom only but not integrated into the pillar; *ib.* LXX Lakkundi Kāśiviśveśvara, top only.

In the early Moslem occupation of India, in the absence of Moslem craftsmen, Indians had to be employed; so Hindu ornamentation largely continued in the Mosque preceeding with its natural development. Thus at the Jami Masjid of Baroach, ASWIG VIIb, on the capital of a pillar taken from a Hindu shrine, we find the vegetated pot; *ib.* Pll. VIII & IX the leaves become tangential and the pot becomes invisible or almost so. This date should be about 1300, and the ornament in this form has a long life; we find the motif in Hilal Khan Qazi's masjid at Dholka (1333) ASWIG XXIX, and in the Tanka Masjid, also Dholka, in large form at the foot of a pillar *ib.* XXXVII and *ib.* XXXVIII twice on the capital, medium size, and more constricted at the top of a doorway, *ib.* XLI. We also find the pot large on the parapet of the south porch, *ib.* XLII, as we found it at Gadag above. We also find the motif decidedly constricted on the Jami Masjid of Dholka, *ib.* LIII-V. 1450-80. So too we have it at Champanir in the early 16th century. When the motif gets constricted the vegetation, leaves tend to become smooth, but they are veined at Champanir, at the Nagina Masjid, ASWIG LXIXb. At Udaipur in the palace we still find the vegetated pot at the top of a pillar/pilaster, though here it is also to be found Persianized.

The pot had then a long life as a decorative motif in India, and after 400 principally as the vegetated pot. It is not a motif that seems to have exported well. We find a plain pot, top and bottom at Chandi Sari in Java, BK 120-1, a vegetated pot at the bottom only at Chandi Sewu, BK 130, and plain top and bottom BK 131, there too, with a vegetated pot between two pillars. We can also find the pot practically plain at Chandi Kalasan BK 102 and at Borobodur, ZC 491, but these are all of the Central Javanese period, and Buddhist. The motif does not seem to travel to East Java. In Burma we see the pot very mildly vegetated as an ornament under the window arch at Pagan, e.g. the Nanpaya Temple, LOBEP 122c-e. One might recognize the decorated pot top and bottom of a pillar in the Abhayadana painting *ib.* 227, and also decorated at the bottom of pilasters at the Hlaing She Gu, *ib.* 255, and in some of the pillars of the Buddha's canopy on the votive plaques, *ib.* 8 & others, but the pot is far from conspicuous in Burmese ornament.

In Cambodia I do not find it at all, and the same goes for Champa and Thailand; the pot has become a moulding or a series of mouldings.

In view of the anonymity of Indian sculpture and architecture, we feel that a detailed study of (often minor) ornamental motifs, with their uses and concurrences can offer the best clues to historical sequence and development, though that development cannot be in an uninterruptedly smooth and straight sequence, though it should approach it in view of the strength and necessity of tradition. Such study could be greatly helped by the computer, and could also indicate the movements of artists.

Abbreviations

I expect my readers will have better access to illustrations of Indian art than I have myself; but I give this list of abbreviations for my references to indicate that my remarks are based on some authority and research rather than on my own memory and impressions.

AAA	J. Auboyer; Art of Afghanistan
AIU	R.C. Majumdar, General Editor: Age of Imperial Unity
AMI	M. Taddei: Archaeoligia Munid, India
ASWIG	J. Burgess: Archaeological Survey of India, the Muhammedan Architecture of Gujarat
BAG	J. Marshall: Buddhist Art of Gandhara
BK	A.J. Bernet Kempers: Ancient Indonesian Art
F	L. Frédéric: Art of India: Temples & Sculpture
F & B	J. Fergusson & J. Burgess: Cave Temples of India
Fi	K. Fischer: Schöpfungen Indischer Kunst
FIS	Fogg Art Museum: Indian Sculpture (Collection of Mr. & Mrs. Earl Morse)
G	Archaeologial Department, Colombo: Guardstones
GAP	H. Ingholt: Gandhara Art in Pakistan
HA	Madanjeet Singh; Himalayan Art
HCCH	H. Cousens: Archaeological Survey of India; Chalukyan Architecture
IABH	P. Brown: Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu)
JA	C. Sivaramamurti: Panorama of Jain Art
JAM	V.A. Smith: Jaina and other Antiquities of Mathura
JID	K. Bruhn: Jina Images of Deogarh
KAI	Kunsthaus Zurich: Kunst aus Indien
LOBEP	G. Luce: Old Burma Early Pagan
R	B. Rowland: Art & Architecture of India (Pelican History of Art)
SABM	D. Barrett: Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum
ZC	H. Zimmer & J. Campbell: Art of Indian Asia

9

Kharosthi Kutadhipati and Navhapati

SIR H.W. BAILEY

In 1985 I received (Dec. 9) a letter dated Nov. 3 from T. Kaku, of the firm Taiyo (Tokyo) of Oriental Art containing a photograph of a Kharoṣṭhī inscription on a gold plate found in a casket. I could spare little time for it, made little progress and set it aside.

Professor G. Fusman had greater success. He published a study of it in the BEFEO 1986.

The text in its first line has two titles. In the edition the second letter was left unread in the first title. My friend T. Tamai however had recognised in that sign the cerebral letter *ṭa* in an early form but certainly rightly. This gave the word *kuṭadhipati.* I at once recognised the word *kuṭa-* as the Kharoṣṭhī word for 'fortress', familiar as Śaurasenī *koṭṭa-* and *kuṭṭa-*, with many modern derivatives in modern Indo-Aryan (R.L. Turner's Dictionary no. 3500). Sheth's Prakrit Dictionary stated that the word was *deśī*, non-Sanskritic. The word is known in the Buddhist *Lalita-vistara* and Brahmanic *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* and *Pañchatantra*, hence Buddhist and late Sanskrit. M. Mayrhofer's recent Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary left *koṭṭaḥ* of uncertain origin but with his frequent penchant for Dravidian quoted Tamil *kōṭṭai* (which has the marks of a loan-word from Indo-Aryan). In Buddhist Sanskrit the phrase *koṭṭa-rāja-* is well known. In Khotan the spelling was *kauṭā-rāja* with *-au-* for older *-o-* and one cerebral *-ṭ-*. This may be a replacement of *koṭṭa-* or a form from Kharoṣṭhī which does not write doubled consonants.

It is essential in reading inscriptions and coins from N.W. India of the period before and after the beginning of our era to be ready for the intrusion of Iranian words. Until the thirties scholars expected Turkish here, but it is to be remembered that in the Tarim Basin the Turks did not take Kashghar till A.D. 1000 and Khotan only in A.D. 1006. There had been over a thousand years of Iranian linguistic domination, and in modern Afghanistan the Iranian never ceased to be spoken. Iranian words taken over into Indian are often disguised, Buddhist Sanskrit *kākhorda-* 'sorcerer' is the Avestan *kaxvarδa-*, and *chīmara* 'iron' of the Saṁghāṭa-sūtra familiar in Turk *timür* and in N.W. dialects (see Turner's dictionary p. 828).

This *kuṭa-* appearing so little in Indian may well be Iranian. To express 'enclosure' of any kind Iranian has a base *kap-* with many derivatives. Many of these derivatives are listed in an article of mine in the Transactions of the Philological Society (TPS), 1954, 175. The Armeno-Parthian *kaparan* 'prison' is from an older *kapadāna-*. From the form **kafta-* 'enclosed' (or from *-i *kafti-*) by normal changes would develop **kauta-* whence a loan-word *kōṭa-* would show the Indianising cerebral. The further shift to *koṭṭa-* may be put to Indian change. This development of *-af-* before a consonant can be seen in Armeno-Parthian *naut* 'petroleum, naphtha', New Persian *naft*; and *taut* 'heat' from *tafta-*, Khotan-Śaka *ttauda-*. The same change occurred in the group *-afsa-* as in Armeno) Parthian *yausem* 'to violate' from base *yab-* and *yap-* of Sogdian *''y'np-*, participle *''y'βt-*, Old Indian *yabhati*, Slavonic Russian *iebat'*, and related words. From this *yaus-* came also Khotan-Śaka *yausā* 'musk perfume', Sogdian Bud. *yγsh* for *yaxsā*, or *yahsā* from *yafsā*. The New Persian *musk* is similarly connected with Old Indian *muṣka-*, a name from the musk-sac in which the secretion is found in the musk-deer.

The second title is *ṇavhapati-* which contains the Iranian *nāfa-*; at first meaning the 'navel' (Old Indian *nābhi-*), then the 'kinsmen', then the 'family', and finally 'people'. The title is thus either patriarch or prince. The Armeno-Parthian *nahapet* has both those meanings. I gave evidence of this interpretation of the compound in the Senavarma inscription in JRAS 1980, 8. It is clear from this inscription that these are two titles. There is no room for tribal names especially in a name only half-read.

The line reads: *rajasa vijidaseṇasa kuṭadhipatisa p<u>tre ajidaseṇa oḍi-rajasa ṇavhapatisa* 'Of Ajitasena, king of Oḍi, prince of people, son of Vijitasena fort-commander.

10

The Kumbhanda Overlord Virudhaka

P.K. AGRAWALA

Virūḍhaka is the name of the chief of the Kumbhāṇḍa class of genii and is well known as a constant member of the Buddhist Cāturmahārājika group or Four Great Regents of Directions.[1] The cardinal point ruled by Virūḍhaka and his host is the South. In this capacity he may be said to have frequent mention in Buddhist literature.[2] But the Four Great Mahārājika overlords of the four directions mostly figure as a collective group of the fourfold guardian spirits in attendance of the Buddha and also in several other mythical contexts and legends incorporated in the Pali canon.[3] In the later Buddhist tradition, too, he is a colourless entity who as an individual deity is known only as one member of the stereotyped Mahārājika group and seems to survive mainly in the persisting cult of the Mahārājika-Lokapāla gods.[4] In the *Mahāvastu*[5] and the *Lalitavistara*,[6] with this Virūḍhaka is particularly associated the god Yama, who was likewise regarded in the Brahmanical Lokapāla scheme the regent of the south. From the evidence collected by Aurel Stein,[7] the images of the Four Great Kings are known to have been a favourite subject in the art of Khotan, where they are shown as standing on their demon-vehicles. Virūḍhaka, the ruler of the south and chief of the Kumbhāṇḍas is observed to be represented in later Buddhist art with "his attributes being a helmet of the skin of an elephant's head and a long sword", and having his characteristic colour as green.[8] As noted by Burgess,[9] "In China these Chāturmahārājas, or four great kings, are placed as guardians at the temple gates. In

Japan they are respectively,—Bishamon, holding a club in his right hand a chaitya-shaped casket in his left with his feet on two demons; Zocho-tenno, seated on a dragon, and holding a scroll and brush; Komoku, holding a *vajra* with three points, and sitting on a demon; and Ji-koku, also seated on a demon". According to another authority,[10] Zocho-tenno (Virūḍhaka), in this list of the Shitenno or four divine guardians, presides over the region of the south, is remover of evil and dispenser of good, and his attributes in the hand are a sword and a shield. In the present state of our knowledge, it is, however, unknown how far the above iconographical specifications had their origins or beginnings if any in the early Buddhist art of India and Central Asia as the representations of Virūḍhaka and other Mahārājika gods are few and far between in the extant relics of earlier periods. Nor there is any consistent textual evidence at hand detailing the individual iconography of these heavenly overlords of the directions excepting no doubt the well-known figure of Kubera-Vaiśravaṇa.

The occurrence of a conventionalised representation of the four Mahārājika gods or Buddhist Lokapālas amidst the divinities surrounding the Buddha in certain Gandhāra sculptures was first identified by Vogel[11] and following him by Foucher.[12] As remarked by Vogel, "the figures with haloes on the same row are perhaps the four *lokapālas*, who in Tibetan pictures often occupy the lower compartments. In Gandhara they appear in the same costume as the Bodhisattvas".[13] In the *Mahāvagga*, the Four Guardians of the quarters are mentioned to wait upon the Buddha "standing in the four directions like great firebrands". This may be well compared with the expression *mahātejāḥ*, "of great lustre or prowess", describing their form in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*.[14] As noted by Vogel,[15] "At several important moments of the Master's career they make their appearance—ever ready to assist him". To take examples, the following are some of the incidents in the legendary life of the Buddha occurring in early art that can be well identified as depicting an active role of the Four Mahārājika gods collectively:

1. Māyā's Dream.[16] The Four Regents of the cardinal points occupy on guard the corners of the chamber.[17]
2. Nativity and Seven Steps. To the side of the Mother, the Four Mahārājika gods appear as holding out a cloth "on which the presence of the infant miraculously born from her right side is indicated by two small feet".[18]
3. The Offering of the Four Bowls by the Lokapālas.[19]

There is one fragmentarily preserved painting in Cave II at Ajanta which depicts, according to Yazdani, "Indra and the Four Yakshas".[20] The composition has seven figures and as presumed by Yazdani, "Besides Indra, Śachī, and the green *chauri*-bearer, the remaining four deities may be the four Lokapālas, or guardians of the four cardinal points, who dwell on Mount Kailāśa at the gates of the heaven of Indra. They assisted at every important event in the life of the Buddha, and were present at his birth, the great renunciation and death (parinirvāṇa)". However, nothing of iconographic specification can be made out from the extant remnant of the scene which may go to identify the figure of Virūḍhaka or any other in the group.

One scene in the Life of the Buddha as depicted at Ajanta appears to portray the four queens of the Mahārājika deities as bathing the Mother Māyā whose couch after her Dream was transported by the Guardian-kings to the Kailāśa for her bath at the Anavatapta lake before the Birth.[21] The scene has also been identified in sculpture and was no doubt of popular fascination.[22] But the four queens are similarly portrayed without any iconographic distinction.

The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* is perhaps the only text which makes a general injunction regarding this older Buddhist group of the four Lokapālas to be depicted in the four cardinal directions of an Aiḍūka monument, "In the four directions the figures of Lokapālas, Virūḍhaka, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūpākṣa and Kubera should be made as holding a *śūla* in their hand, being of glorious form, auspicious, clad like the sun (images), wearing armours and adorned with auspicious ornaments".[23] The text has, however, further equated Virūḍhaka and others with Śakra, Yama, Varuṇa and Dhanada,[24] which seems to have some discrepancy when compared to the Buddhist tradition.[25] Or, one may perhaps presume that the two lists of the Buddhist Mahārājikas and the Brahmanical Lokapālas are not read, in the presently available text of the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, in strict sequence of their order and correspondence with each other.

At the earliest, the Kumbhāṇḍa lord Virūḍhaka seems to be represented as one of the guardian "Yakṣas" at Bharhut (mid 2nd century B.C.). As Cunningham has observed, "To Virūḍhaka was entrusted the guardianship of the South quarter, and accordingly the image of *Viruḍhako Yakho* is duly sculptured on the corner pillar of the South Gate".[26] The particular pillar, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (No. P 1), comes from the south-eastern quadrant of the ground railing of the great Stūpa monument at Bharhut; it has on its middle face[27] the full figure of this demi-god standing on a figuration of rocks with caves tenanted by wild animals and birds of prey.[28] There is no special vehicle (*vāhana*) shown for him as contrasted to several other cases of the Yakṣa and Nāga figures standing on their specific mounts nor there are any other characteristic attributes included in his portrayal as differentiating his figure from the usual type of the Yakṣa statues. His hands are posed in the *añjalimudrā* of adoration, which suggests nothing beyond his tutelary position with reference to the lord Buddha, symbolised by the Stūpa.[29] It is interesting and a bit curious that Virūḍhaka here is styled in the label-inscription as a *Yakṣa* and not specifically a *Kumbhāṇḍa* and does not bear any of the peculiar traits of the Kumbhāṇḍa iconography.[30] Without the contemporary label his identity would have been altogether unknown in the sculptural scheme of this religious building.

It is believed that at Sanchi also the Four Great Regents were placed on the gateway pillars as guarding the four points of the compass in the architectonic planning of the Great Stūpa based on the cosmological symbolism of quadruple manifestation. Unfortunately, the lower portions of the pillars in the south portal are altogether lost. However, on the back side (erroneously placed facing the front in 1882-83 reconstruction) of the bottom lintel of this gate, Marshall identified the representation of the Kumbhāṇḍa genii as spouting a huge lotus-creeper covering the entire horizontal space of decoration.[31] At any rate, he failed to recognise the ture nature of a depiction on the extant lower panel of front face of west pillar of this very gateway which in his words shows "the great lord riding in procession on an elephant with the women of his court". He has described him as Indra. But we think that there can hardly be any doubt as to his identity as the Kumbhāṇḍa lord Virūḍhaka from the fact of a cortege of pot-bellied Kumbhāṇḍa gaṇas to be seen as leading the procession in the foreground.[32] As should have been expected, this stately portrayal of the regent of the south is indeed placed in a very appropriate position on the south face of the west (i.e. left) pillar of the southern gateway which goes further to reveal his correct identity. Accompanying the guardian-king of the south, there is shown riding on another elephant his queen holding a child in front of her on the neck of elephant. Here again, the Kumbhāṇḍa overlord is figured as at Bharhut like the usual Yakṣa-type and there is hardly any personal trait to be remarked as specifying his independent iconography. As we find it mentioned in a stereotyped description occurring frequently in the Sanskrit-Buddhist texts,[33] *virūḍhaka iva kumbhāṇḍa-gaṇa-parivṛtaḥ*, Virūḍhaka is to be expected in a representation like the present one as surrounded by the members of his attendant host of the Kumbhāṇḍa beings.

As we have already shown elsewhere,[34] a depiction of the Kumbhāṇḍas also occurs in several other scenes at Sanchi but it is quite difficult to say if any of the figures in such groups can be identified as that of their fair-bodied lord Virūḍhaka in view of his two portrayals discussed above in the sculptures of Bharhut and Sanchi. In the present state of our knowledge, we are hardly aware of any other individual depiction of this demi-god in Indian art of the subsequent periods.

On the authority of a *Jātaka* passage, the name of one of the other Kumbhāṇḍa chiefs seems to be Kumbhīra;[35] but we do not know as yet any of his depictions in art or have no textual evidence either concerning his individual figure. Kumbhīra is otherwise called a Yakṣa, who lived on the Vepulla mountain outside the city of Rājagṛha.[36] In the Sanskrit-Buddhist literature, one finds the chiefs of Kumbhāṇḍas (*kumbhāṇḍa-gaṇendras*, invariably in plural) mentioned in a conventionalised phraseology of mythical descriptions.[37] But their personal names or any other such details are altogether missing. The *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*[38] mentions *mahākūṣmāṇḍas* but without any further specification. In the *Harivaṁśa*,[39] an early Purāṇa taken to form the apocryphal section of the Great Epic, a Kumbhāṇḍa is mentioned as a minister and army-commander of the demon-king Bāṇa. He and his daughter named Rāmā (*kumbhāṇḍa-duhitā*) have to play a significant role in the story of Uṣā and Aniruddha and she (Rāmā) herself was eventually married to Sāmba and the minister Kumbhāṇḍa was made king by Kṛṣṇa, as described in this text.[40] A later version of the story occurs in the *Śiva Mahāpurāṇa* with more or less similar details.[41] Elsewhere in this latter Purāṇa,[42] the Kumbhāṇḍas are included in the attendant hosts of Śiva; while giving a pen-picture of the fight between the gods and Śiva's gaṇa-hosts at the occasion of the holocaust of Dakṣa's *yajña*, the Purāṇa-writer has mentioned, quite curiously, the god Kubera as engaged in a strife with one Kūṣmāṇḍapati among the gaṇas of Śiva.[43]

However, it is in the Jaina ritual text *Ācāradinakara* (A.D. 1411-12) that we get the names of the *Kumbhāṇḍa-vyantarendras*,[44] namely Śveta and Mahāśveta, being apparently characterised by their white complexion and dress.[45] According to the Jaina cosmology, there are Eight principal classes of Vyantara ("demi-gods", tutelary spirits of the atmosphere) divinities, each of which class is further divided into various categories, the Kumbhāṇḍa (Kumbhaṇḍa) variety heading the list of Fourteen Piśāca categories.[46]

The Śaivite mythology also believed in the Six Bhuvanas or regions of the cosmos, one of them being that of the Kūṣmāṇḍa designation, presided over by the lord Kūṣmāṇḍa-rudra.[47] This Kūṣmāṇḍa-rudra is described in the *Īśānaśiva-gurudevapaddhati* as follows: "The terrific lord Kūṣmāṇḍa-rudra shines as staying in his own Bhuvana, being surrounded by six crores of Bhūta, Piśāca and Jambhaka hosts; he sits on the seat of a corpse (*pretāsana*), has his hair and dress tied with bells and chains, his body being smeared with ashes and adorned with serpents in various ways".[48] However, the *Śivatattvaratnākara* (A.D. 1709) representing a digest of the earlier tradition, names him simply Kūśmāṇḍa, who is the lord of his *Kūśmāṇḍa-loka* and of thirtytwo connected Hells.[49] He is in splendour like the world-destroying sun and fire, has a terrific mouth, angry of look hollowed eyes, carrying a *ṭaṅka* (hatchet, or similarly shaped sword) in his hand, and surrounded by a throng of Bhūtas similar in nature.[50] The *Agni Purāṇa* also mentions Kuṣmāṇḍa and Hāṭaka as two Bhuvanas or Lokas presided over by Rudra.[51] The Vaiṣṇava *Nāradīya-saṁhitā* similarly gives the position of the *Kuṣmāṇḍa-bhavana*.[52] The Mahāyāna *Gaṇḍavyūha* has likewise to refer to "all sorts of Kubhāṇḍa Lokas and all sorts of Kumbhāṇḍa Bhavanas.[53] The older concept of the Cāturmahārājika-deva-loka may also be referred to here,[54] which might have been at the root of these later notions.

As remarked elsewhere,[55] Gaṇeśa-Vināyaka was closely associated with the Kumbhāṇḍa family and has been mentioned sometimes to preside over them.[56] In view of the fact that all sorts of such hosts of gnomes, imps, ghouls and evil beings of every category came later to be arrayed under the great god Śiva as his numerous Gaṇa attendants, he too is frequently attributed the overlordship of the Kumbhāṇḍa gaṇas,[57] who are often mentioned as belonging to his retinue like many other similar classes. As early as the *Lalitavistara*, we have a statement recording this belief: *atha rudraḥ kumbhāṇḍādhipatiḥ*.[58] The tradition persisted throughout in the later period as Śiva is prayed in a late medieval Stotra as "*kūṣmāṇḍa-priya*".[59] However, Viṣṇu is also said to be the overlord of the Kuṣmāṇḍas in his pantheistic glorification,[60] but that does not appear to be a specification of any particular cult assimilation.

Notes and References

1. Sirikālakaṇṇi Jātaka, text, Vol. III, No. 382, pp. 257-62; *Saṁjutta Nikāya* 53.6.5; *Majjhima Nikāya* III. 3.3; *Dīgha Nikāya* II. 7. 19-27; III. 9.8-50, II. 5.1-2. Also see Māndhātu Jātaka, *Jātaka*, No. 258.
2. See G.P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, reprint London, 1960, s.v.; F. Edgerton, *Buddhist-Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, New Haven, 1953, s.v.; T.W. Rhys Davis and William Stede, *Pali-English Dictionary*, London, 1952, s.v.
3. *Dīgha Nikāya* II. 7.19-27, III. 9.8-50; *Majjhima Nikāya* III. 3.3; also see, A. Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, reprint Tokyo, 1962, p. 166.
4. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, Washington, 1928, p. 6.
5. *Mahāvastu*, ed. by E. Senart, pp. 306-9.
6. *Lalitavistara*, ed. by P.L. Vaidya, p. 283 (24.124).
7. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Oxford, 1907, figs. 30-31, pl. 11; *Serindia*, London, 1921, p. 870.
8. A. Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, ed by J. Burgess, London, 1901, p. 136; also, Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 167.
9. Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, p. 136, fn. 2.
10. *Larousse Encyclopedia of Mythology*, London, 1965, p. 431. They are also represented in the Chinese Buddhist pantheon; see W.E. Clark, *Two Lamaistic Pantheons*, reprint New York, 1965, p. 57 (fig. B, 325).
11. *ASI, AR.*, 1903-04, p. 257, fn. 3.
12. A. Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, London, 1918, p. 171, pl. XXVI, 2; pl. XXVII.
13. Vogel, *op. cit*,, also his, *Indian Serpent-Lore*, p. 213.
14. *VdhP.* III. 84.12.
15. *Indian Serpent-Lore*, p. 213.
16. Getty, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

17. See for example, J. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, London, 1887, pp. 64-65, woodcut No. 18; Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, pl. 20, p. 41; L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture, Paris*, 1929, pl. 126, bottom; C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Govt. Museum*, Madras, 1956, pp. 257-58; Govt. of India, *The Way of the Buddha*, Delhi, n.d., pls. II. 10, 16.
18. Amaravati—Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, pl. 20, pp. 35, 42; Nagarjunakonda—A.H. Longhurst, *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Madras Presidency*, MASI., No. 54, Delhi, 1938, pl. 20(b), 28(b); Govt. of India, *The Way of the Buddha*, pl. II. 23; etc.
19. Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, p. 146; H. Ingholt, *Gandharan Art in Pakistan*, New York, 1957, pl. XX, 1, illus. 68-69; M. Taddei, *India*, London, 1970, pl. 66; Govt. of India, *The Way of the Buddha*, pl. III. 4; etc.
20. G. Yazdani, *Ajanta*, Text, pt. II, pp. 6-7: Plates, pt. II, pl. IX.
21. J. Burgess, *Notes on the Buddhist Rock Temples*, p. 24; Govt. of India, *The Way of the Buddha*, II. colour pl. I.
22. *Ibid.*, II. pls. II (Amaravati), 12-13 (Ananda Temple, Pagan, Burma).
23. *Lokapālāśca kartavyāḥ śūlahastāś caturdiśam |*
    virūḍho dhṛtarāṣṭraśca virūpākṣaśca yādava ||
    kuberaśca mahātejāḥ sūryaveśadharāḥ śubhāḥ |
    sarve kavacinaḥ kāryāś śubhābharaṇabhūṣitāḥ ||
    VdhP. III. 84.11-12.
24. *Ibid.*, III. 84.13-14.
25. See above discussion, citing *Mahāvastu* and *Lalitavistara*.
26. Alexander Cunningham, *The Stupa of Bharhut*, London, 1879, p. 20.
27. On the other faces of the pillar are carved *Gaṁgita Yakho* and *Cakavāko Nāgarāja*.
28. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, Paris, 1956, pl. VI, fig. 18, p. 41; H. Lüders, *Bharhut Inscriptions*, CII., vol. II, pt. II, Ootacamund, 1963, p. 75, pl. XXX.
29. V.S. Agrawala, *Studies in Indian Art*, Varanasi, 1965, p. 77.
30. See P.K. Agrawala, "Some Kumbhāṇḍa Figures in Early Stūpa Art," *International Seminar on the Buddhist Stūpa in India and South-east Asia*, March 1985, B.H.U., Varanasi; "The Kumbhāṇḍa Figures in Sanchi Sculpture," forthcoming issue, *East and West*, Rome; "The Kumbhāṇḍa in Indian Art and Literature," *JBRS*, Patna (forthcoming issue, *Prof. Choudhary Commemoration Volume*); "The Kumbhāṇḍas: Their Personification and Names," *Bhārati: R.C. Majumdar Volume*, B.H.U. (forthcoming); "Identification of Kumbhāṇḍa Figures in Early Terracottas," *National Seminar on Indian Terracottas*, Asutosh Museum, Calcutta, Feb. 1988; etc.
31. *Ibid.*; John Marshall and others, *The Monuments of Sanchi*, London, 1939, pl. 11, 3, and description; also, V.S. Agrawala, *Indian Art*, Varanasi, 1965, pp. 134-35.
32. Marshall and others, *op. cit.*, pl. 18, and description.
33. *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 78, 113, 165; *Avadānaśataka*, p. 49 (also 303); etc. Also see, *Lalitavistara*, p. 157; *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, p. 234; *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, p. 153; etc. All editions cited are of the Buddhist Sanskrit Text Series, Darbhanga.
34. My paper, in the forthcoming issue of *East and West*, Rome; also, "Some Kumbhāṇḍa Figures in Early Stūpa Art," cited above.
35. *Jātaka*, VI, 272.
36. Malalasekera, *Dict. of Pali Proper Names*, p. 639.
37. *Gaṇḍavyūha*, pp. 36, 80; but p. 278, for apparently Virūḍhaka.
38. *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, p. 11 (Trivandrum edn.).
39. *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa II*. chs. 116-128.
40. *Ibid.*, II. 128. 4-5.

41. *Śiva Mahāpurāṇa* II. V. chs. 52-56. Also see *Bhāgavata* X. chs. 62-63, but here the *Kumbhāṇḍa-duhitā* is named as Citralekhā.
42. *Śiva Mahāpurāṇa* II. V. 21. 20.
43. *Ibid.*, II. II. 37. 7, and 16:
Kubero'pi hi kūṣmāṇḍapatinā yuyudhe balī /7/
kuberenaiva saṁgamya kūṣmāṇḍapatirādarāt /16/
44. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (p. 344) also calls the Kumbhāṇḍas as the *vyantara* gods: *kūṣmāṇḍair vyantaraiḥ*.
45. Bombay, 1923, Vol. II, pp. 168-69.
46. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* of Yativṛṣabha (c. 700 A.D.), VI. 48-49.
47. *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati*, Vol. III, pp. 150-52.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 151:
ghaṇṭāśṛṅkhalābaddhakeśavāsanaḥ pretāsane saṁsthito
bhasmoddhūlitavigrahaśca bhujagairnānāvidhairbhūṣitaḥ |
bhūtapretapiśācajambhakagaṇaiḥ ṣaṭkoṭisaṁkhyairvṛto
bhīmaḥ svebhuvane vibhāti bhagavān kūṣmāṇḍa-rudraḥ sthitaḥ ||
49. *Śivatattvaratnākara*, Mysore, 1964, pp. 64, 67. Īśanaśiva has also given in his *Paddhati* the details of Thirtytwo Hells, etc.
50. *eteṣāṁ dāruṇānām tu narakāṇāṁ patiḥ sthitaḥ |*
kūśmāṇḍa iti vikhyātaḥ pralayārkānaladyutiḥ ||
karālavadanaḥ kruddho vṛttakoṭaralocanaḥ |
ṭaṅkapāṇistathābhūtai bhūtair bhūyobhirāvṛtaḥ ||
51. *Agni Purāṇa* 102. 19.
52. Tirupati edition, 1971, 9.67:
triguṇenāyutenordhvaṁ kuṣmāṇḍa-bhavanaṁ bhavet |
divyabhogāyanaṁ divyaṁ divyaitrībhir vibhūṣitam ||
53. P.L. Vaidya edition, p. 146: *sarvakumbhāṇḍalokeṣu sarvakumbhāṇḍabhavaneṣu.*
54. *Jātaka*, vol. III, pp. 257-62; Māndhātu Jātaka, No. 258.
55. P.K. Agrawala. "Some Varanasi Images of Gaṇapati and their Iconographic Problem," *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 152-53; same, "The Kumbhāṇḍas in Indian Art and Literature," JBRS (under print).
56. For example, *Kūrma Purāṇa* I.22.47; *Garuḍa Purāṇa* I.129.14.
57. Fo. example, *Liṅga Purāṇa* I.71.155, *kūṣmāṇḍa-gaṇa-nātha*, I.82.110, *kūṣmāṇḍa-gaṇa-nāyaka.*
58. *Lalitavistara* 130.9 (see Edgerton, *op. cit.*, s.v.).
59. *Stotrārṇava*, Madras, 1961, p. 34.
60. *Garuḍa Purāṇa* I.15.31: *vetālānāṁ patiścaiva kūṣmāṇḍāṁ patistathā*. In the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* (I.5.63), however, the Kumbhāṇḍas are included in the list of demoniacal beings, produced from the secret parts of lord Kṛṣṇa.

11

New Discoveries in Kushana Art and Contribution of Mathura Art in the Growth of the Art in the Oxus Region

R.C. SHARMA

The Kushāṇa period was responsible for weaving a thread of cultural harmony and exchange of artistic traits between several countries including India and Soviet Russia in the early centuries of the Christian era. Paradoxically, the age continues to be haunted by different knotty problems of chronology, iconography, and style despite a large number of antiquarian remains brought to light from various parts of its vast empire. Probably no dynasty or period has left such an abundant material culture as the Kushāṇa age. The important museums, art galleries and individual collections do possess at least some representative Kushāṇa specimens. The process of reappearance of discovery of the archaeological wealth which commenced in the first half of the last century remains uninterrupted till date, sometimes with startling finds. More we get more perplexed we feel and the joy of possession is soon turned into the realisation of our responsibility in finding out a due solution of the problems which a fresh hoard contributes.

The new discoveries of the Kushāṇa period are of considerable significance. These have emerged from the distant quarters of the Kushāṇa realm and belong to different schools or their substyles flourishing during the period. Some have been reported well but others are casually referred to or are in process of study and examination. For lack of proper communication owing to various factors and particularly the language barrier, even the reported discoveries have not been fully appreciated by all Kushanologists working in different fields. This paper aims at highlighting mainly those recent discoveries with which the author has directly or indirectly remained associated in one way or the other.

Sonkh

The site is situated about 22 km. to north west of Mathura and was excavated by Dr. Herbert Haertel, the then Director of the Indian Art Museum, Berlin and Professor in the Free University. The work which commenced in 1966 was wound up in 1974. The excavated material was made over to the Mathura Museum when the present author was its Curator in 1974 but a few specimens were allowed to be taken away to Berlin with the excavators. While a detailed report is awaited, the salient features of the expedition have been reported in some journals and a research paper which was also published as a small monograph. The excavators preferred comparatively an intact and undisturbed site and Sonkh looked quite imposing. The extensive ancient habitational area was converted into a fortress by a Jat Chief Hati Singh who was a contemporary of Suraj Mal and Jawahar Singh of the then Bharatpur State in the 18th century. The forty successive layers from top to bottom revealed the remains from the 19th century to the Painted Grey and Black and Red Ware level assigned to *c.* 8th century B.C.

The present paper being confined to the Kushāṇa period only, we are concerned with the layers from Nọ. 16 and 22 which exposed some brick pavements and structures. These were the dwellings with small rooms built of almost uniform large sized bricks measuring 36×26×6 cms. An apsidal shrine also came to light and the position of its walls indicates that it was begun in the early Kushāṇa era and rebuilt in the third century A.D. It was provided with a pathway for circumambulation. Interestingly enough a stone stele carved with a seated mother goddess (Mātṛikā) was found from the shrine. The importance lies in the fact that it is the earliest reminiscent of a Hindu temple.

The period of these structures has been fixed on the basis of positive evidence. The copper coins from the reign of Vāsudeva I to Kanishka III found from the same layers, help us to assign the time limit of this Kushāṇa settlement from the late 2nd century A.D. to the 3rd century.[3] This may, however, be made clear that the excavators of Sonkh reached the following conclusion in framing the chronology of the Kushāṇa age:

Not withstanding theory one may follow in dating Kanishka I, after Sonkh there is no justification of placing him in the second or even in the 3rd century A.D.[4]

The statuettes of Vishṇu, Skanda, Kubera, Mahishāsuramardinī, Durgā and mother goddesses have been recovered from Kushāṇa layers. A few bronze objects[5] further enhance the magnitude of Sonkh excavation. One plaque is almost square and depicts a divine couple, the male with a bowl in his left hand and his lion or cat headed spouse holds a child to her left side. The right hands of both of these deities are raised in the protection pose. The other small and vertical plaque represents the young Kārttikeya holding a long spear. A cup with lid was also unearthed from the Kushāṇa layers.

The literary traditions do tell us that when Mahmud Ghaznavi invaded over Mathura he took away several gold and silver statues. But an archaeological evidence to corroborate this tradition remained wanting till the discovery of the above cited bronze objects.

The most thrilling contribution of the Sonkh excavation for Kushāṇa period was the discovery of the plan of another apsidal temple and the fragments of its richly carved railing and gateway. The shrine was built half a km. to the north of the main excavation site. The indication of its existence was given by the bricks being carried away by the villagers and a stone tympanum carved on both sides with a human faced Garuḍa quelling a three headed cobra. A similar piece saw its way to the Mathura Museum and this hailed from Jogipura, a neighbouring hamlet of Sonkh. The sculpture showed a human form of Garuḍa climbing a hillock.

Encouraged by these casual finds and also by the existence of a large size Nāga deity of the Kushāṇa period, still in worship on the spot as Chamardevi the excavators laid a trench which met with a great success.

The early phase of the exposed plan of the apsidal shrine belongs to the pre-Kushāṇa period and has the same type of baked mud bricks measuring 42×48 cms. as seen in Sūryamitra levels (*c.* 1st century B.C.) at the main excavation site which also revealed some Mitra and Datta coins.[6] The second phase which stood on the foundations of the earlier one and distinguished by the remains of fifteen round brick pillars was built by 100 A.D. i.e. the Kanishka's reign.[7]

The architectural parts chiselled out of the typical red sand stone with insignificant buff dots, used by the Mathura sculptor, are some of the rare specimens of Mathura School. A lintel probably represents the court of a Nāga king seated majestically with a canopy of a seven hooded cobra on a throne. He fastens a long turban presented by a group of people including some children who visited the king's court. A lady with an equal number of snake hoods over her head sits to the right side of the king with same royal grace. Stretching her right arm she accepts a gift of a necklace which has been presented by the visiting delegation through a young lady wearing a single hooded snake scalp. The attendants to the left of the king also have a snake crest. While Dr. Haertel identifies it as the representation of the Nāgarāja Vāsuki and his sister Jaratkāru the present author is inclined to interpret it as a coronation scene.[8]

A bracket figure joining the lintel with the doorjamb has been shaped as a beautiful young damsel—Śālabhañjikā—bearing the branch of the tree with right hand and the left arm held akimbo. Her anklets show the snake hood as cognizance of her association with the Nāga family.[9] There are some balustrades which also bear the serpent figures. A canopy shows a Nāga nobleman coming out of the wide open jaws of a fish-tailed crocodile and it may be indicative of some critical moments through which the Nāga dynasty passed. Another coping is carved with a fish-tailed elephant (*Jalebha*) with two stalked lotuses in his half upraised trunk. This affirms a happy and welcome gesture.

Although Mathura region was the stronghold of Buddhism the excavation at Sonkh does not confirm its prevalence in this part. One is inclined to conclude that the Buddhism was confined to the urban centres and the country side continued to stick to the original faith which bore the stamp of Hinduism as testified by the discovery of several Brahmanical deities. The worship of Nāgas, Skanda and Mahishāsuramardinī seems to have been very popular and this represents a folk tendency of Hinduism or Brahmanism.

Immediately after the closure of the Sonkh expedition the excavation work at Mathura was taken up by Shri M.C. Joshi of the Archaeological Survey of India.[10] The sequence of culture is divided into five periods and the fourth period is associated with the Kushāṇas. It is distinguished by sprinklers, stamped pots, incense burners, jars and pots with handles. The terracotta items include moulded face and hand made body, glazed items, Nāgas, Yakshas, Vāmanakas and mother and child. A Kushāṇa period tank made of burnt bricks was exposed at the famous site of Kaanbāli. A stone inscription records the date as 5th regnal year of Kanishka.[11]

Govindnagar

The largest number of Kushāṇa sculptures during the recent years was unearthed from the site of Govindnagar in the Western outskirts of Mathura city.[12] When the present author joined as Curator of Mathura Museum in 1969 the spot looked an impressive, intact and potential site. The efforts to declare it as a protected archaeological site and to start excavations did not bear fruits but the local Housing Society began to level up the mound in 1976. Consequently some sculptures appeared and the Museum also pitched a tent for salvaging the antiquarian remains. Within a month hundreds of sculptural fragments were collected and most of them belong to the Kushāṇa period and others range between the 1st century B.C. and the 6th century A.D. The monastery which stood in the Kushāṇa and Gupta periods has been recorded in one of the inscriptions of the years 121 and 15 as VĪRADATTA VIHĀRA.[13] Some terracotta figurines can of course be assigned to the pre-Mauryan age. The Kushāṇa period terracotta items include dabbers for shaping the pots, horse, toycarts, crocodile jaw and bricks with lotus decoration or bearing the battlement motif Kapiśīrshaka.[14]

The notable sculptural finds include the architectural fragments, parasols, haloes, Buddhist icons and a few Brahmanical deities. The earliest dated sculpture is a fragmentary pillar which records the 12th sequal year of Kanishka (90 A.D.)[15] and the latest dated find belongs to the year 161 of the Gupta-era (480 A.D.)[16]

The railpost which on the stylistic ground should be assigned to the pre-Kushāṇa period (Mathura Museum No. 76.40) measures 138 cms. in the height. It consists of four square compartments one over the other on both sides. The better preserved side in the top compartment represents the turban of Bodhisattva flanked by two flywhisk bearing attendants. The remaining three compartments depict the episode of sage Ekaśṛiṅga.[17] The other pillar (Mathura Museum No. 76.39) measuring 108 cms. shows a lady seated on a cushioned wicker seat and applying some cosmetics on her face or looking at the nail marks.[18] The other railposts (No. 76.37) represent the noblemen carrying garlands.[19]

The crossbars depict a variety of full blown lotuses and the copings are carved with ogee arch, symbols and devotees. Among the door-jambs one is richly decorated (76.41) with grape creeper issuing from the mouth of the half knelt dwarf.[20] In carving the attendants the sculptor seems to have erred as the man with Scythian dress is seen bare footed while the native person wears the shoes.

The parasols or umbrellas which protected the underinstalled image from sun and rain have been discovered in different sizes. A huge parasol (dia 208 cms.) of which about two-third exists depicts different auspicious motifs (No. 72.5).[21] Another umbrella, smaller in dimension (No. 75.32) is carved with *Maṅgalakalaśa* (full vase), *Svastika* (mystic cross), *Triratna* (three jewels), *Śaṅkha* (conch), *Pushpadāma* (basket with rosary), *phalapātra* or *Ratnapātra* (basket with fruits or jewels), *Śrīvatsa* (central jewel) and *Nidhipātra* (pot oozing wealth).

The site has revealed a good number of haloes (*Prabhā-maṇḍalas*). The earlier ones are plain with a scalloped border and a beaded string in the early phase but in the later period full blown lotus becomes conspicuous. In the post-

Kushāṇa span several decorated bands occur. The lion throne of the Kushāṇa period (76.167) is a rare find. It is supported on four pillars and the side frames are carved with lions in all directions.[22]

The Buddhist statues discovered from the site frame an interesting chronology of the development of the Buddha image from symbol to model type. The first statue unearthed even before the levelling of the mound is almost a life size standing Buddha image (72.105) with a large scalloped halo and shaven head with a snail knot (*Kaparda*). This belongs to the early tradition of Kanishka phase.[23] The impact of Gandhāra with rib or shutter type drapery and its receding stage in the late or post-Kushāṇa period is noticed on several icons. Some of them are inscribed and furnish useful information. The Govindnagar Buddha statues hint that the Sarnath style of the Gupta age had its origin at Mathura in the post-Kushāṇa period.[24]

An outstanding discovery from this site is the pedestal of Amitābha Buddha (No. 77.30) inscribed in the year 26 (104 A.D.). Before the estimation of this antiquity the cult of Amitābha was supposed to have its origin outside India. Thus this inscribed and dated document opens a new chapter in the development of the Buddhist pantheon. Curiously enough, the lotus (cognizance of Amitābha) is carved in the background of the left foot of the deity.[25]

A hoard of 1543 copper coins was also unearthed from the spot and it contained 768 late Kushāṇa specimens. King at altar and Śiva with bull form the majority.[26] The imperial Kushāṇa coinage is, however, missing.[27]

Hulaskhera

Another site of considerable importance is Hulaskhera near Mohanlalgaing in Lucknow district.[28] While the cultural sequence is spread over from about 7th century B.C. to the 7th-8th century A.D. its Kushāṇa phase is remarkable for more than one reasons. This extensive mound has brought to light an impressive road (Rajpath) of the Kushāṇa period measuring 9.80 meters in width made of double box. The bricks used in this road are of three different sizes viz. 39×23×6.5, 39×22×6 and 35×22×5 cms. The pottery includes inturned bowls, inkpot type lids and storage jars. The most significant find is a gold plaque measuring 3.8×2.3 cms. representing Kārttikeya holding a spear. He wears fluted crown, ear rings, necklace and *dhotī*. The figure must be dated to the early Kushāṇa period *c.* 1st century A.D.[29] The sight seems to have been a large fort which was in habitation in the Kushāṇa and Gupta periods.

Sanghol

One of the most important and epoch making recent archaeological discoveries is the hoard of Kushāṇa sculptures from Sanghol in Ludhiana District of Punjab.[30] The site has been revealing the antiquarian remains from the Harappan Culture to the late Gupta period but before 1985 it was not realised that the land conceals in its womb a magnificent *stūpa* of the Kushāṇa period studded with some of the finest jewels of Indian art. Fabricated in the typical spotted red sand stone, this lucky discovery further corroborates the potential and prolific nature of Mathura school of art. This is the biggest repository of Mathura ateliers of art outside Mathura region.

Of the 117 sculptures 4 are corner pillars, 58 upright pillars or railposts, 35 cross bars and 13 copings.[31] The railposts representing damsels (Yakshīs) in different actions and inviting gestures immediately catch our attention. Wearing large ear rings, torque, bangles, armlets, girdle, with several strings and anklets, these female figures with voluptuous bosoms and heavy hips are often seen majestically mounting over the kneeling dwarf who often seems to enjoy her kicks. The lady sucking the last drop, another climbing up with a child, one riding on a knelt Yaksha and another fondling a child with her upraised arms, are some of the unique poses and actions which were hitherto unnoticed in the Mathura studio.

India and the Oxus Region

The study of contacts between India and the Oxus region has not been fully made. Scholars have generally confined to trace the impact of Gandhāra over Mathura and *vice versa* and this itself gives a good scope of further researches in the complicated issues. Like the word Yavana, Gandhāra has also been used rather vaguely. All foreign invaders in India were called as Yavanas although the word was originally used for Greek invaders who were the first foreigners to have the political designs. Looking the early antiquarian remains from the Oxus region one derives the natural conclusion that like Gandhāra this land was also the scene of frequent changes and disturbances as a result of which different groups of people came, settled and left their impress of art and culture.

Oxus Region and Mathura

The relation between Mathura and the Oxus region although remote and indirect may be traced on the basis of the following three factors viz.:

1. The artifacts of Mathura found in the Oxus region lying to the north and south of the river.

2. Artifacts made in the Oxus region but bearing impact of the Mathura style, and
3. Early religious themes and iconic features suggesting knowledge of Mathuran and inner Indian traits.

Among the first category we find a silver dish carved with an elephant carrying a rider in a *haudā*; stylistically it should belong to the Kushāṇa period.[33]

The other is an embossed silver plate depicting Mahākāla seated by the side of his Śakti. This should be assigned to the post-Kushāṇa period.[34] Besides, some ivory objects of the Kushāṇa age unearthed at Dalverzintepe (Uzbekistan) may be conjectured to have been imported from Mathura. One comb which has the upper portion etched with a figure bears several Mathuran characteristics viz. elongated form, voluptuous bosoms and heavy and broad anklets.[35] The other shows a woman and an elephant rider, the composition being typical Indian.[36] On the other hand, some gold bars bearing Kharoshṭhī inscriptions were donated by the monks from Kalyan.[37]

The objects of the second category (i.e. those made in the Oxus region but bearing the impact of Mathura) include the following:

A dancing girl from Karabulak closely resembles a Śālabhañjikā or a damsel on the railposts of Mathura. Her stance, dress, ornaments and the posture of akimbo remind us of the typical Mathuran attitude. This must belong to about 2nd-3rd century A.D.[38]

A few motifs also seem to have their origin in Mathura art. Mention may be made of a male figure found at Dalverzin (in Afghanistan). He feeds grapes to a parrot perched on his left hand.[39] Similar figurines are noticeable in sculptural art of Mathura. At Kara-Tepe near Terize we have also found some female figures who hold a child in arms. These bear a great deal of affinity with the Mātṛikās found in stone and terracotta of the Kushāṇa period at Mathura.[40]

The third variety of remains of the Oxus region bearing the Mathura impact are of religious nature. Some figures from Kara-Tepe are in *ardhaparyaṅk-āsana* posture of sitting with one leg hanging down and the other held across. This is a Mathura or central Indian trait. The posture of half upraised hand with the gesture of preaching (*upadeśa* or *pravartana*) attitude bespeaks the same phenomenon.[41]

A wall painting at Dalverzin depicts Śiva and Umā on a bull. The concept of showing Umā and Maheśvara (i.e. Śiva and Pārvatī) together is again very much Indian in origin and must have emerged first at Mathura. The large bull used as mount (Nandī) is again an Indian theme. This has been dated to 2nd-3rd century A.D.[42]

To conclude there seems some affinity between the remains found in the Oxus region and that of Mathura in the early centuries of the Christian era. Most of the Indian traits noticed in the material culture should be attributed to Mathura as it was the major art centre and the most important part of the Kushāṇa empire in inner India. The art traditions flourished here several centuries before the Kushāṇa period and it was in direct contact with other centres in the Western territory of the Kushāṇas. The intermixing between Mathura and Gandhāra is well known, but the adjoining regions like Oxus were also naturally effected. The impact seems to have been through Gandhāra but the direct influence and exchange can also not be ignored. But the exact magnitude of this interaction and particularly the contribution of Mathura in the growth of art in the Oxus region is yet to be fully realised and the subject warrants a deeper probe.

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12

Representation of Yakshas and Yakshinis in Kushana Art*

R.N. MISRA

We do not propose to enter here into the question of the validity of dynastic designation for schools of art, and our enquiry is limited to examining Yaksha and Yakshiṇī sculptures fashioned in the regions which were under the rule of the Kushāṇas (1st-3rd century A.D.). A fairly large number of Buddhist establishments flourished in the vast Kushāṇa empire: in the Indo-Pak sub-continent and Afghanistan; in Soviet Central Asia (Kirghizia, Tajikistan, Khorezm, Uzbekistan) including Bactrian sites and the Parthian sites of south Turkmenistan.[1] In the Indian sub-continent, the Kushāṇa power spread definitely up to Mathura. East of Mathura, it included the central Gangetic basin, as indicated by the find of a sealing of Kanishka at Kauśāmbī, and perhaps upto Pāṭaliputra which probably owed allegiance to Kanishka. The delimitation of Kushāṇa power within these units in east helps in positing that some of the important settlements included Hastināpura, Ahichchhatra, Kauśāmbī, Rajghat and Kumrahāra must have been the areas where Kushāṇa impact was perceptably felt. All these sites have yielded Kushāṇa levels in excavations.[2] Mathura, Ahichchhatra and Kauśāmbī have yielded Yaksha and Yakshiṇī figures or reliefs which, besides such images from Gandhāra, form the subject of this paper.

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It would be easily conceded that by the time the Kushāṇas came on the scene in Indian art history, the iconic archetypes representing Yakshas and Yakshiṇīs and their major variations had already been defined in the popular sculptural traditions whereby, in consonance with the beliefs, Yakshas signified elemental strength and supernatural powers and Yakshiṇīs epitomised beauty and feminine charm. The pre-Kushāṇa images from numerous Indian sites bear out this point. The figures of Yakshas had already been cast into several types: as cult figures, as *bhāravāhakas*, as tree or aquatic deities, tutelary deities or as decorative motifs just as Yakshiṇī figures had achieved forms like *śālabhañjikā*, tree or aquatic spirits, animal-headed figures even as they were represented simply as graceful and charming maidens. Among Yaksha chiefs, Kubera and Maṇibhadra, besides others, and possibly Hārīti among Yakshiṇīs had also come into prominence in sculptural representations. Nonetheless, the age of the Kushāṇas (1st-3rd century A.D.) seems to represent a final upsurge of an energetic tradition which was rooted in antiquity. Owing to the ascendency of heterodox religions, specially Buddhism, this period represents, iconographically, a phase of more or less total subservience of Yakshas to the other major religious systems, Buddhism in particular.

Despite this, Yaksha and Yakshiṇī images continued to be made in large numbers cast in new types and roles, though diminished in size. Kubera-Vaiśravaṇa images received an unprecedented prominence and certain significant cult images of Yakshas, including Kubera, Hārīti and Pāñchika and others came to the fore. The cult images of Yakshas are a class by themselves, but other types also need attention. The non-cult icons of Yakshas of Kushāṇa period have been variously designated as "functional" or "attending" types consisting of the attending, decorative, dwarfish, atlantes Yakshas sometimes also shown as supporting a *chakra* or a bowl[3] etc. Alternatively, on the basis of textual references, it is appropriate to divide Yakshas' figures into four classes, namely *karoṭpāṇi*, *mālādhara*, *sadāmatta* and *yambhāka* (or *Jṛimbhaka*) as mentioned in the *Mahāvastu* (I. 25; II. 198) and *Divyāvadāna* (p. 218). The *chāturgaṇa* Yakshas of four classes are mentioned in the Epics also.[4] Of those four types, the *karoṭpāṇi* defines Yakshas holding eatables in the hand, *mālādhara* may stand for those carrying flowers; *sadāmatta* signifies those who are seen perpetually inebriated and *yambhāka* designates attendant Yakshas. We will come to these and other types of Yaksha figures later. First about the Yaksha chiefs or the cult icons.

Pali texts mention a number of Yaksha chiefs,[5] but Kushāṇa art has representations mainly of Kubera-Vaiśravaṇa and Pāñchika (with Hārīti or alone). There is yet another important inscribed Yaksha image from Maholi in Mathura Museum (no. 3232)[6] whose identity is not clearly established. The image shows a Yaksha seated, holding a lemon in the right hand and a cup in the left. There is a halo behind the head of the figure. The inscription on the pedestal reads

Mahārājagṛihaḥ yakshaḥ dharmanityo vijñāpayati kare devaprāsādataḥ. The term *mahārāja* here obviously designates Kubera-Vaiśravaṇa who was one of the *chaturmahārājika devas*. With regard to Kubera images, two different traditions seem to have been at work during the Kushāṇa phase; one, which was indigenous and portrayed him as a giver of wealth and protection and other that perhaps received a fillip in the wake of the Kushāṇa polity and accordingly emphasised his overlordship and regal majesty. His images respectively from Mathura and Gandhāra may be considered in the light of these two traditions. Mathura, in addition, also seems to have witnessed a synthesis in these different traditions.

Mathura as a single important centre of art has yielded the largest number of image of Kubera-Vaiśravaṇa, showing him alone or with the consort Hārīti or consorts Hārīti and Ṛiddhi (C. 30). The oft-represented objects in Kubera's hand are a cup and goblet or a purse but lemon, lotus flower or staff are also found held in the hands of the deity.[11] Sometimes, his right hand is shown in the *abhaya mudrā*. In a relief, Kubera is shown standing under a *kadamba* tree holding a *chaupada* in the right hand and a purse in the left.[12] In another image he has his right hand in the *abhaya mudrā* and carries a purse in his left hand.[13] In yet another relief, which is the part of a *toraṇa*, Kubera is shown offering prayers to some deity (not shown here). A *mālādhara* Yaksha carrying a basket of garlands stands by his side.[14] In yet another image Kubera is shown carrying a purse in the left hand. His right hand seems to have been in the *abhaya mudrā*[15] but is broken now. A mass of flames is shown rising from the shoulders and head of the image and Coomaraswamy has commented that the flames represent "fiery energy inherent in a king". Some Mathura reliefs show a group of four divinities where Kubera occurs besides Ardhanārīśvara, Vishṇu and Gajalakshmī. A distinctive attribute held in such examples is the long spear whose upper part is shown girded under his left armpit. In the right hand Kubera has a purse. The spear in the figures of Kubera seems to have been borrowed from the Gandhāra tradition. This influence is also seen in a Mathura image where he has been represented with two of his consorts: Lakshmī and Hārīti. Here Lakshmī holds a flower and Hārīti a cornucopia. In this case again Kubera holds a spear. These sculptures indicate that when Pāñchika-Hārīti type of image was accepted in Mathura, the Gandhāra tradition had to undergo a change. Altogether, the Mathura images of Kubera exhibit the following traits: his consorts Hārīti and Lakshmī; his devotees and his attributes like the cup, flower, staff and lemon; the *abhaya* and *varada mudrās* and a grinning expression on the face. In Gandhāra, Kubera appears as a chief holding a lance, and in some instances, figure of a lion also occurs as a congnizance.[18]

Hariti-Panchika Pair[19]

Haritā and Pāñchika as a couple are mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁśa* (XXII. 21) which associates them with the Himalayan country. The legends of Hārīti associate her respectively with Vaiśālī, Rājagṛiha and Gandhāra. As regards Pāñchika, he is represented mostly as a north-westerner described as the son of Pāñchāla of Gandhāra. The *Mahāmāyūrī* associates him with Kashmir region (Kashmira Sandha). In the Kushāṇa image, he is shown both alone (British Museum image, the images from Takal and Mardan's Guides Mess) or with Hārīti (Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin).[20] Rosenfield has observed three types in Hārīti-Pāñchika images of Gandhāra; first, in which the couple is shown in a highly nude and encumbered with many children; second, in which the seated pair is corpulent and highly ornate, and third, in which they have a close resemblance with Pharro and Ardoxsho".[21] In some of these images the *udīchyaveśa* of Pāñchika is specially noteworthy. In the Mathura school the Hārīti-Pāñchika pair obtained various permutations.[22] The pair occurs at Kauśāmbī,[23a] which has yielded the image of Hārīti alone, too. In Mathura, Hārīti was readily converted into Bhadrā, Lakshmī or Vasudhārā and Pāñchika took on the appearance of Kubera. With some modifications, Mathura produced several images on the Hārīti model. At least three types can be distinguished in them, viz., Hārīti with the consort, or alone, or in a "multiplied" form (together with other mothers) with Kubera. Examples of all these different types are known from the Kushāṇa art of Mathura.[23b] The central Indian version of Pāñchika-Śūlapāṇi,[24] or Hārīti and Pāñchika is seen in the art of Sanchi.[25] However, the *udīchya veśa* of Pāñchika and his other Gandhāran association viz. a lion are seen in an image (now broken) from Mathura. In this example, he holds a cup in his hand which is a trait of Mathura figures of Kubera.[26] Hārīti also occurs in the image.

It was remarked above, that a bulk of non-cult Yaksha images of Kushāṇa times may be conveniently divided into four classes, namely *karoṭpāṇi* etc., which seem to cover most of the Yaksha images. Some caution may yet be necessary in applying this fourfold classification, for in quite a few instances, there is clearly an intermix of two aspects which is difficult to ignore. But, by and large, the classification seems to hold itself sufficiently well.

Karotpani Yakshas

In the Pali Buddhist texts, *karoṭī* signifies some kind of food and drink. Accordingly, Yakshas holding food or drinks in hand may define this class. According to different texts, Yakshas liked eating curds, butter, honey, rice, *lājikā* (pop-corn) and *apūpa* (sweet, fried bread), among other things; they were specially fond of intoxicating drinks.[27] The *Abhyantara Jātaka* (Cowell II, 271 f) refers to Vessavana's mangoes which had the efficacy to induce conception; and child born of eating those mangoes was supposed to obtain royal status. It seems that the fruit or other eatables shown in the hands of Yaksha images signified *deva prasāda* as is mentioned above in reference to the Maholi image of *mahārāja-Kubera*. The Mathura images of the *karoṭpāṇi* type represent Yakshas standing with or without a tree in the background, holding a fruit in one of the hands (Mathura Museum image nos. B. 88; H. 81, for instance). These reliefs are very similar to each other in appearance and in their corpulence and ornaments, particularly in the design of the crown. The *karoṭpāṇi* motif occurs in terracotta figures also, and in one such example in Allahabad Museum (No. 2341; from Rajghat) Kubera, nude, is shown sitting, holding a *bījapuraka* and a cup in his hands.[28]

Maladhara Yakshas

The term '*mālādhara*' connotes the images where Yaksha may be shown holding a garland or flower. The act of holding flowers or garlands is shown in different manners e.g. thick meandering creepers supported on shoulders of Yaksha or Yakshiṇī figures,[29] or flowers held in the hand (J. 270), or garlands contained in a bowl on the Yaksha's head and supported by his upraised hand. Yaksha figures of these types occur at Mathura and other contemporary centres of art in Gandhāra, Sanchi, Amaravati and Nagarjunkonda.[30] Among these representations, the one from Maholi (C. 3 size: 98 × 70 cm) is a typical example. It shows a seated corpulent Yaksha of a huge body and a huge belly which is tied with a rolled scarf. The Yaksha is shown wearing thick moustaches, a torque and ear-rings. The arms of the figure are broken, but they seem to have supported a bowl resting on the head. The bowl has now disappeared. Recently another example of the type has been recovered from Govindanagar (Mathura).[31] Many other similar Yaksha images are known from Mathura,[32] and these recall to memory other such images from Mathura[33] and Pitalkhora[34] which have some connection with goldsmiths. Such images in any case, were sculpted during the Kushāṇa period, of which there is an explicit epigraphic testimony: reference here is to the figure of such a Yaksha in relief on the pedestal of a Buddha image dated in 5th regnal year of Kanishka.[35]

The Maholi image and the others of the type have been discussed in detail elsewhere[36] in reference to the "bowl-supporting" Yaksha figures. Suffice here to say that the type seems to have been introduced in the Kushāṇa period and it occurs both in round and relief in the art of Mathura. The type is encountered at Ahichhatra also.

Sadamatta Yakshas

Yakshas have often been described as inebriated beings and the trait is emphatically reflected in their images.[37] Several texts refer to the fondness of Yakshas towards intoxicating drinks,[38] and such images seem to have become popular during the Kushāṇa times. Prior to these the *sadāmatta* aspect is typified in the Kauśāmbī[39] and Bhita[40] images also. Two significant examples of the type from the Kushāṇa art of Mathura are those numbered as C 24 and 3232. The latter has already been mentioned above. The former shows Kubera, holding an amphorae, sitting on *Kailāśa*, attended by four figures. Of these attendant figures one holds a similar amphorae, and the other holds a long-necked wine bottle. Both these attendant figures wear Scythian apparel and Kubera in the figure appears highly inebriated.

Yambhaka Yakshas

This class of Yakshas finds mention in the *Mahāvastu*, *Divyāvadāna* and Jain *Kalpasūtra*.[41] The *Bhāgavat Purāṇa* (III. 20.41) derives *jṛimbhaka* from the root *Jṛimbha* "to yawn". In the Jain *Kalpasūtra* they are supposed to have lived in the *tiryaka* world and, like Yakshas, served Vaiśramaṇa.[42] They are mentioned as *aññattikaras*, "carrying out commands". The Yambhāka Yakshas, serving as attendants, found various expressions in Kushāṇa art. Their figures may be divided according to their functional types which would include various hierarchical categories also, including those Yakshas who performed protective functions, and in performance of such roles, carried a *vajra* (thunderbolt: Mathura Museum, nos. E 24; 2501) *mudgar*[43] (mace; Lucknow Museum no. 66.247), or lance (Sanchi).[44] These attributes emphasise their productive function as well as their *vīra*, "warrior", aspect. In these figures one may also identify Mudgarapāṇi, Śūlapāṇi and Vajrapāṇi, the Yakshas who had the status of chiefs. There were other *yambhāka* Yakshas of lower ranks acting as *bhāravāhakas*[45] (Mathura Museum 00.I 11), who are shown supporting a *dharma chakra* (Mathura Museum J 11)[46] or carrying it on their head; or supporting the hooves of the horse in the *mahābhinishkramaṇa* scene,[47] and so on. One of the most powerful depictions of the *bhāravāhaka* Yakshas occurs on the western gate of the main *stūpa* at Sanchi.[48]

The images discussed above do not exhaust all the types of Kushāṇa Yaksha figures. Yakshas occur also as decorative motifs, both at Gandhāra and Mathura. Iconographically, however, the theri-anthropomorphic figures of Yakshas seem to form a class of their own.[49] The motif came into existence in 2nd century B.C. and is seen at Bharhut, Bodhgaya and Pitalkhora. In the repertoire of Mathura art many examples are known where we have Yakshas who may be designated as Gokarṇeśvara[50] (Mathura Museum No. 3513), Lucknow Museum, No. 1518); Gajamukha (M.M. No. 2335), Śūkaramukha (M.M. 1254), Meshaśṛiṅga[51] (M.M. 57) and Gomukha.[52] Of these figures, the last three belong to the Kushāṇa phase. Their figures perhaps typify the popular belief that Yakshas could assume any form at their will.

It may be relevant here to refer to the passages in the *Māradharshaṇa parivartta* of *Lalitavistara* (pp. 221-23) which graphically narrate the seductive beauty and charms of the daughters of Māra and grotesque, fearful appearance of his sons. The details regarding the Mārakanyās recall to memory the Yakshiṇī figures on the railing-pillars of Mathura and Sanghol, belonging to the Kushāṇa period. It is easy to compare the figures with the description as found in the *Lalitavistara* and reproduced below. It says that commanded by Māra, his maidens tried to disturb the Buddha's penance by exhibiting their charms and beauty; "Some maidens exhibited their breasts, full and strong; others, smiling, exhibited a beautiful line of their teeth; others threw up their hands to display beauty of their waist; some would look at the Bodhisattva with a longing desire and having seen him would suddently close eyes...".[53] These and many other stances described in the passages of *Lalitavistara* have been rendered by artists in the Kushāṇa railing-pillars with ease and poise conforming to a tradition which has been succinctly recorded in the text. The animal-headed or grotesque figures of Yakshas mentioned above similarly bear testimony to the tradition recorded in the *Lalitavistara.* (*Māradharshaṇa Parivartta*, pp. 221-23). The army of the Māras, according to this text, consisted of his sons representing the deformities of all kinds (*bahu-vidhi-mukha-vikāra*); some of these had animal-heads like those of jackal, bear, donkey etc. "(*Kechit ajakarṇa sarpakarṇa hastikarṇa, lambakarṇa varāhakarṇāḥ...*", *Kechid vyāghra-ṛiksha-vānara-dvīpi-biḍāla-chhāgaloḥ abhra-sarpa-nakula-matsya-makara-siṁsumāra-kūrma-kāka-gṛiddha-ulūka-garuḍādi sādriśātmabhāva...*").[54]

The animal-headed or grotesque-Yaksha figurines and the seductive figures of Yakshiṇīs seem to be clearly explained in tradition in reference to the passages quoted above. All in all, it may be concluded that in the reportoire of Kushāṇa art Yaksha and Yakshiṇī figures drew on various traditions including the local ones of Gandhāra and eastern India and Kushāṇa art has left to us a variety which is both iconographically interesting and culturally significant.

Notes and References

1. Cf. G. Frumkin (1975), "On Soviet Archaeological Finds relating to the Kushana Period" in *Central Asia in the Kushana Period*, ed. B.G. Gafurov *et al*, Moscow, 1975, pp. 113-116.
2. Cf. A. Ghosh (1975), "The Kushana Levels at Some Excavated Sites in North India", in B.G. Gafurov, *et al*, *op. cit*., pp. 108-109. The Kanishka sealing from Kauśāmbī carries a four-line legend which reads: *maha rajasya rajatirajasya devaputrasya kanishkasya prayoga*: cf. G. Sharma and J. Negi (1973) "The Saka-Kushanas in the Central Ganga Valley", in B.G. Gofurov *et al*, *op. cit*., p. 17.
3. Cf. G.V. Mitterwallner (1980), "The Yaksha cult of Mathura" A paper read in the seminar on "Ancient Mathura" under the sponsorship of American Institute of Indian Studies, in January 1980; unpublished.
4. Cf. E.W. Hopkins (1975), *The Epic Mythology*, Strassburg, p. 148; the implications of *chāturgaṇa* Yaksha are differently explained here.

5. Cf. R.N. Misra (1981), *Yaksha Cult and Iconography*, Chapter 4, pp. 57-87,
6. K.D. Bajpai (1947), "A New Inscribed Image of a Yaksha", *India Antiqua*, Lyden, p. 8; G.V. Mitterwallner (1980).
7. R.N. Misra (1981), p. 45, 65; also p. 61-62.
8. P. Pal (n.d.) "Dhanada-Kubera of the Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa and Some Images from North West India", *Lalit Kala*, No. 18, ed. K. Khandalavala, Delhi. The icons of Pāñchika-Vaiśravaṇa—Kubera have been discussed by Pal in the light of the two traditions—one which was indigenous and the other which was prevalent in the north-west. There is no difficulty in accepting Pāñchika and Pharro derivations of Kubera's images specially in the light of the details in the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa.* But more conclusive evidence is required to accept as Kubera-Vaiśravaṇa the images erstwhile known as those of Pāñchika who was a Yaksha chief of the Gandhāra region according to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* and *Mahāmāyurī*. Cf. R.N. Misra (1981), p. 77. These texts leave little doubt as to the exalted status of Pāñchika. Pāñchika is described as "fierce in appearance" and his consort and child are also mentioned in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*. In view of this it is safer to assume that Hārīti is the main denominator of Pāñchika images. In the images from northwest, his iconographic features like a fierce appearance, *udīchyaveśa* and lance occur (e.g. Berlin Museum image, Pal (n.d.) (Pl. VII, fig. 1) which identify even those images where Hārīti does not figure.

   Obviously, we have a predominance of Kubera in Mathura and other indigenous schools while Pāñchika in the image of Pharro occurs primarily in Gandhāra which knew of Vaiśravaṇa-Kubera too. As regards the distinguishing features of Kubera's images from those of Pāñchika, it may be suggested that the Gandhāran figures with child (or children) and Hārīti (e g. British Museum image) (P. Pal, (nd), Pl. VII. 3); or Takal image, or the Berlin Museum image (Pal, (nd) pl. VII, fig. 1) represented Pāñchika, while the rest may represent Kubera-Vaiśravaṇa (e.g. Musee Guimet image. P. Pal (nd) Pl. VII, fig. 2).
9. Cf. B. Yadav (1975) "Some Aspects of the Changing Order in India during the Saka-Kushana Age", in Gafurov *et al*, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-133.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 133.
11. R.N. Misra (1981), pp. 68-69.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 68, fig. 2.
13. *Ibid.*, fig. 3.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 68, fig. 4.
15. *Ibid.*, fig. 5.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 69, fig. 8.
17. *Ibid.*, fig. 9.
18. P. Pal (nd), Pl. VII fig. 2 showing a Gandhāra image of Kubera (2nd-3rd century A.D.) in Musee Guimet, Paris.
19. Cf. R.N. Misra (1981) pp. 72-80.
20. For these images, Cf. R.N. Misra (1981) p. 81 and references; also P. Pal (nd), Pl. VII, fig. 1: Pāñchika-Hārīti, Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, fig. 3. Pāñchika British Museum. Pal suggests different identification for them, See also note 8 above.
21. J.M. Rosenfield, (1967), *The Dynastic Art of the Kushans*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, pp. 246-247.
22. R.N. Misra (1981), pp. 77-80.

23a. G. Sharma and J.S. Negi, *op. cit.*, figure on p. 28.

23b. R.N. Misra (1981), pp. 78-80, including footnotes.

24. *Ibid.*, fig. 57.
25. J. Marshall *et al* (nd) *Monument of Sanchi*, Calcutta, Vol. I, p. 245, Pl. CIII, also fig. No. 69.9. in the Antiquity Register of the Mathura Museum.
27. R.N. Misra (1981), pp. 97-103.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 139.
29. Cf. Amita Ray (1983), *Life and Art of Early Andhradesa*, Delhi, Pl. 123.
30. R.N. Misra (1981), pp. 121, 124.
31. R.C. Sharma. (1984), *Buddhist Art of Mathura*, Delhi, p. 121, fig. 51. For another such image cf. *Ibid.*, fig. 52. The image is labelled there as Kubera but it is of the same class as the other Govindanagar Yaksha illustrated in fig. 51.
32. Nos. 2529; C.6, C.7, C.24, no. 253 no. 988, no. 1524, no. 1736, no. 2519, mentioned by G.V. Mitterwallner (1980), p. 20, note 145. She also accepts, a pre-Kushāṇa origin of this type. For the squatting Yaksha types in image, cf. J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw (1947), *India Antiqua* p. 255, fig. 19, Pl. XVII.
33. Bowl on Yaksha's head from *Suvarṇakāra vihāra* of ancient Mathura; Cf. *Epigraphia Indica*, XIX (1927-28), p. 68.
34. R.N. Misra (1981), p. 121-122; fig. 54; The inscription on the image reads: *Kanhadasena hiraṇakarena kaṭa* (made by Kanhadasa, a goldsmith).
35. R.C. Sharma (1984), p. 101, fig. 89; for yet another figure of this type in a relief cf. R.N. Misra (1981), fig. 4.
36. G.V. Mitterwallner (1980).
37. Cf. Martha L. Carter (1968) "Dionysiac Aspects of Kushana Art" *Art Orientalis*, vol. 7, pp. 121-146, quoted in P. Pal (nd), p. 16.
38. Cf. *Mahābhārata*, XIII, 101.60; *Jātaka* (Cowell) I. 255; *Mānava Gṛihya-sūtra*, II. 14-28.
39. R.N. Misra (1981), p. 112, fig. 38.
40. *Ibid.*, fig. 37, mark the goblet in the hand of the Yaksha.
41. Cf. R.N. Misra (1981), p. 5, note 59; p. 20 (Jambhaka), 156 (Jṛimbhaka); also U.P. Shah, "Yaksha worship in Early Jain Literature", *Journal of Oriental Institute*, III (1), p. 56.
42. Cf. *Āvaśyaka Sūtra*, I, p. 257.
43. R.N. Misra (1981), fig. 60; fig. 67 for a Gupta period example. Longhurst, *M A.S.I.*, no. 54; R.C. Sharma (1984), p. 121, nos. 76, 106 from Govindnagar (Vajrapāṇi or Mudgarapāṇi). Also R.N. Misra (1970), "Kubera and Mudgarapani on a Mathura Railing Pillar: An Identification", in *Bulletin of Museum and Archaeology in U.P.*, nos. 5-6, plate opposite p. 28.
44. R.N. Misra (1984), fig. 57.
45. G.V. Mitterwallner (1980), p. 19 (typed copy) quoting N.P. Joshi, (1966) "*Mathura Sculptures; A Handbook to appreciate sculptures in the Archaeological Museum Mathura*", fig. 6, 5. For an example from Gandhāra, Cf. Marshall (1975) *Taxila*, Pl. 58 a,
46. G.V. Mitterwallner (1980), p. 20; R.C. Sharma (1972), *B.M.A. in U.P.*, No. 10, p. 66, fig. 2; Lucknow Museum No. 72.7. For a Gandhāra example, G.K. Gairola (1956), "Atlantes in Early Indian Art", *Oriental Art*, Vol. 2, London, p. 140 f.
47. G.V. Mitterwallner (1980), p. 19-20 quoting examples from Mathura and Gandhāra.
48. R.N. Misra (1980), fig. 55.
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 132-134 and figures.
50. One such example was noticed by us in the photo-archive of American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi, in photo negative no J.R. 187.
51. R.N. Misra (1980), fig. 79.
52. *Ibid.*, fig. 78.
53. Cf. R.N. Misra (1970), "The Marakanyas and the Grotesque in Mathura Art: A Perspective" in *Madhyabhāratī*, Vol. 18, no. 18. University of Sagar, Pl. 3-4, quoting *Lalitavistara's* description of Māraputras: *Kechit gajakarṇa-sūrpakarṇa-hastikarṇa-lambakarna-varāhakarṇāḥ kechit vṛikakarṇāḥ. . . . kechit bheruṇḷaka-sṛigāla-sūkara-gardabha-gohastyaśvo. . . . khara-mahisha . . . vikṛita-vaktra.*
54. Cf. R.N. Misra (1970), p. 4.

13

Kushana Wall Painting : Early Phase of its Development

JAYANTA CHAKRABARTI

The Kushāṇas played a very significant role in the formation of a cultural history in Soviet Central Asia, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India just before and after the beginning of Christian era. The most striking peculiarity of this culture is the syncretic and eclectic character of their culture which is found to be reflected in every sphere of their activities. 'Its role in history is one of absorption and defusion, and this function is no where more strikingly illustrated than in art'[1] which flourished under the Kushāṇas.

The art activities in the different parts of the vast Kushāṇa territory, inhabited by peoples of different geo-socio-culturo-religious affiliations, cannot but be complex and eclectic in nature. In any discussion of art under the Kushāṇas, it must be remembered that they were a nomadic race without any significant tradition in art. And it can be well understood that when they could occupy a vast territory—extending from Transoxiana to Mathurā—and establish their ruling authority, the value of a universal language like visual imagery for political and religious purposes must have been impressed upon them by their acquaintance with the prevailing art traditions of the region, particularly of Hellenized Rome, Parthia, Iran and India. It appears that 'the picture language of the Hellenistic world, borrowed either from Rome or from Parthia, was completely appropriate to their needs',[2] specially in the initial stage. But after a century their art-language took a new direction—towards idealized objectivity—when Indian art began to exercise its influence on it; gradually certain local and Chinese elements were also assimilated in them. This process of assimilation and mingling of various ideas and artistic traits by way of multinational contacts was, of course, not sudden and did not begin only when the Kushāṇa power was consolidated in the former Bactrian realm and northern India. It had existed from a very remote past.

Bactria being the starting point and core of the Kushāṇa empire, it was natural that the tradition of art which was current in the locality would make a deep impression on the art activities of the newly emerging ruling authority of a nomadi race, who did not have any art tradition of their own. The Kushāṇas, therefore, accepted and adopted the prevailing artistic trait which was Greco-Bactrian or Hellenistic-Iranian in character. Other local and Indian elements were gradually blended into it, but their love and attraction for art-forms of the Hellenistic world were so deep that no branch of their art throughout the periods of their rule, were produced without having any impression of that tradition.

In the study of the cultural history of the Kushāṇa period historians have paid much attention to sculpture, architecture, numismatic evidences and terracotta figurines of the period, but nothing significant could ever be mentioned about the existence of Kushāṇa wall painting. Only recently, not even two decades from now, the excavations conducted mainly by Russian archaeologists in Central Asia, have brought to light definite evidence of Kushāṇa Painting[3] which naturally calls for a fresh study and revision of many earlier assessments of the paintings of Central Asian region, particularly of Serindia.

The existence of painting in the pre-Kaṇishka period of the Kushāṇa era has been established only recently from the Ekakūṭa Vihāra in Oḍi (Uḍḍiyāna) in North Pakistan where was found a gold plate narrating in North-Western Prakrit, written in Kharoshṭhī character, an account of Senavarmā, contemporary and perhaps a vassal king of the Kushāṇa King Kujula Kadphises, who claims that Buddha had been 'painted to life' and preserved therein by him (*ji'ase likhiṭa ya śarīra pra'iṭhavani'a* in his 14th regnal year.[4]

This is not only the earliest epigraphic record of the Kushāṇa painting but also of the earliest pictorial representation of anthropomorphic form of the Lord Buddha. In some of the contemporaneous Buddhist edifices and images covered by stucco plasters, particularly at Butkara in the Gandhāra region, we find some simple decorative motives in black and red. The idea of painting on stucco-plaster or on similar other grounds such as alabaster or mud-plaster, in Central Asia, most probably originated from such decoration on stucco ground as we find at Butkara. And what we find, from the recent discoveries at Butkara and other sites of Soviet Central Asia, was most probably, not unconnected with earlier

Ajanta mural tradition, since the paintings of both Ajanta and Kushāṇa sites in Central Asia were executed mainly on mud-plaster ground in glue-tempera process.

The paintings of the Kushāṇa period that have been excavated are found either in the Gandhāra-Swat region or in the region which belongs to the Russian Central Asia. Butkara and Tepe Shotore belong to the Gandhāra-Swat region, and Khalchyan, Faiaz Tepe, Dalverzin Tepe, Kana Tepe and Dalverzin (in the Southern part of ancient Bactria) belong to the Soviet Central Asia. The painting of each of these Centres has stages of developments. Here we will concentrate only on the first or early phase of works of the Kushāṇas.

The earliest wall paintings of Soviet Central Asia have been discovered from the excavation at Pessejik Tepe in Turkmenistan. The paintings of this site represent polychromatic figures of animals and primitive-type stylized human forms. The date of these paintings, according to G.A. Pugochenkova[5] is quite early (c. 6000 B.C.; which is doubtful and appears to be a much later date). Although these paintings as such had no connection with the Kushāṇa Paintings which began to develop only from the late 1st century B.C., yet it needs to be mentioned just to keep in mind that certain local tradition of painting existed from an early date in the Kushāṇa territory which belongs to the present Soviet Central Asian region. And such local tradition, whatsoever may be its later transformation and development through centuries, perhaps had exercised certain influences along with that of other traditions of art in formulating the norms and forms of Kushāṇa mural painting.

Bactria formed the heart of the Kushāṇa State, and always influenced its art and culture, even when the centre of political activities of the empire was shifting towards the south, beyond Hindukush, its influence continued. The artistic activity in Bactria itself was quite complex and was affected by various cultural waves that came over it in succession. The Kushāṇa painting which borrowed much of the Bactrian elements was therefore, bound to be as complex and eclectic as the Kushāṇa religion and culture. Various styles and techniques, elements and forces from Hellenic, Roman, Etruscan, Iranian, Scythian, Indian, local and other Asiatic regions had mixed into it. But it is not possible yet to assess fully all the influences in terms of the unique character and peculiarity of each region, for almost each of them had already been affected in earlier centuries, even before Alexander's conquest, by the Greek artists who lent their services to their non-Greek neighbours. The poor imitation or creative adaption of the Greek tradition and its slow transformation through centuries in the hands of local artists of the region, and again fresh waves of influences on such already changed style and form created an opaque coat over the entire problem. Yet the influence of the Hellenistic world and non-Hellenistic traditions can broadly be distinguished from the Kushāṇa wall paintings that have survived.

Among the recently excavated sites in the northern part of ancient Bactria (now in Soviet Central Asia)—Khalchyan, Dalverzin Tepe, Kara Tepe and Faiaz Tepe draw our special attention as they contain vestiges of paintings of the Kushāṇa era. The paintings of these northern Bactrian sites are found mainly on the walls of the halls, corridors and courtyards or religious and secular (royal and private) edifices. The pictures which are executed on the walls are often found to be extended upto the curvature of the ceiling. All these paintings are done in glue-tempera process on a dry mud-plaster ground or rarely on a thin layer of alabaster surface. And the paintings are either narrative or ornamental in character.

The extant murals of Khalchyan[6] (south of Ujbekistan), a town-site in northern Bactria, are found from the houses of the rich and belong to the early 1st century A.D. The paintings recovered from the main hall of the courtyard show decorations of vegetal forms as well as figurative compositions of secular theme. Religious subjects are completely absent here. The paintings of vegetal motifs include grapes, leaves and plants of somewhat circular shape. These decorations of vegetal motifs are painted in white on a red or pink base. The whole composition gives an impression of weightlessness. Similarities between these works and the pictorial motifs of Perfiā and Etrusco-Roman wall decorations may indicate their possible link and derivation.

The figurative composition of Khalchyan illustrates varied ethnic types. There is a sense of modelling in the forms, although light and shade is almost absent in the treatment. An effect of liveliness is created only through drawing, which is quite expressive. The manner of representation of the figurative painting agrees, in general with that of the sculptural decoration of the walls. The sculptures and paintings of Khalchyan are complementary to each other, and the entire scheme of monumental decoration appears to be a unified whole. White, dark red, pink, yellow ochre, light blue, light green are included in the colour scheme. The treatment of the eyes and the eye-brows is expressive and produces an effect of liveliness in the figures. This expressive realism, as revealed in the wall paintings at Khalchyan, is peculiar characteristic of the first phase of development of Kushāṇa paintings of the Soviet Central Asian region. The painting of a head of a young man (*Plate* 13.1) of early 1st century A.D. from Khalchyan is a unique example of such work. Here only with two colours—white and pink (combination of cinnabar and white) and their subtle local variations—the artist has been able to produce a life-like representation. Only the eyes of the man are drawn in black, and the only depth in the form of shading is found around his eyes and two sides of the nose.

A beautiful profile of a young man found from the fragments of the wall paintings at Faiaz Tepe (in Ujbekistan),[7] contemporary to and identical in spirit and expression, is another example (*Plate* 13.2) of the early phase of the Kushāṇa wall painting which is tempered by and executed in the manner of Hellenistic realism. Its facial type and colour scheme are, of course, different from that of the Khalchyan one. Here, at Faiaz Tepe the ground (of mud-plaster) received a white coat on which the painting was carried only with three colours—yellow, red and blackish brown. The colour of the flesh part is reddish yellow (combination of red and yellow ochre) and the garment is painted in yellow ochre only. The drawing of the eye and the ear is made with sure and unhesitant hand, perhaps by a skilled master. Subtle touches of white under the eye-ball and at the corner of the eye, which is close to the nose, make the face sensitive, expressive and natural. A kind of similarity in treatment and pose can be observed between this portrait and the famous Etruscan portrait of Velia, painted in the tomb of Orcus at Tarquinia in *c*. 4th Century B.C. (*Plate* 13.3).

Dalverzin Tepe,[8] situated in northern Bactria and not far from Khalchyan, proves to be an once flourishing centre of artistic activities in the Kushāṇa era. The paintings that have survived and been restored from this centre are mainly fragments of different pictorial panels. Several other fragments have been discovered from the pieces of plaster fallen scattered on the floor with their faces up side down. The pictures belonging to the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. present different subjects and manners of execution. The works of the 1st and early 2nd centuries, like the works of Khalchyan and Faiaz Tepe, belong to the phase of expressive realism. Fragments of a painted face (*Plate* 13.4) from Site No. DT-7 with locks of curly hairs and large wide open eyes, and polychromatic representation of a warrior mounted on a caparisoned horse with a blue helmet and a sword (painted in yellow) wearing a moustache and a thick pointed beard from site No. DT-5 at Dalverzin Tepe may be referred to as examples of such works.

During the period under consideration, Buddhism was neither the principal nor the only religion of Bactria; there also existed the divinities of Zoroastrian pantheon, the Hellenic gods and the unidentified Great Goddess of Bactria, indicating a complex fusion of religions and cultures. The mural paintings of this region naturally could not remain unaffected by the interactions of these multicultural elements and forces. This is why various subjects, styles and treatments—confusing even at times to locate their exact root and affinity—are met with in these pictorial schemes.

Besides the natural expressive faces, certain details, such as wide open eyes, locks of curly hairs, and the effect of modelling by means of subtle touches of white on the cheek, on the long aisle of the nose, on the lips, around the eyes etc., are also characteristic marks of the early phase of painting of this site at Dalverzin Tepe.

The fragments of early paintings at Kara Tepe, showing human limbs in parts also fall in with the style of expressive realism. The painting of its later phase was, of course, changed into a different category which may be expressed as idealised objectivity.

The wall paintings belonging to the southern part of Kushāṇa-Bactria have been discovered by the Russian and Afghan archaeologists in their joint archaeological venture between 1970 and 1972 from a temple at Dalverzin,[9] and from some of the broken walls of its adjoining sites.

The paintings discovered from the temple at Dalverzin are early in date and extremely damaged. But the fragments which are slightly better preserved provide an opportunity to assess the style and technique of the painting and their possible link and heritance. The paintings depicted on the temple's front wall, belonging to the early phase of Kushāṇa art (done perhaps in the third quarter of the 1st century A.D.), are distinguished from other paintings of this centre for their Hellenistic type of drawing and representation, as also for their direct application of colour on the unprimed surface. These paintings on the front wall of the temple are distributed on both sides of the door, having two panels—the upper and the lower—on each side. The theme on both sides of the door is, of course, one and the same. The paintings of the lower panel, although fragmentary, are comparatively well preserved than the upper panel. The lower panel represents two nude young men, each standing in *contrapposto* pose with a white horse and approaching from each side towards the door (*Plate* 13.5). A short tunic with a black border at the bottom is found hanging from their back side. Both the naked youth are depicted in identical pose and colour. Each of them may be identified as Dioscuri, a Greek mythical figure who is said to be the son of Zeus and Leda. The Dalverzin Dioscuri figure represented in *contrapposto* pose and painted in reddish colour with a short tunic hanging from the back appears to be a modified adaptation of the Roman painting of the Ixion Room, House of Vettii, near Pompeii (*c*. 63-70 A.D.).[10]

The naked figures of Dioscuri that appear on the both sides of the lower panel are painted in bright red colour. The contours of the figure as well as the details of fingers, hands, legs etc., are drawn in black lines. The pupil of the eyes is also black, and the eyes become natural and sensitive having received touches of white below the eye-ball. The peculiarity of these paintings of the temple-wall is that they are made directly on the mud-plaster without using any white prime coat. The upper panel (on the same wall) which is extremely damaged is separated from the lower one by a white line that runs horizontally from one end to the other. From the fragments of the upper panel, it appears that it has also two identical themes which are treated in a similar manner.

Let us now turn further south to study the development of Kushāṇa paintings of the Gandhāra-Swat region. The Kushāṇa wall paintings of this region made its appearance perhaps at an earlier date (*c.* 2nd century B.C.) than it did in the north-western centres (of Kushāṇa-Bactria). The decorative pattern in black and red on the great *stūpa* at Butkara, as noted earlier, is perhaps the earliest attempt of using paint on plastered surface in Kushāṇa era, particularly in the Gandhāra-Swat region. On the stucco-plaster of the great *stūpa* (Gst-I) appear traces of a garland pattern of spontaneous wavy lines in black and red, that 'stretches along the entire perimeter with red lotus flowers opening above and below the curves'.[11] This great *stūpa* was renovated and reconstructed in different periods[12] (between 2nd century B.C. and 6th century A.D.) and they, accordingly, are mentioned by the archaeologist as Gst-2, Gst-3, Gst-4 and Gst-5. The decorative garland design with lotus flower appeared and reappeared almost in every reconstructed phase of the *stūpa*. The state of preservation of this design at Dst-3 and Dst-4 are comparatively better. From stylistic and numismatic considerations this decorative design of Dst-3 and Dst-4 may be placed in the *c.* 1st century B.C. and late 1st century A.D. respectively.

By the side of the garland pattern at Dst-4 some fragments of figural composition in polychrome have been discovered. The most interesting paintings among them are two small painted fragments. The larger one of them shows two figures facing right and drawn in a three-quarter view.[13] The figure to the right (in this composition) 'is a male figure preserved down to the waist; it is wearing a corselet-type tunic fastened by a band',[14] this is painted in sky-blue colour. The face is in profile and indicates a strong and heavy feature. The eye is wide-open and elongated, the eyebrow is also elongated and slightly arched. It wears a large earring and a short necklace of round beads. The other figure, whose right arm and a portion of the drapery is preserved, seems to be a female one (Fig. 13 1).

In the other fragment only the left part of the chest and lips of a male figure is seen. It wears a tunic with heavy folds indicated by a number of transverse lines. Both the paintings are executed in tempera. Their realist drawing and facial character have close affinity with those of contemporary Gandhāran sculpture whose connection with the Hellenistic tradition is well established.

But the most interesting and significant Kushāṇa murals of the Gandhāra-Swat region have been discovered by the Kabul Archaeological team between 1965 and 1978 from Tepe Shortore Cave monastery No. I at Hadda. These paintings of Tepe Shotore, like the Kushāṇa paintings of other sites, are executed in tempera on a mud-plaster ground. The paintings of this centre represent an acanthine type of leaf-pattern as also human figures, including depiction of Lord Buddha whose both the shoulders are covered with *Saṁhāṭī*. The designs and the figures are drawn in bold outline in red ochre; only certain details are shown in fine black lines (*Plate* 13.6). Above the head of each of the Buddha figures appears a tree in circular shape, almost in solid black with a few suggestive leaves at the outer edge (*Plate* 13.7), perhaps to suggest the halo and/or the enlightenment. In these works, like the early Kushāṇa paintings of the Kushāṇa-Bactria sites, the

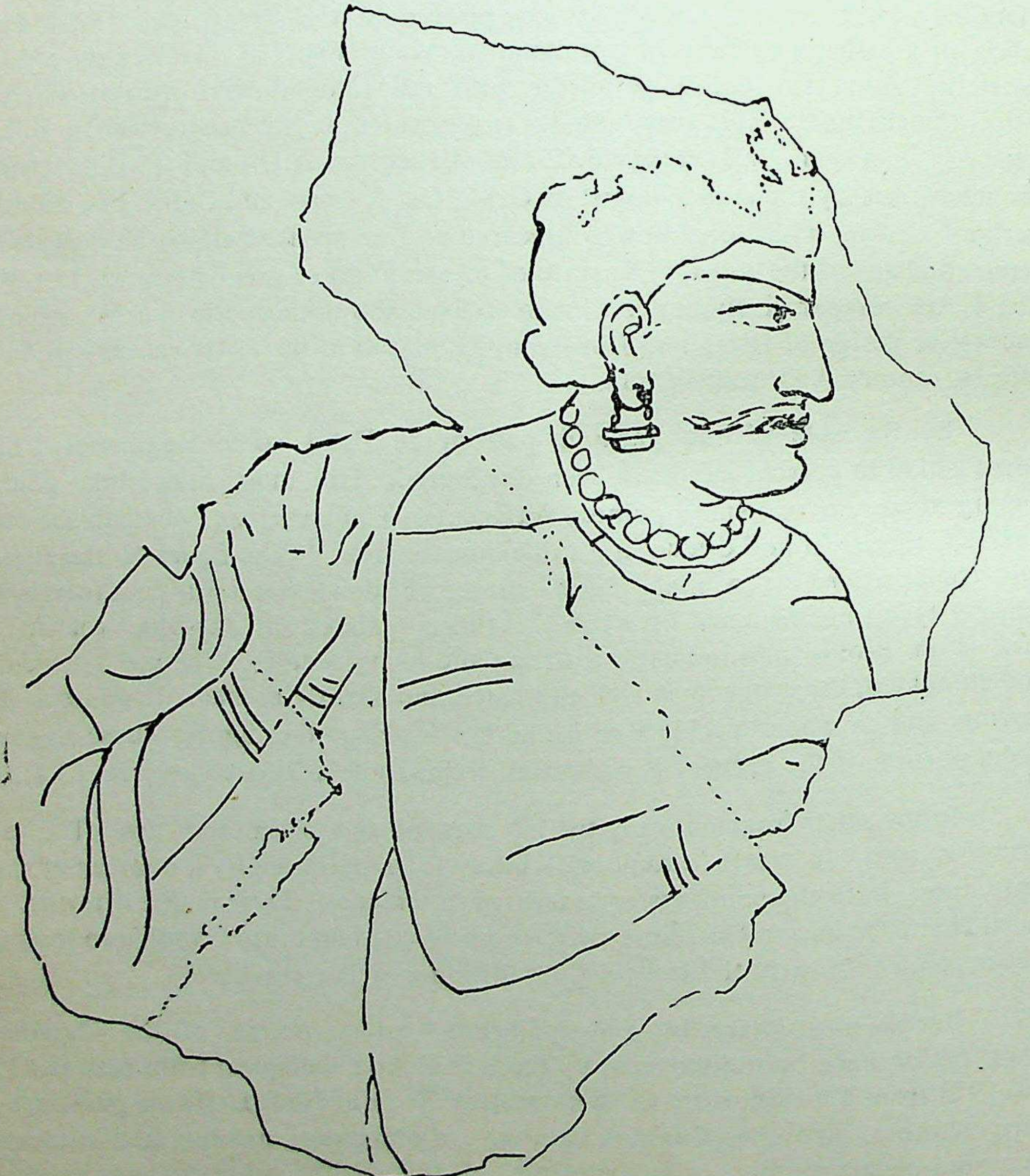

Fig. 13.1. Fragment of a painting of two figures from the great stūpa (GST. 4), Butkara, *c.* 2nd century A.D.

individual features are attached to the faces, wavy or curly hairs, the top-knot or krobylos—the typical marks of the Gandhāra heads of late 1st century A.D. are absent and yet to appear here. All these would go together to indicate the earlier date of its origin (than the Butkara figural paintings), which by no means can be later than early 1st century A.D. This view is further corroborated by the recent discoveries of the inscribed gold plate (referred earlier) from Ekakūṭa Vihāra in Oḍi, and by the inscribed earthen pot, having an engraved Buddha figure with both the shoulders covered on it, dated in the 3rd regnal year of Chien-Chao era during the rule of Yuan-Ti of the early Han dynasty (*c.* B.C. 36-35).[15] The relief figures in clay of the same cave at Tepe Shotore also point to the same conclusion.

While glancing at the total reproduction of early Kushāṇa paintings of the various centres of the empire, it is observed that the rulers did not impose their royal authority on the private, religious or artistic activities of the heterogeneous people who had different cultural ethnic and religious affiliations. This attitude of the emperors allowed, on the one hand, to develop all sorts of regional art and culture, and on the other, facilitated the merger and fusion of various concepts and art-traits. It would be futile to expect, therefore, a uniform art-style in each ethno-culturo-geographically distinct centre of the empire. But within the non-uniformity of style and expression of the different Kushāṇa centres, there are certain common elements which may help bring them into a category.

In view of the above, we may conclude that in its earliest phase, Kushāṇa wall paintings were characterized mainly by Hellenistic realism. This is evident in the samples obtained from both the Kushāṇa-Bactria and Gandhāra-Swat regions. By Hellenistic realism we do not mean the Graeco-Roman tradition only, for several other influences also got mixed up into it. There is over-all realism in this first phase which does not exclude limited colours, some shading, emphasis on red or pink, and use of red for the male (except at Tepe Shotore) and pink or yellow for the female. Moreover, what is specially noticeable is that the glue-tempera technique and mud-plaster ground become the universal technique of wall painting of all the centres of Centrial Asia.

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14

Buddhist Reliquaries from Gandhara

K. WALTON DOBBINS

In the last century and a half a large number of Buddhist stupa deposits have come to light from the ancient region of Gandhāra. Some of these finds are known in their specifics, and others are known from very sketchy descriptions. This celebration in honour of a noted scholar of art and archaeology is a proper occasion for an attempt to assemble this material into a stylistic and chronological scheme.

The primary reliquaries found in the stupas of the Gandhāran cultural region, that is to say the larger caskets inside which are often found smaller containers, can be divided into seven major groups. Four of these are made of stone, the most numerous category in terms of material. These groups are stone vases, round 'pyxis' type boxes, spherical caskets, stupa models, various metal containers, metal stupa models, and ceramic vases. In addition there are a few items made from crystal, wood or ivory. The containers found inside these reliquaries are made from all the same materials but most often gold or silver. Some reliquaries have more than one box inside. Still smaller caskets are frequently found inside these inner ones, and the level of nesting can be as deep as five. Of the more than eighty deposits about which information is available the contents of almost fifty are at least briefly described. Of these eight have only one relic casket, 20 have one inside the primary, 16 are nested three deep, and four are nested still deeper. Of the 16 deposits with triple nesting of reliquaries 12 have a gold box inside a silver one inside a stone casket. This pattern was well known since the earliest years of discovery. Some chambers have been found with deposits but no reliquary. Six of these included coins.[1] The usual stupa deposit consists of sacred objects and minor dedications, such as coins, beads or small pieces of precious metal, placed in a single chamber in the interior of the structure. Some deposits have evidence of having been redeposited because of damage or dilapidation of the stupa. In the larger stupas renovations resulted in new relic chambers being enclosed in the body of the structure, as in the Great Stupa at Manikiala. In this case the reconstructions increased the height of the drum and dome, and later deposits were found above older ones. But the reports of finds from one stupa are unique in number of chambers and pattern of contents.

In the early 1830's a stupa called Jani Tope or Bimaran 5 near Jalalabad was explored successively by Martin Honigberger and Charles Masson.[2] From these accounts the stupa enclosed a small and older shrine. There were six chambers inside the inner stupa, four on one level with one above and one below. Three chambers contained only dust, while in each of the remaining three, one on each level, was found a pyxis-type stone reliquary. The one from the middle level held a wooden pyxis containing a ring, gold foil and resin, while the other two had only soil and ash, presumably from a sacred cremation. No coins were found in the enclosed stupa.

Five chambers were found in the enlargement of the stupa surrounding the inner one. All contained coins, and two had steatite vases, neither of which was described. The coins found in these chambers were of three types: 91 Kujula with Bust of Hermaios/Herakles (Kujula-Hermaios), 6 copies of Azes II with Kujula's trefoil thamga and the title Dhramika (Kujula-Azes), and one Bust/Nike coin of Gondophares Soter.

A smaller but similar stupa, Hadda 3 (called Bacha Jani Tope), was within sight of this one and had a similar group of coins: 13 Kujula-Hermaios, 2 Kujula-Azes and 1 Gondophares Soter. Masson found a close proportion with the find from one of the chambers at Bimaran 5: 26 Kujula-Hermaios, 4 Kujula-Azes, 1 Gondophares Soter. Doubling the Hermaios and Azes coins at Hadda 3 gives the numbers from the Bimaran deposit, and each dedication had one Gondophares.

None of the vases associated with coin finds from Bimaran 5 and Hadda 3 have been illustrated or closely described. At least 40 vases have been found as primary reliquaries in stupa deposits. Of these, 28 have been published in some detail. None of them are more than 8 inches in height or 6 inches in width, and most are between 3 and 5 inches for either dimension. The vases can be grouped into three categories: simple lathe-turned, lotus-designed, and compartmented or 3-pieced.[3] There are twelve examples of the first. Three of them are virtually identical in design, varying in the lathe-turned rings around the bodies. Two of these, and perhaps the third, have a lotus design on the flat top of the handle. The vase from Dharmarajika stupa B6 in Taxila was found along with a grey limestone stupa-model casket and contained a silvery bronze stupa-model reliquary. Another vase from DH-S8 has a similar knob-top but with a tall neck and the lid (from published illustrations) meets the body of the vase with a ragged edge. This specimen is dated by coins of Maues and Azes I. The other three can be dated by the general archaeological context of their respective Dharmarajika stupas and the uncertain year (56 or 25) in the inscription of the Trashaka vase.

Two of the lathe-turned vases have identical pointed ornaments on the same type of flat knob just discussed. One, from ancient Avaca, has an inscription dated in the year AZ 63, i.e. AD 5.[4] The other, from circular-based stupa DH-U1, was found with coins of Apollodotos II, Maues, Vonones and Śpalahora, and Local Taxilan. However, the excavator made the judgement that the relic of this find had been redeposited twice from earlier, dilapidated stupas.[5] He argues that stone work of Mauryan type was likely rededicated with the new dedication of coins, while the whole was much later enshrined in a new stupa. However, the vase in question would seem to date from a time between the coin deposit and the excavator's date for the stupa in which the final dedication was made. The vase was found inside an earthenware pot with an inverted bowl over the casket. A similar knob can be seen on the Reliquary of Śatrea.[6] The peak rests in the middle of a raised base on the familiar flat handle. As with the Trashaka vase the lid meets the bottom part at the equator of its globular shape. A band of cross-hatched design encircles the shoulder of the lid.

The Avaca yr. 63 vase mentions a person named Ramaka. Another, undated, vase inscription from Avaca mentions the same Ramaka. This vase has a cone-shaped knob-top with a slightly tiered midriff. The date of this vase should be near that of the AZ 63 (AD 5) vase. The details of find and contents of this casket are unknown. An inscription on a flat stone dated AZ 74 (AD 16) mentions Ramaka and may be the capstone of the chamber where the vase was deposited.[7]

A kanjur block from a collapsed stupa was found in DH chapel G4. It contained a decorated stone pyxis and a vase.[8] The knob is plain with no distinct features. The excavator assigned this find to the 'semi-ashlar period'. A grey schist vase from DH-P10 has a beveled and layered knob-top. A vase from DH monastery court R, stupa 4, has a globular body and a large knob section surmounted by a beveled knob-top crowned with a squat sphere. Inside this grey schist vase were found silver coins of Azilises, type king mounted/Dioskouroi standing, and Augustus (Lugdunum mint AD 11-13). and a gold reliquary.[9]

Two other vases from Dharmarajika have ornamental tiers on the standard flat-top knob. Both are of grey schist, and each contained only one smaller casket of gold. The one found in DH-R4 has a flat-topped and slightly flattened sphere atop the knob. A square bronze coin of Azes I, type King mounted with spear/Bull, was found along side this vase. The excavator indicated that this stupa was repaired and added to several times.[10] The vase from DH-B3 has the same ornament on the knob but is surmounted with another embellishment which is a miniature of a relic vase. This tiny model has a peaked knob like that seen on Avaca yr. 63 and DH-U1. This vase is the tallest one used for a stupa deposit, being 7.5 inches high due to its knob ornament and longer than usual neck.[11]

All 'lotus vases' used in deposits, except one, are from Taxila.[12] These are vases decorated with lotus-petal designs usually on both the lid and bowl. One specimen, found with a flat-knob lathe-turned relic vase in DH chapel S10,[13] has a lotus design around the shoulder of the lid, but the bowl is of the simple lathe-turned variety. Nothing was found inside it. A spherical casket from Kalawan stupa A13 similarly has a design only on the lid or top half of the vessel, which has no knob. It contained a gold casket inside a silver one.[14] The only vase from a stupa outside Taxila was found at Bahrabad, on the left bank of the Kabul River above Jalalabad.[15] This vase has lotus petals on the top of the lid and lower part of the bowl. The knob is detachable and fits onto the lid as a secondary enclosure. This vase could be classified as a three-piece one. A crystal flask was found inside the relic casket. The designs and shapes of this reliquary and the one from Kalawan are quite unlike the usual ones from Taxila.

The vase from the stupa in front of house 1G in Sirkap has no knob, but there are lotus-petals on both parts and a figure is incised on the base. It contained a gold reliquary, bronze coins of Azes II, type King seated/Hermes, and other small items.[16] The lotus vase from DH-Q1 is the smallest of the collection, standing less than 2 inches high. It was found sitting inside a stone bowl.[17] The relic chamber of DH-N7 contained a lotus vase and a crystal lion. Beneath the crystal figure was a coin of Azes II, type King seated/Hermes. Inside the vase was a silvery bronze box.[18] The debris between DH-T12 and T1 yielded a lotus vase containing a Kujula-Hermaios coin and a silver box with a gold one.[19]

Lotus vases have been found with coins of Azes II and Kujula and in the archaeological context of the general period of these kings. The finds of lotus vases outside religious deposits are within the bounds of this dating. It appears that the duration of this distinctive type was relatively short.

Three vases from Afghanistan have a similar but distinct design. They form a unique group in two features. The knob is hollow and has its own lid, and the bowl of two of them is segmented into five compartments with four of the divisions around a circular compartment in the centre. An illustration of this design is that of the vase from Passani 2.[20] The other two specimens are missing the knob lid. Cross-hatched or other incised decorative bands are seen only on the lid. The vase from Bimaran 2 has a Kharoshthi inscription on its lid and bowl which mentions the name Śivarakshita known from other inscriptions.[21] Outside the vase were found four coins of Kujula-Azes. Inside was a round gold casket with figures of Buddha portrayed standing in niches. By virtue of the coins these are the earliest dateable depictions of the Buddha image. The compartmented vase from Qol-i-Nader near Begram contained four packets, each with a gold cylinder reliquary in a hexagonal silver box.[22] The compartments of the Passani 2 vase were also said to have cylindrical boxes of gold and silver, and there were six coins, five of which belong to Soter Megas.[23]

A unique three-piece vase was found at Chakri-bala south of Kabul,[24] Between the lid and bowl is a tray forming about a quarter of the height of the body. The knob is unusually large. Traces of Kharoshthi characters are on the shoulder of the lid. A two-piece vase with an ornately designed knob was found at the Mathura site of Chaubara Tila mound A.[25]

The Apaca yr. 77 inscription is on the bowl of a vase, the lid of which is not known, but the bowl reminds one of those of the vases with flat or peaked knobs.[26]

Several vases have been noticed in sources without illustration, and some of these had contents which date the find. Kotpur 1 near Jalalabad had two coins of Kujula-Azes inside a gold box inside a silver one which presumably was originally inside a broken stone vase found with it.[27] Bimaran 5, discussed above, yielded 3 steatite vases from its later or renovation deposits. No reliquaries of precious metal are mentioned. Hadda 3, with a similar mix of coin types, had nested reliquaries of gold-silver-stone. The larger two were in fragments. Chahar Bagh 5 had only a steatite vase and one bronze coin of Vima.[28] DH chapel G5 at Taxila had gold in silver in (broken) stone. The silver box also contained the Silver Scroll Inscription of yr. 136 (AD 79).[29] Chahar Bagh 4 had 28 bronze coins of Kanishka along with a stone vase containing a gold reliquary.[30] Three inscribed vases have not been illustrated. The Swat Relic vase of Meridarkh Theodoros is 5 inches high.[31] The Taxila Vase of Sihila and Siharakshita is from Cunningham's stupa 13.[32] And a steatite vase from Shevaki 1 was said to have been inscribed.[33]

Of the nine small round stone pyxis boxes known from religious deposits no two are similar enough in design to form a group. There are simple lathe-turned boxes and decorated ones, but within these groups there are differences of shapes, some with and others without handles on the lid. The earliest pyxis reliquary is the Bajaur Casket of Menander.[34] This box is 11.3 inches in diameter and 3.3 inches in height. It was first inscribed during the time of Menander, but was redeposited with an additional inscription in the year 5 of Apracharaja Vijayamitra. N.G. Majumdar, as was his duty, reported that the casket was said to have encased a casket of silver which in turn contained a gold reliquary and some ashes, all of which were no longer traceable. But Konow was quite right in distrusting this report since it may be a reflex of what had been said about many other finds of relics. And there are surely many other stupa finds which were known to local informants but never came to the knowledge of students or to print.

A decorated pyxis was found in the stupa at Ghaz Dheri near Charsadda.[35] The entire body is covered with incised designs including a band of lotus petals encircling the box just above the base. It was found wedged inside a narrow earthenware vessel and contained a spherical box decorated with floral medallions. Also inside the pyxis was found a worn bronze coin of type Humped bull/Lion r. This type could belong to either Azes II or Zeionises, but the excavator could not be sure.

Bimaran 5 ('Jani Tope') enclosed an interior stupa with six chambers (see above), three of which had pyxis reliquaries.[36] The one illustrated in the original publication has a cross-hatched design around the body and petals on the top of the knob and lid. It contained a pyxis of wood which in turn had a ring, gold foil and resin. No coins or other dateable evidence from these chambers are reported, but since this inner stupa is earlier than the enlargement built aroud it, which contained coins of Kujula, these pyxis deposits are likely several years earlier than the first Kushāṇa king.

Kotpur 2 had a very plain pyxis, lathe-turned, low fitted lid with only a medallion centre representing a knob. It contained a round silver box, which nearly filled the interior of pyxis, and a small silver coin, possibly of the Miaos type. Outside the pyxis were 10 Kujula-Hermaios bronzes.[37]

The Athaya yr 83 (AD 26) pyxis has a flat top with lotus petals incised around the edge. Part of the inscription is engraved inside this perimeter. The pyxis contained a silver and a gold reliquary.[38]

If any of the pyxis are similar it will be the ones from Butkara stupa 120 and the one from the Sirkap-K palace women's quarter stupa and the two from Ghaz Dheri and DH-J2. Both of the first pair are taller in overall height than their diameter. The one from Sirkap even has its body taller than its diameter. Both have a peaked type of knob atop a neck. The Butkara specimen is a plain lathe-turned type.[39] The Sirkap find has lotus petals on the lid and cross-hatched and herring-bone designs on the body.[40] It contained a relic-bone wrapped in gold foil. If the foil can symbolize a gold reliquary, the deposit can be classed as one of gold container inside stone. The pyxis from DH-J2 is similar in proportion to the Ghaz Dheri box, but it is not decorated. It contained a gold reliquary with a spindle handle inside a round silver box. The excavator dated the stupa to his masonry period 2 (50 B.C.-A.D. 40).[41]

The pyxis from DH chapel G4 was found with a vase discussed above inside a kanjur block. The box is decorated with *swastika*, lotus and cross-hatched designs. Inside was a silver box containing a gold one. Its height is 1.75 inches. The boxes of precious metal found in both these stone containers were not the usual squat cylinder design but had rounded bowls and dome-shaped lids.[42]

The period covered by use of the pyxis-type reliquary is long, from the Indo-Greek to Kushāṇa epochs. But if the Bajaur Casket of Menander, which is distinctive in its design and large size, is excluded, the period is greatly reduced, from perhaps Azes II to Kanishka.

A small class of reliquaries is the spherical type, the tiny stone ball with six floral medallions or rosettes, one of which is a recessed lid. Only two are known from religious deposits. One was found inside the pyxis from Ghaz Dheri which was associated with a coin of Azes II or Zeionises discussed above.[43] This is the only spherical vase found inside another casket, but one from Sirkap block E was found covered by the larger lid from a lotus vase of the type common to Taxila. It is not from a stupa but had been buried in the corner of a courtyard and contained a small hoard of coins and pieces of precious metal. The coins are one bronze of Azes II, King seated/Hermes, and two Kujula-Hermaios.[44] The round vase from stupa A9 at Kalawan measures 2.37 inches in diameter. It contained only fragments of bone.[45] One other published example of this class is unique in having a knob on the inset lid.[46] The knob and interior of the casket are gilded, and the state of preservation of the gilding makes for a good chance that the casket had been found in the relic chamber of stupa or inside another vessel.

Stupa models made of stone are a numerous category of primary reliquaries. There are eleven examples found in stupas, and twelve from non-deposit circumstances. The simplest, most basic design is that of the limestone stupa casket from DH-B6 mentioned above. It is 3.5 inches high.[47] This specimen is one piece, hollowed-out from the bottom. The dome is surmounted by a *harmikā*, and it has a short base of slightly greater diameter.

The next stage in a stylistic sense of development is a miscellaneous find from Manikiala.[48] The base and drum are the lower part of the casket, and the dome is the fitted lid. The *harmikā* and *chatrāvalī* are replaced by a splayed neck and a knob.

The specimen from Butkara stupa 109 is beginning to bring the type closer to the more common design. The dome and drum are fitted onto a round base. The *harmikā* is a low square on the dome.[49]

An instructive illustration of the fully developed stupa-model stone reliquary is that of the one found in the Sonala Pind stupa at Manikiala.[50] The drum and dome are one piece fitted into a round base. The dome has a socket on top into which is set the *harmikā* and *chatrāvalī* as one piece. A similar example is illustrated by Jacquet, but the *harmikā* is of one piece with the dome and drum, and a shallow socket in the *harmikā* receives the *chatrāvalī* mast. The Manikiala example has four umbrellas and the other one has five. The Manikiala model is made of blue slate, is 8.5 inches high and 4.5 in diameter, and it contained a crystal box in which was a fragment of borne enclosed in gold foil and a silver coin (unidentified, it may actually be an inscribed disk). Next to the primary reliquary was found a bronze coin of Kujula, type Bull/Camel. Above the relic chamber on the slab covering the deposit was an upturned red clay pot under which was a bronze coin of Zeionises, type Bull/Lion. These two types of coins are similar in style and monogram markings, and they belong to the same time of circulation if not of issue. They were certainly deposited in Sonala Pind stupa as part of the same ceremony. Outside the stupa, in the debris of its terrace platform, there were a coin of Sasan and one of Soter Megas. Another example of this stupa model design, with *harmikā* but no *chatrāvalī*, is from Taxila, Sirkap block D', not from a stupa deposit.[51]

A reliquary virtually identical to the Sonala Pind model in exterior form was found in Sirkap block C'.[52] A significant difference is that the Sirkap model does not have a detached base as the depository cavity, but instead the base and drum are one piece and the only place of enclosure is the extended socket in the dome for the *harmikā*. It contained only a sealing. This stupa-casket was not found as a stupa deposit, but had been buried for safe keeping. Along with it was found a statuette of a seated goddess with cornucopiae.[53]

A similar stupa model was found at Sultanpur near Jalalabad.[54] The base rests on a square pedestal, and bands of cross-hatching surround the pedestal, base and drum. The dome has a lotus petal design around the top. The pedestal contained ashes, but there was no secondary reliquary.

An inscribed gold plate of Senavarmā yr. 14 was found in a gilded stupa model with five umbrellas.[55] The place of find is not known. The dome of the model has incised lotus petals and a dentil moulding adorns the drum. The inventory of items found inside this large model, 30.7 inches (78 cm) high by 12.6 inches (32 cm) diameter, is a rich one. There are a round steatite box, silver, gold, and a crystal container with a gold top, jewellery, pendants, rings, a plaque withEros and Psyche, miniature human busts and other items. The nesting of the reliquaries is not revealed, but the multiplicity of secondary containers is unusual, and the deposit is certainly on a par with the gold-in-silver-in-stone class of nested deposits.

Kalawan stupa A1 also had a rich variety of items.[56] The schist stupa model is 6.37 inches high, covered with gold leaf, has three umbrellas and a zig-zag moulding around the drum. Beside the casket was the Copper Plate Inscription of yr. 134 (A.D.). Inside the casket were rosettes and disks of gold and silver and a small round stone reliquary, 1.87 inches in diameter, also covered with gold leaf. It contained beads, pearls, gold leaf, fragments of bone and a cylindrical gold box with bone fragments. The same zig-zag moulding is seen on two other models, both without *harmikā* or *Chatrāvalī*. One is from Sirkap block C',[57] and the other is from the debris of the stupa court in block K at the same site.[58] A pyxis relic casket was found in the stupa (see above). The excavator argues that this shrine was used by worshippers of the Jain faith. Similar stupa models with the same moulding were found at Shaikhan Dheri, period II, layer B4(2).[59]

A model from Pannr in Swat, opposite Butkara, is made of green phyllite.[60] The familiar zig-zag design on the moulding is replaced by a leaf motif. The round base is badly fitted to a square platform which was inscribed by a certain Śivarakshitaka. Each corner of the pedestal has a socket for a statuette of a standing figure. A similar platform, inscribed with the name of the monk Naradakha whose remains are dedicated, was found at Shaikhan Dheri.[61] The assembled pieces stand 11.5 inches high; the platform is square measuring 5 inches to a side and has steps on one side. It contained a miniature relic casket also in the form of a stupa, the material of which is not indicated. The roughly carved platform and figures and the polished and finely turned base, drum and dome, and *harmikā* and *chatrāvalī* were not made together. Which set of parts is older is uncertain.

An ornately designed stupa model was found at Shaikhan Dheri.[62] It is made of brown schist and has three umbrellas. The entire surface is decorated, with lotus petals on the dome, leaf and floral patterns on the drum and base, and rosettes, dentils and Corinthian pilasters on the square pedestal.

Two inscribed bases for stupa models were found at Kula Dheri near Charsadda.[63] One is dated in the year 303 probably of the so-called Yavana or Old Śaka Era (A.D. 133/4). It is 5.1 inches across and 1.5 inches high. The other, smaller one dedicated by a person named Trami is 2.9 inches by 1.1. Another base of a model was found in Manikiala.[64] The bases are not decorated and are similar to those of the models from Taxila and Sonala Pind.

Only one stone stupa model is dated by associated coin finds, and that is the one from the time of Kujula at Manikiala. One complete model is dated to A.D. 77, and a base was made over half a century later. The full period of use of stone models in stupa deposits is at least a ceutury and a half.

A dozen metal boxes were used as primary reliquaries in deposits. Those of only the simplest design have any similarity to one another. A silver box from Bimaran 4 was said to have a shape 'resembling the common steatite vases'.[65] Ashes were found inside; outside were beads, coral, a figure of a recumbent bull and six coins of Soter Megas.

The larger of the two stupas at Kamari near Kabul contained a bronze bowl with pieces of gold, gem-stones, a gold coin of Vima and a silver reliquary with a dome lid.[66] The latter contained only a lump of petrifaction.

The most unusual and elaborate bronze casket is the reliquary from Shah-ji-ki-Dheri in Peshawar, Kanishka's stupa.[67] The lid supports a nimbate figure of Buddha on the top of the handle, and two deities standing on the lid flank it. The surface of the lid has a lotus decoration on top and flying *haṁsas* on the lip, and the body of the casket shows figures divided by an undulating garland. The reliquary is 5.5 inches in diameter and was gilded. Inside was a six-sided crystal reliquary, 2.5 by 1.5 inches. An inscription on the outer surface of the primary reliquary mentions Kanishka, and a coin of the same king was found outside the casket.

The next metal reliquary dated by coin finds is from the Ahin Posh stupa in the Khyber.[68] It is of gold and was associated with no other container. Inside were two gold coins of Vima and Kanishka. Outside were 18 gold coins : 15 Kushāṇa—9 of Vima, 5 of Kanishka, and 1 of Huvishka; and 3 Roman—1 aureus each of Trajan, Domitian and Sabina (A.D. 128-37). This is a rich deposit in the sense that the only relic casket and all 20 coins are of gold. There are no caskets of less precious material, no nesting for symbolic concealment of the sacred relic. Three coins do not belong to the Kushāṇa dynasty, but they may be recognition of the source of the gold in the coinage of the empire.

Three deposits with reliquaries were found in the Great Stupa at Manikiala.[69] Deposit D, the lowest and last one found, which is probably the original main deposit, contained a cylindrical bronze box with an inscribed bronze casket with a spindle handle which contained a cylindrical gold casket. The only silver item from this deposit is an inscribed disk from the latter. The box lid inscription identifies the deposit as a gift of the Kapiśā Kshatrapa, son of Kshatrapa Granavhryaka. Other things found in the gold reliquary were brown liquid, pieces of amber and two gold coins, an unidentified minute one and one of Huvishka. The inscribed bronze casket contained, as well as the gold cylinder, five bronze coins, 2 of Kanishka and 3 of Huvishka. Inside the chamber were 44 bronze coins of Kanishka and Huvishka. The feature of note in this deposit is that gold coins were found inside a gold vessel, and bronze coins were inside a bronze one. The only silver piece is likely a token to represent the precious metal in the deposit.

Deposit C did not contain a reliquary, but a small chamber held a copper ring and a cowrie. A fragment of a Sassanian coin was found below this deposit.

Deposit B contained no coins, but a copper or bronze reliquary held a piece of cloth, a crystal ornament and a gold cylinder reliquary.

Deposit A is the youngest one found in the stupa, but random coin finds were made above it. It consists of a copper or bronze casket inside which was a gold one. The lid of the latter has lotus decoration and a jewel in the knob. It contained a gold ring and eight gold and silver coins: 1 gold Huvishka, 3 small silver, 1 silver Sassanian, 2 silver Sassano-Arabian and 1 coin of Yaśovarman of Kanauj. Thus this stupa, as symbolized by the coins in this last deposit, was in use from at least the time of Huvishka to the eighth century. The coins earlier than Yaśovarman may have been collected from other deposits made at the times of earlier repairs and enlargements of the stupa.

Stupa 10 at Hadda had five reliquaries: gold in silver and this and another silver in gilt bronze in bronze.[70] The top of the gold box has gemstones, and the silver box in which it was found has an ornate handle on the lid. The gold reliquary had two gold Roman coins of Theodosius. One silver box had four silver Sassanian coins. The gilt bronze vessel had 3 gold Roman coins: 1 of Marcian and 2 of Leo (A.D. 457-74). The primary reliquary of bronze had 183 Sassanian coins of silver, 2 Kanauj coins of gold alloy, and 3 unidentified bronze coins. A later account of this deposit by Masson describes the coin finds differently. The primary casket contained all five of the Roman gold coins as well as the two gold alloys, 202 Sassanian silver and eleven bronze; 13 unidentified bronzes were outsides this casket. One of the two silver boxes in the gilt vessel still has the four Sassanian silver, but the gilt box itself and the gold reliquary are not said to have had any coins. Choosing between these versions is probably futile since all the coins belong to the same deposit in either case. But the picture is left confused as to which coins of particular metals were found in which metal containers.

The only reliquaries from Shotorok near Begram were found in loose soil on the east of court D.[71] They are three nested metal boxes gold-in-silver-in-copper. They can be dated approximately by the Kushāṇa coins and cultural period of the site.

Four metal primary reliquaries have or are associated with inscriptions dated in the Kanishka Era and belong to the 2nd century A.D. Two of these are of the year 18. One of them, dated Arthamisiya (Artemisios) 10, is said to be a brass casket sent by Masson from Afghanistan, and no indication of its place of find, contents or present whereabouts is given.[72] Neither is there a description or illustration of the casket itself. The inscription, dedicating the relic of Śramaṇa Gotama, is on the lid. The other inscription of year 18 is from Manikiala 2, a stupa opened by General Court in 1834.[73] The relic chamber was covered by a stone slab with the inscription of Kārttika 20, year 18, of the reign of Kanishka. There were four bronze coins on top of this capstone, 1 Vima and 3 Kanishka. Surrounding a copper casket were 8 bronze coins: 1 Kujula-Hermaios, 1 Vima, 4 Kanishka and 2 unidentified. Inside was a silver cylinder box and 7 silver coins of the late Roman Republic, and this box held a gold one containing 2 gems and 4 pearls, and 4 gold coins of Kanishka. All the identified coins in this deposit are Kushāṇa except for the silver Roman ones, which must have been selected from a merchants trade capital for inclusion in the silver level of the deposit because silver coins were not then in common circulation in Kushāṇa Gandhāra. The nesting of this deposit is gold-in-silver-in-copper or bronze, and the composite coin finds by metals are 4 gold, 7 silver, and 8 bronze, each metal class of coinage being associated with the same one of a reliquary, all of the bronze coins, however, being outside, but in proximity to, the bronze casket. The logical outermost level of nested containers in this and all such deposits is the stone lining of the chamber itself, replacing the stone vase. Since there are no coins of stone, the four bronze coins on the capstone substitute for the material-type coin deposit of the stone level.

At Khawat in the district of Wardak about 30 miles west of Kabul there are five or six stupas which Masson investigated.[74] Some of the structures had already been opened; he found seven vases of metal and steatite. He gives no particulars about any of them aside from mentioning that a brass vase was surrounded by an inscription. He does not indicate whether this was a primary reliquary but its large size, 9.9 inches high and 6.6 inches diameter, makes that conclusion likely. The vase is shaped like common open-mouthed pottery vessels. The inscription is dated in year 51 and mentions Huvishka; it names vagra Marega as the donor in a vihara of his name in Khavad (Khawat).

The remaining metal casket with a dated inscription is part of stupa model.[75] The inscription is on the sides of the square stupa, and the illustrations show what appears to be a square pedestal and round base formed as one piece. It is dated in year 20 and dedicated relics by Śvedavarmā son of Yasa. The model was complete with *harmikā* and umbrellas, but no further details of design or any contents are provided.

A gold stupa model was found along with, but outside of, a stone vase of simple work in Bimaran 3.[76] There were also gems and tiny items of gold, and in a different chamber higher in the stupa there were gems, pearls, gold ornaments and 27 coins of Soter Megas, but no reliquary. The model has a square base and six umbrellas, and its dome is the lid.

A small model found as a secondary reliquary is silvery bronze 1.37 inches high.[77] It was found inside the flat-knob vase from DH-B6 at Taxila and contained bone, ashes and beads.

Metal stupa models are a small group of these three specimens, one of which is a small secondary casket. Their period of known use is short covering the early Kushāṇa reigns and that of Kanishka.

Six primary reliquaries are ceramic. One of these jars, from Hadda 13, has a Kharoshṭhī inscription written with ink.[78] The vessel contained a stone wrapped in leaves. The inscription records that a deposit was made by the architect Saṁghamitra in the king's grove in year 28.

The other five ceramic reliquaries were found with coins inside them, and all are from Taxila. The one from DH-K3, a stupa of the simi-ashlar masonry period, contained ashes and three bronze coins of Kanishka.[79] Stupa DH-P6 had 10 bronze coins, three of Huvishka and seven of Vāsudeva, three of which were found inside the vase.[80] Jaulian A16 had a deposit in its rubble core of a Kanjur cylinder containing a solid reliquary in a copper one inside another copper cylinder inside an earthenware pot, 2 inches high.[81] There were two bronze coins of Vāsudeva in the find. Two ceramic gharas from Bhamala held deposits. The one from stupa A5 had beads and seven coins, six fragmentary bronzes and a silver of Varahran IV (A.D. 388-399).[82] The other from A15 contained bone, beads, a gold ornament and 160 small bronze coins of the same type found in A5.[83]

Several deposits had reliquaries of an unusual material or design. Two caskets were made of bark. One from Hadda 2 was found with 27 bronze coins of Vima.[84] Another bark box wrapped in leaves was found at Nandara stupa 1 near Jalalabad.[85] Neither find was reported to have had a stone or metal container. Two stupas had primary caskets made of ivory. One from Hadda 4 had a gold reliquary and 5 bronze coins, one of Vima and four later Kushāṇa.[86] DH-89 had a lathe-turned, 4 inches diameter, ivory box inside an ivory box with a knobbed lid.[87] Stupa B1 in Sirkap block A contained fragments of a crystal casket or dish. Its reconstructed dimensions are 10.52 inches diameter by 2.19 inches high.[88] The excavator argued that these fragments, which he believed to be of Mauryan workmanship, were redeposited along with a square bronze coin of Apollodotus II in the time of Azes II and three drachms of type King mounted with whip/Zeus Nikephoros. A green stone dish was used as a reliquary in a stupa on the north side of Sirkap at Taxila, Cunningham's mound 32.[89] It is lathe-turned and measures 12.7 inches diameter by 2.4 high. Inside this vessel was a crystal container in the shape of a *haṁsa*. An inscription on a piece of gold records the dedication of a relic by Sira in the *haṁsa* of her mother and father. A lime plaster stupa model of coarse workmanship was found in Jaulian stupa A11 at Taxila.[90] It is decorated with blue and crimson paint and inlaid jewels, has eleven umbrellas and stands 3 feet and 8.5 inches high. It contained a wood casket with two gilt reliquaries one inside the other. The find is one of the latest ones in this survey being from the period of stucco sculpture.

Details about reliquaries from 13 stupas at Butkara have not yet been published. Two of them had coins of Azes II, and one had a Kidarite silver coin.[91]

Conclusions

The first pattern of chronology with the primary reliquaries is that the introduction of materials used for them was first stone, then bronze or copper and ceramic. Stone was used for the Bajaur Casket with the inscription of Menander and regularly from the time of Azes II. Vases of stone continued to be used at least to the reign of Kanishka. Metal caskets of copper-based alloys were in use by the year 18 of Kanishka and remained so into the Sassanian period. A pottery vase was used in the year 28 of Kanishka, and ceramics also continued into the fifth century A.D. It seems from the known deposits that in general usage metal reliquaries replaced stone ones during the reign of Kanishka. As stone vases perhaps became unavailable common pottery pieces began to be used for deposits made by the less affluent donors.

Outer containers of gold and silver perhaps should be regarded as secondary reliquaries deposited without a primary one. This is probably also the case with the two reliquaries of bark. The ivory ones may have been substitutes for stone vases after stone began to be replaced by copper/bronze.

A few secondary reliquaries are of material other than gold and silver. One ivory casket was an intermediate container between gold and stone, indicating that ivory was considered less precious than gold and more so than stone. Crystal was used as inner caskets from the time of Azes II to Kanishka. One of these however was outside the primary lotus vase and was a reliquary only in the sense that it, a figure of a lion, concealed coin of Azes II beneath it. A crystal vial was found along with coins of Kujula, but no reliquary, in a chamber of Bimaran 5. Two bronze secondary caskets, one a stupa model, were silver plated or washed. They are both from Dharmarajika and both were inside stone vases. They probably date from the later years of and following Azes II when coins were of this fabric. They were certainly intended to be caskets of silver, or at least of what commonly passed for silver in those days. Four other bronze reliquaries were found inside other bronze ones, and at Jaulian two deposits had two nested bronze vessels inside other containers.

Deposits which had only a single stone vase for a reliquary were made in the reigns of Kujula and Vima. A silver-in-stone deposit was made during the time of Kujula, and one with a silver plated bronze box belongs to the reign of

Azes II. Gold-in-stone deposits date from Azes I to Kanishka. Gold-in-silver-in-stone nestings were made along with coins of Kujula and Soter Megas and the Silver Scroll of year 136. This is the most numerous category of nesting patterns, but its period of known use is not as great as that which has only a gold reliquary in stone.

There are no known deposits of a single copper/bronze reliquary. Nor is there a silver-in-bronze deposit. The bronze bowl from Kamari which contained a silver casket is not considered a proper reliquary. Four deposits with a gold reliquary placed directly in a copper/bronze one, with these sometimes inside another bronze casket, date from Huvishka to the Sassanian period. However, all but one of these are from the same stupa (Manikiala 1). Three deposits had reliquaries nested gold-in-silver-in-bronze : one of Kanishka year 18, one Kushāṇa and one Sassanian. There are relatively few deposits from the 'bronze period' compared to the earlier 'stone period', there being only ten deposits with bronze primary reliquaries. No bronze reliquary is known to be a secondary container inside a stone primary, except the silver plated ones which should be classified as silver caskets from the probable intent of the donors. This is somewhat surprising since a gold-silver-bronze-stone nesting pattern would be an expected stage in the stone to bronze transition period.

Coins of only five kings earlier than Azes II have been found in Gandharan religious deposits, and some of these were redeposited later than the accession of Azes II. Only one deposit had a Local Taxilan issue, and there are no punch-marked coins. Only two deposits are serious candidates for those being found in their pre-Azes II state, and both, DH-S8 and DH-R4, had coins of Azes I. Three deposits, all from Taxila, date from the time of their Azes II coins. This is in consideration that the coin from Ghaz Dheri may not belong to this king. Two of these deposits contained lotus vases. Two other deposits with coins of Azes II are reported from Butkara.

Coins of Kujula were found in eight stupas before the time of Kanishka. Not only is this the largest number of deposits with coins of the same kings, the total number of coins found far exceed those of any other king, being more than 130 specimens. These were sometimes associated with coins of two others: Zeionises and Gondophares Soter.

Three deposits held 38 coins of Soter Megas. Three others had coins only of Vima, 29 in number. Kanishka's reign, for all its innovation and wealth, gives only four stupas with coins. One also had earlier coins of Kujula, Vima and the Roman Republic. The reigns of Huvishka and Vāsudeva each have two deposits with their respective coins.

Sixteen stupa deposits can be dated by inscriptions found with them. The earliest inscription from a known deposit which mentions a reigning king is that of Menander on the Bajaur Casket, and the second one may be that of Vijayamitra on the same reliquary. Also from Bajaur and mentioning this same personage is the Avaca yr. 63 inscription from a deposit initiated by Prince Indravarmā. The king mentioned is the Avacarāja Vishṇuvarmā, and his brother, the strategos Vijayamitra, and Indravarmā's maternal uncle, Rāmaka, are also listed. Another inscription from this kingdom was inscribed 14 years later, Apaca yr. 77. This time the Apacarāja is Bhāgamoya, but the Apacarāja Vijayamitra is again mentioned in the honours list. The names of Vijayamitra and Indravarmā are found on coins, but none from deposits. Avaca yr. 63 and the capstone dedication of year 74 date the vase inscription of Rāmaka to the first quarter of the first century A.D. if it does not belong to the deposit of year 74. The earliest deposits with royal inscriptions and the Rāmaka vase are all from Bajaur.

The pyxis inscription of Athaya yr. 83 (June, 26 A.D.) mentions no otherwise known personage, and its provenance is unknown. The date of the Senavarmā yr. 14 inscription is uncertain for it is dated in an unknown regnal reckoning, but it mentions Kujula (Kuyula Kataphsa) as the father of Sadashkana, who is in the honours list. Senavarmā is the king of Oḍi, or Udyana, in Swat. The Copper Plate of yr. 134 from Kalawan does not name the reigning king, but the date is in the era of the deceased Azes, as are several of these dated inscriptions, and belongs to August, 77 A.D. All the remaining dateable inscriptions are Kushāṇa. The Taxila Silver Scroll of yr. 136 (June, 79 A.D.) identifies the king only as the Kushāṇa king, king of kings, devaputra. Five deposits are dated to the reign of Kanishka, years 11, 18 (2 records), 20 and Shah-ji-ki-Dheri. The last and the stone record of year 18 are from the only deposits with coins of the king mentioned in the inscription. Hadda yr. 28 could belong to the reign of Vasishka or that of Huvishka. The last dateable inscription is the Wardak Vase of yr. 51 of Huvishka or the Charsadda yr. 303 record of about 133 A.D.

Four of these deposits have inscriptions of the royal family in Bajaur. One of these is a rededication of a casket originally dedicated in the reign of Menander, the only Indo-Greek king associated with a stupa deposit. The history of stupas in Bajaur covers the period from Menander to at least 20 A.D. Five and perhaps six inscriptions, depending on the correct epoch for Kanishka and his era, are dated in the reign of Kanishka. Only one mentions Kujula, and this is the reverse of the situation in deposits dated by coins which is dominated by Kujula.

A brief characterization of reigns by reliquaries starts with Azes II when deposits had the earliest lotus vases. Kujula's reign produced lotus vases, peaked knob vases, compartmented three-piece vases, and fully devoloped stupa models of stone. Soter Megas is associated with a compartmented three-piece vase and a stupa model of gold. Vima is found with a silver and a bark reliquary, and the stupa model and spherical casket of year 134. Kanishka had at least one stone vase next to his coins, but his reign is most noteable for the introduction of bronze caskets. Huvishka had two deposits in bronze, one cylinder type box and a vase. Vāsudeva had coins found with ceramic vases.

Nine deposits can be dated to the time of Kujula, but several others which cannot be dated with certainty also likely belong to his reign. Two stupa models which can be dated by related Kujula finds perhaps mark the transition from the plain lathe-turned type (Sonala Pind) to the types with decorated mouldings (Senavarmā, yr. 14). This reign has the latest deposited lotus vase at Taxila and the earliest three-piece vase in Afghanistan, and the last and perhaps only dated finds of medallioned spherical vases. The dates for Kujula's reign are not established, but it likely began near the epoch of the A.D. era and includes the peaked-knob vase of Avaca yr. 63 in 5 A.D. The deposit with the silver coins of Azilises and Augustus must be later than 11 A.D., the earliest year of the Augustus issue. The Azilises coin was most likely redeposited from an earlier dedication since it could not have been in common circulation in the time of Kujula when coinage of good silver was unknown or certainly would be hoarded. It is also likely that Kujula was reigning during the years of the later Bajaur dated inscriptions: years 74, 77 and 83 (17-26 A.D.). The reliquaries associated with the dates are not immediately like other ones associated with Kujula and so cannot be integrated with them chronologically, except that the bowl of year 77 is similar to bowls of flat- and peak-knob vases.

Finally, a brief characterization of reliquary types of provenance. Compartmented three-piece vases are from only Jalalabad and Begram. The usual vases with tiered, flat and peaked knobs are from Taxila (Dharmarajika), and a peaked knob is from Bajaur. The most common type of lotus vase is found in stupas only at Taxila. Medallioned spherical boxes come from Taxila and Pushkalavatī (Ghaz Dheri). Decorated but distinctive pyxis boxes were found in Jalalabad (Bimaran 5), Pushkalavatī (Ghaz Dheri) and Taxila (Dharmarajika). Stupa models of stone are from Manikiala, Taxila, Pushkalavatī, Swat and Jalalabad. Copper/bronze primary reliquaries are notably absent from Taxila, Pushkalavatī, Bajaur and Swat.

These conclusions will change as unpublished items from Buddhist stupa deposits are made known and as new finds come to light. It is hoped that future stupa excavations will give attention to the details and circumstances of find of each item in the deposit. The nature and contents of dedications in stupas can be a useful tool for dating these deposits.

Notes and References

1. One stupa had deposits without reliquaries but with coins of Kujula: Bimaran 5 (see discussion below). Two had coins of Soter Megas: Bimaran 3 upper cell (E. Jacquet, *Journal Asiatique*, V (1838), 172; H.H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua* (London, 1841), pp. 77 ff.; Bimaran 4 (Wilson 1841, p. 75). One had a coin of Vima: Chahar Bagh 5 (Wilson 1841, pp. 103 f.). One had coins of Vima and later Kushāṇa: Guldara (Wilson 1841, p. 115). One had a coin and inscription in year 11 of Kanishka: Sui Vihar (E.C. Bayley, JASB, XXXIX (1870); pp. 65 ff.; S. Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, II, pt. I (Calcutta. 1929), 138.
2. Honigberger's expedition is described by Jacquet, JA, II-VII (1836-39), and see particularly 1838, pp. 167 ff. Masson, JASB, III (1834), 168, mentions coins from this stupa. Masson's description of his own dig and his summary of Honigberger's finds are in Wilson 1841, pp. 76 f.
3. Taxila, Dharmarajika U1, chapel G4, P10, R4, B3, S8, B6, chapel S10 (J.H. Marshall, *Taxila* (London, 1951), III, pls. 49.e, 50.d, e, l, o, p, q, r, 51.a, 52.a; *ASIAR*, 1912-13, pl. XI.b; *ASIAR*, 1915-16, pl. IV.3, 27); Avaca yr 63 casket (H.W. Bailey, *JRAS*, 1978, pp. 3-13); Reliquary of Śatrea (G. Fussman, *BEFEO*, LXXIV (1985), 29-34); Rāmaka vase from Avaca (Bailey 1978, pp. 3-13): Trashaka yr 56 casket (Fussman 1985, pp. 35-41).
4. Bailey 1978, pls. I-IV.
5. Marshall 1951, I, 263, 271 f.
6. Fussman 1985, pls. I-IV.
7. Bailey 1978, pp. 3-13, pl. V; Fussman, *BEFEO*, LXVII (1980), 5-9.
8. *ASIAR*, 1912-13, pp. 21 f.; Marshall 1951, I, 255.
9. Marshall 1951, I, 277, III, pl. 65.a.
10. *ASIAR*, 1914-15, p. 5, pl. IV.6: Marshall 1951, I, 241, III, pl. 50.a.
11. Marshall 1951, I, 243 f., 111, pl. 50.e.
12. DH-chapel S10, DH-Q1, DH-N7, SK-G shrine 2, DH-T12/T1, KN-A13 (Marshall 1951, 1, 167, 245-267, 329, III, pls. 35.d, 36.f, 49.d, 50.g, h, l, m, 80.i); Bahrabad (Jacquet 1837, pp. 433f., 1836, pl. VII).
13. Marshall 1951, I, 267, III, pl. 50.n.
14. Marshall 1951, I, 329, III, pl. 80.i, d, e.
15. Jacquet 1837, p. 433.
16. Marshall 1951, I, 167, III, pls. 35.d, e, 36.f.
17. Marshall 1951, I, 245 f., III, pl. 50.g
18. Marshall 1951, I. 245, III, pl. 50.l.
19. Marshall 1951, I, 258, III, pls. 49.d, 50.m, 51.k, l.
20. Wilson 1841, p. 94 and pl. I.
21. Wilson 1841, pp. 70 f. and pl. II.1; Konow 1929, pp. 50 ff. Other inscriptions mention a Śivarakshita: Shahdaur (Konow 1929, pp. 16 f.), Śivarakshita Seal (p. 103), Pedestal Relief of Śivarakshita of Tadakha son of Damarakshita (Fussman 1980, pp. 55 f.), Śivarakshita stupa reliquary from Bimaran (see below).
22. J. Meunie, *MDAFA*, VIII (1959), 123 and fig. 263.
23. Wilson 1841, p. 94.
24. Jacquet 1836, p. 259 and pl. VI.
25. A. Cunningham, *ASR*, III, 17 and pl. II.
26. Bailey, *JRAS*, 1982, pls. IV-VIII; Fussman, *BEFEO*, LXXII (1984), 31-38; R. Saloman, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, XXVII (1984), 107-20.
27. Jacquet 1838, pp. 180-85, 1836, pl. IX.1 (silver reliquary); Wilson 1841, pp. 64 f.
28. Wilson 1841, pp. 103 f.

29. *ASIAR*, 1912-13, pp. 18 f.; Marshall 1951, I, 255 ff.
30. Wilson 1841, p. 103.
31. Konow 1929, pp. 1-4.
32. Konow 1929, p. 87.
33. Wilson 1841, p. 114.
34. N.G. Majumdar, *Epigraphia Indica*, XXIV (1937-38), 1-8; Konow, *New Indian Antiquary*, II (1939-40), 639-48, and *EI*, XXVII (1947-48), 52-58.
35. *ASIAR*, 1902-03, pp. 174 ff.
36. Jacquet 1838, p. 168, 1836, pls. VIII and XI.10, 11; Wilson 1841, pp. 78 ff.
37. Wilson 1841, pp. 65 f., pl. III.2.
38. Fussman 1984, pp. 38-46, pls. IV-VI.
39. D. Faccenna and G. Giullini, *Reports and Memoirs*, IsMEO (Rome, 1962), I, 156; Faccenna, *Reports and Memoirs*, IsMEO (Rome, 1980), p. 619.
40. Marshall 1951, I, 173, III, pl. 36.h.
41. *ASIAR*, 1914-15, pl. X.1-2; Marshall 1951, I, 244 f., III, pl. 50.i. The similarity to the Ghaz Dheri Pyxis was pointed out by Marshall.
42. *ASIAR*, 1912-13, pl. XI.b-f; Marshall 1951, I, 255, III, pl. 50.j.
43. *ASIAR*, 1902-03, pp. 174-76.
44. Marshall 1951, I, 184 f., III, pl. 36.g.
45. Marshall 1951, I, 324 f., III, pl. 80.f.
46. S.J Czuma, *Kushan Sculpture* (Cleveland Museum of Art, 1985), p. 170.
47. *ASIAR*, 1914-15. pl. IV.c; Marshall 1951, I, 242, III, pl. 50.c.
48. Cunningham, *ASR*, XIV, pl. IV.12.
49. Faccenna and Guilini 1962, p. 154; Faccenna 1980, p. 619.
50. Cunningham, *ASR*, II, 166 ff., pl. LXV.
51. Jacquet 1839, pl. XIV. No indication of the provenance of this specimen is given.
52. Marshall 1951, I, 192 f., III, pls. 35.f, g, 36.c, e.
53. Marshall 1951, III, pl. 211.1.
54. Wilson 1841, p. 89, pl. III.1.
55. Czuma 1985, pp. 165 f.; Salomon, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, XXIX (1986), 261-92.
56. Marshall 1951, I, 327, III, pl. 80.c, g.
57. Marshall 1951, I, 191 ff., III, pl. 35.h.
58. Marshall 1951, I, 173, III, pl. 36.i.
59. A.H. Dani, *Ancient Pakistan*, II (1965-66), fig. 9.6-8.
60. J. Sherrier, *South Asian Archaeology 1981* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 254 ff.
61. Dani 1965-66, pl. XXII.1, 2.
62. Dani 1965-66, pl. XIX.1.
63. Majumdar 1937-38, pp. 8-10; Konow, *Acta Orientalia*, XX (1948), 107-19.
64. Cunningham, *ASR*, XIV , pl. IV.13.
65. Wilson 1841, pp. 74 f.
66. Jacquet 1836, pp. 267-70, pl. X.1-3; Wilson 1841, p. 114
67. *ASIAR*, 1908-09, pp. 38-59; K.W. Dobbins, *East and West*, XVIII (1968), 151-62, figs. 7-11.
68. *PASB*, 1879, pp. 77 ff., 122, 205.
69. J. Prinsep, *JASB*, III (1834), 315-20; Cunningham, *ASR*, II, 159 f.
70. Wilson 1841, pp. 108 ff., pl. II; Jacquet 1839, pp. 589 ff.
71. Meunie, *MDAFA*, X (1942), 67 f., pl. XL.134.
72. Konow 1929, pp. 151 f.
73. Prinsep 1834, pp. 558 ff.; Konow 1929, pp. 145 ff.
74. Wilson 1841, pp. 117 f ; Konow 1929, pp. 165 ff.

75. Konow 1929, pp. 152 ff.
76. Jacquet 1838, pp. 171-77, 1836, pl. XI.1-9, 12, XII.16-19; Wilson 1841, pp. 72 ff.
77. Marshall 1951, I, 242, III, pl. 51.f.
78. Wilson 1841, pp. 60, 111, 258; Konow 1929, pp. 157 f.
79. Marshall 1951, I, 263.
80. Marshall 1951, I, 263.
81. Marshall 1951, I, 373 f., III, pl. 110.e.
82. Marshall 1951, I, 394.
83. Marshall 1951, I, 394, coin type *RUC* 344-46.
84. Wilson 1841, p. 106.
85. Wilson 1841, pp. 82 ff., pl. IX.
86. Wilson 1841, p. 106.
87. Marshall 1951, I, 242, III, pls. 49.c, 50.f.
88. Marshall 1951, I, 144, III, pl. 36.a.
89. R. Mitra, *JASB*, XXXI (1862), 175-83: Konow 1929, pp. 83 ff.
90. Marshall 1951, I, 373, III, pl. 110.a, d.
91. Faccenna 1980, p. 619. Stupa 33 : reliquary 8026 with finds 8027-8033; 135 : 4812 with 5468-5480, 5229 (Azes II bronze coin), and 4813 with 5098-5105; 23 : 781 with 781a (Azes II billion drachm); 5 : 793; 6 : 794; 26 : 2109; 21 : 2115: 170 : 5285 with 5286; 29 : 871; 95 : 4012; 186 : 5283 with 5284 (silver coin of Kidārite king 'G'); 158 : 4814; 184 : 5467.

15

The Story of Rishyasringa as depicted in the Art of Sanghol, Punjab

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P. BANERJEE

The Kushan sculptures, recently discovered in Sanghol in the district of Ludhiana, Punjab, have attracted the notice of scholars for their interesting themes and aesthetic quality. The artists of Sanghol were, however, cryptic in their treatment of certain objects or themes and this has made it difficult to understand them easily. The aim of this paper is to throw light on a Sanghol panel, not identified as yet by any scholar.

The sculpture in question (*Plate* 15.1) shows a young woman proceeding along a hilly path, clasping a grown-up boy in her arms. In the book *Kushan Sculptures from Sanghol* (1st-2nd century A.D.), *a Recent Discovery*, Vol. 1, fig. 4, edited by S.P. Gupta and published by the National Museum, New Delhi, the sculpture has been described simply as 'Mother and Child'. This explanation seems to be too simple a one to be accepted. I have studied the sculpture for quite a long time with reference to relevant texts and feel inclined to hold that it represents a part of the Ṛishyaśṛiṅga story.

The story of Ṛishyaśṛiṅga occurs in various texts including the *Jātakas*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*,[1] etc. The story was also known outside India in Central Asia (Chinese Turkestan) and Japan.

All the literary sources tell us that Ṛishyaśṛiṅga was a profound Vedic scholar, but had a strange birth. His interesting story inspired many a poetic composition and artistic creation. Ṛishyaśṛiṅga story falls into two main divisions, namely, (1) his birth and asceticism and (2) his seduction as described in the *Jātakas* and the epics. Bharhut, Sanchi and Gandhāra sculptures mainly depict his birth, while the art of Mathurā and Sanghol (Sanghol art was overwhelmingly influenced by the Mathurā Kushan style) portray also his seduction by the courtesans of Aṅga as described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, especially in the latter.

So far as the story of Ṛishyaśṛiṅga's birth is concerned, all the sources show a close agreement. Ṛishyaśṛiṅga was the son of the Sage Vibhāṇḍaka who was devoted to penance and Vedic studies and lived in a woodland hermitage with a river flowing by. A female deer used to come regularly to eat grass and drink water in the vicinity of Vibhāṇḍaka's hermitage. As it happened, one day when Vibhāṇḍaka was washing his mouth, the nymph Urvaśī was flying in the sky. The sage was infatuated with passion at the sight of her and he had seminal emission. At that moment the female deer (mentioned above) came and lapped up the vital fluid of the sage along with grass and water. Consequently, the deer became pregnant and gave birth to a child who had a human body with a horn on his forehead. For this reason he was called Ṛishyaśṛiṅga.

Ṛishyaśṛiṅga was brought up by his father in his woodland hermitage. During his boyhood days, he studied the Vedas and practised penance. Though still young, he was respected by the aged scholars for his profound Vedic learning and the powers he acquired from penance. His fame spread far and wide. But the irony of fate was that, though he had profound learning, he had no knowledge of human behaviour and worldly affairs as he had led a solitary life, and saw no other human being except his father. But so great was his penance and so profound was his learning that Indra was also afraid of him, thinking him to be his future competitor for his throne. To guard his position, Indra devised various means to deviate him from the path of Brahmacharya (power consisted in Brahmacharya, i.e. following Vedic studies and abstaining from sexual indulgence), The *Alambushā Jātaka* (no. 523) tells us that to achieve his end, the king of gods sent the beautiful nymph Alambushā, expert in the arts of love, to Ṛishyaśṛiṅga. Alambushā came to Ṛishyaśṛiṅga's hermitage when his father Vibhāṇḍaka was away. Not knowing what a woman was like and how she behaved, Ṛishyśṛiṅga took her for a Brahmachārī (about his life he had some idea), welcomed her and offered her water and fruits as was customary among the sages. Alambushā's presence and her graceful gestures and postures brought about a change in his mind and ultimately he fell a victim to her womanly charms and artful behaviour and was lured to enjoy physical pleasure with her, as desired by Indra. The inevitable happened. Ṛishyaśṛiṅga lost his Brahmacharya and Indra's purpose was served.

The Ṛishyaśṛiṅga story is told also in the *Nalinikā* (Jātaka, No. 526) almost in the same manner (as in the Alambushā Jātaka) with minor variation in detail. Here also Indra plays the vital role. He stopped rains for three years in the kingdom of Kāśī, causing great affliction to the people. The king was unhappy and did not know what to do. One night Indra appeared before him in a dream and said that Ṛishyaśṛiṅga had stopped the rains to enable him to pursue his penance uninterruptedly and the king should depute his young daughter Nalinikā to lure the hermit boy to physical pleasures and obstruct his penance. Much against his wish, but for the welfare of his subjects, the king sent his daughter to Ṛishyaśṛiṅga and as the occasion demanded she enticed him to indulge in physical pleasure. He (Ṛishyaśṛiṅga) deviated from his ascetic way of life and Indra's wish was fulfilled,

The story of Ṛishyaśṛiṅga has received a detailed treatment in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, especially in the latter[2] and it is interesting to note that the *Mahābhārata* version of the *Ṛishyaśṛiṅga* story helps us most in interpreting the Sanghol panel.

Both according to the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, the country of Aṅga endured a severe famine. The king Lomapāda of Aṅga was very distressed to see the affliction of his people, and sought the advice of the wise Brahmins of the land so as to take measures to overcome the calamity. The Brahmins suggested that Ṛishyaśṛiṅga who was endowed with great learning and ascetic powers would alone be able to end the famine and somehow or other he should be brought to Aṅga. On the advice of his ministers the king called the courtesans of the town and ordered them to bring Ṛishyaśṛiṅga, no matter whatever means had to be adopted. While most of the women afraid of incurring the wrath of the Brahmin sage, Ṛishyaśṛiṅga, who was very powerful, though yet a boy, expressed their inability to undertake the task, but one aged courtesan came forward to accomplish the task and the king provided her with the things she needed. A floating hermitage containing artificial trees, adorned with various flowers and fruits was made ready and she started in her boat along with a few beautiful clever women of her choice in order to seduce Ṛishyaśṛiṅga from his hermitage. She moored the vessel at a distance from the hermitage and sent her emissaries to survey how to meet the young ascetic Ṛishyaśṛiṅga. When the opportunity came, the old woman sent forward her beautiful daughter, a courtesan by trade and very smart.

The young courtesan came to Ṛishyaśṛiṅga when his father was away. Having no previous knowledge of what a woman looked like, the hermit-boy took her for a Brahmachārī and offered her water and fruits according to customary hospitality and asked to know where her hermitage was. The courtesan's daughter cleverly said, "Oh, son of Kāśyapa Vibhāṇḍaka, my hermitage is on the yonder side of the hill. The rule of my order is not to accept obeissance nor do I touch water to wash my face. This is the religious observance to be practised by me, namely that thou must be clasped in my arm."[3]

The young courtesan threw away the fruits, etc. offered by Ṛishyaśṛiṅga (as she was obviously afraid of receiving hospitality and worship from a Brahmin) and gave him intoxicating things to eat, things which looked outwardly very attractive, and adorned him with garlands and beautiful garments, and then began her love play. She touched his body with her bosom now and then and clasped him repeatedly in her arms.[4] After arousing sexual desire in him, the courtesan disappeared. Soon after, Ṛishyaśṛiṅga's father, the sage Vibhāṇḍaka, returned after performing penance. Finding his son disconsolate Vibhāṇḍaka wanted to know what had happened to him. From the account Ṛishyaśṛiṅga gave, Vibhāṇḍaka could not understand who had come and upset the mind of his son. He, however, presumed that some Rākshasa might have come to obstruct Ṛishyaśṛiṅga's penance.

Vibhāṇḍaka spent three days in search of the demons, but found none. So he went out to gather fruits. During that time, the courtesan came to tempt Ṛishyaśṛiṅga. The hermit-boy was glad to see her again. She hurried to him and said, 'Please come along with me to my hermitage before your father returns'. Then the courtesans by various means delighted him and brought him to the Aṅga country; and with his arrival the famine was over. The king gave his daughter Śāntā in marriage to him.

Now regarding the Sanghol panel, the scene of the young woman carrying a boy looking about fourteen to fifteen years in age can be explained with reference to the reliefs on the Bhūteśvara pillar (*Plate* 15.2) preserved in the Archaeological Museum, Mathurā. The Bhūteśvara pillar has three scences, representing the seduction of Ṛishyaśṛiṅga (this identification is universally accepted). The topmost scene shows four women, evidently the courtesans of Aṅga, going in a boat to the hermitage of Ṛishyaśṛiṅga. The middle picture depicts a courtesan, perhaps the one who was the main seductress of Ṛishyaśṛiṅga, and the lowest picture (*Plate* 15.3) shows her clasping Ṛishyaśṛiṅga in her arms, as mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*.

To a careful observer, a close similarity between Sanghol panel and the lowest picture of the Bhūteśvara pillars is obvious. Both the reliefs show a young woman clasping a boy in her arms. On this basis it can be held that the theme of the Sanghol panel and that of the above mentioned Bhūteśvara relief is the same, i.e. the seduction of Ṛishyaśṛiṅga by the courtesans of Aṅga. The woman of the Sanghol panel clasps a boy (who is Ṛishyaśṛiṅga) in her arms in the same manner as narrated in the Vanaparva of the *Mahābhārata* describing the Ṛishyaśṛiṅga story and also depicted on the Bhūteśvar Pillar. There is, therefore, no doubt that the Sanghol panel deals with the Ṛishyaśṛiṅga story.

All the sources describe Ṛishyaśṛiṅga as a boy when he was seducted by the woman of Aṅga. But none of them except the Bengali *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kṛittivāsa (15th century) gives his actual age. According to Kṛittivāsa, however, Ṛishyaśṛiṅga was fourteen years old at that time: *Chaudda vatsarer sei munir santati/Kautukete bhulaibe yateka yuvatī*, which can be rendered into English as follows: The young ladies will deceive or mislead the sage's son who is fourteen years of age through delightful seductive tricks.

We do not know what Kṛittivāsa's source of information regarding the age of Ṛishyaśṛiṅga was... Perhaps, Kṛittivāsa has mentioned the age of fourteen for Ṛishyaśṛiṅga, as this is about the age when a boy starts having a strong urge and capacity for sexual acts.

It will not be apt to describe the panel under discussion as that of a mother and child for the child seems to be too big to be carried in his mother's arms. Further, we meet with several 'mother and child' motifs in Sanghol art where the child shown does not appear to be more than two or three years of age.

The above discussion provides definite clues enabling us to identify without doubt the Sanghol panel in question as the seduction of Ṛishyaśṛiṅga (who is shown here as stated above, as a grown-up boy) and not as any other motif.

The artist of Sanghol who has carved this panel has not cared to depict here all the major events of the story of Ṛishyaśṛiṅga's seduction in a purely narrative style. He has selected for his delineation the most dramatic part of the story, i.e. Ṛishyaśṛiṅga's actual seduction. Herein lies the suggestive character or excellence of the panel. This feature is also noticeable in the Sanghol sculpture showing the Mahāummagga Jātaka (Radha Banerjee, "The Mahāummagga Jātaka in Kushan sculptures from Sanghol", *Roopa-Lekha*, Vol. LIX, Nos. 1 and 2, pp. 90-92).

Notes and References

1. The *Alambushā Jātaka* (No. 523) and the *Nalinikā Jātaka* (No. 526); the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Bālakāṇḍa*, 9th and 10th chapters); the *Mahābhārata*, *Sabhā-purva*, 11th Adhyāya, v. 23; *Vanaparva*; see also Sir John Marshall and A. Foucher, *The Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol. 1, p. 225; Vol. 2, XXVII; J. Ph. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura, Ars Asiatica*, Vol. 15, 1930, pl. XXd; V.S. Agrawala, *Handbook of the Sculptures of the Curzon Museum of Archaeology*, Mathura, Allahabad, 1939, p. 42.
2. The *Mahābhārata*, translated into English by P.C. Roy, Second *Revised* Edition, Calcutta, Vol. II, pp. 143ff.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 245.
4. *Ibid.*
5. The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kṛittivāsa, ed. by Subodh Chandra Majumdar, pp. 66 and 67 (Ādikāṇḍa).

16

Krishna in the Art of Haryana

DEVENDRA HANDA

In the absence of any definite historical evidence, it is difficult to ascertain exactly the origin and antiquity of the Kṛishṇa-cult. Mentioned as a renowned seer in the *Ṛigveda*,[1] Kṛishṇa Āṅgirasa finds a reference in the *Kauśītaki Brāhmaṇa* also but has been alluded to as Devakī-putra and a disciple of the solar priest Ghora Āṅgirasa in the *Chhāndogya Upanishad*.[3] The *Mahābhārata*, the earliest and most important work to give details of the life of Kṛishṇa, repeatedly refers to his mother Devakī[4] and father Vasudeva. He belonged to the Vṛishṇi family, a branch of the Yādavas. Being the son of Vasudeva, Kṛishṇa is well known as Vāsudeva also. Many passages in the *Mahābhārata*, and subsequently the *Purāṇas*, represent Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa as the Supreme Soul, the Absolute Being and an incarnation of Nārāyaṇa-Vishṇu. These works also relate in details various myths and stories about the life of the god as also of his feats and exploits.[5]

Pāṇini (fifth century B.C.) provides the definite evidence of the worship of Kṛishṇa as a god through his grammatical formula *Vāsudevārjunābhyāṁ vūñ*[6] to explain the formulation of the word *Vāsudevaka* in the sense of an object or subject of devotion. The association of the word Arjuna is also significant here. Patañjali (second century B.C.), while commenting on Pāṇini's *sūtras* III. 1, 26 and IV. 3,98 makes it very clear that during his period Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa was regarded as both, hero and a god.[7] That Kṛishṇa worship was quite popular in the north-west India in the fourth century B.C. is revealed by the Roman historian Curtius who records the fact that the army of king Porus carried an image of Heracles (=Kṛishṇa) in front of them during its fight against Alexander.[8] Megasthenes also refers to the prevalence of the worship of 'Indian Heracles' among the Sourasenoi who inhabited Methora (Mathura) and Cleisobora (Kṛishṇapura?).[9] The depiction of Vāsudeva and Saṁkarshaṇa on the square bronze coins of Agathocles (171-160 B.C.) found from Afghanistan[10] further corroborate the popularity of the worship of Vāsudeva and Saṁkarshaṇa in the north-west India and beyond during the second century B.C. Ghosundi inscription (second century B.C.) from Rajasthan also refers to the shrine of Vāsudeva and Saṁkarahaṇa called Nārāyaṇa-vāṭikā.[11]

With the development of the concept of devotion during the Upanishadic period, a cult seems to have developed around the five Vṛishṇi heroes (*Vṛishṇi-pañcha-vīrāḥ*) of which Vāsudeva was the main figure besides Saṁkarshaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha and Sāmba.[12] The Mora Well inscription (*circa* 10-25 A.D.), found about 10 km. west of Mathura, records the existence of a stone shrine housing the images of the five Vṛishṇi heroes.[13] Vṛishṇi coins, seals and sealings found from Sunet and elsewhere in the present day Punjab provide evidence of the habitation of the region by the Vṛishṇis during the early centuries of the Christian era.[14]

There is ample evidence of the prevalence of Vaishṇavism in Haryana during the early historic and medieval periods[15] but not much is known about the popularity of the cult of Kṛishṇa. Kṛishṇa themes in the art of the region are also wanting. Clay sealings bearing the names of Balabhadra from Sanghol; Kṛishṇadatta, Nandasoma and Kṛishṇaghosha from Sunet[16] (Punjab), Sirsa Stone Inscription of Bhojadeva referring to a brick and stone temple of Yogīśvara (Śiva) adorned with the images of Murāri and other deities[17] and the Hansi Stone Inscription of Pṛithvirāja II (V.S. 1224=1167 A.D.) invoking the god Murāri (Kṛishṇa),[18] however, do indicate that Kṛishṇa has remained known in the region and probably his worship has also continued through the ages.

As is well known, the Mahābhārata war, in which Kṛishṇa played a very prominent role was fought at Kurukshetra in Haryana. Also, it was at Kurukshetra that Kṛishṇa enlightened Arjuna with the exhortations of the *Gītā*. There are many spots in the region of Kurukshetra which are associated with the characters or events of the Mahābhārata but those related to Kṛishṇa are very few.[19] No independent image of Kṛishṇa, nor any panel depicting Kṛishṇa-*Līlā* scenes, has yet been found from Haryana. This almost complete paucity of the Kṛishṇa theme in the plastic art of Haryana is rather intriguing. In the following lines, we put before the scholars some relics which may probably be associated with the god.

Sugh, the ancient Srughna,[20] situated about 5 km. east of Jagadhari in district Ambala, has yielded, among others, a large number of terracottas. Interesting and noteworthy amongst them is a plaque with a child, seated in a natural pose with a wooden board, *takhtī*, between his legs.[21] The head of the boy is gone. He is shown as naked but has anklets. The *takhtī* shows four lines of letters, all vowels.[22] The boy points out at the letters with the pointing finger of his right hand while the left hand holds the *takhtī* firmly. The form of the Brāhmī letters written on the *takhtī* indicate second century B.C. as the date of the terracotta (*Plate* 16.1).

Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, on a suggestion of Sri C. Sivaramamurti, thinks that the terracotta depicts Kṛishṇa receiving education in the hermitage of Sandīpani at Avantipura.[23] In the absence of any definitive identificatory mark, however, it is difficult to certainly identify the boy with Kṛishṇa.

Some years back, D.S. Punia published a Kushāṇa red sandstone image, measuring 38 × 32 cm., from Sondh in southern Haryana (*Plate* 16.2). Unfortunately it is very much mutilated. It shows only the bust of a four-armed deity holding a discus in the back left hand while the corresponding right is damaged. The principal hands hold a conch shell near the chest so as to blow it. The face of the god is badly mutilated beyond recognition but traces of typical Kushāṇa triangular necklace and bracelets on his person may still be made out. Punia has recognised the deity as Vishṇu.[24]

About two decades back, N.P. Joshi had listed a large number of references from various texts like the *Mahābhārata*, *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, *Matsya Purāṇa*, *Liṅga Purāṇa*, *Brahma Purāṇa*, *Padma Purāṇa* etc. where Vāsudeva Kṛishṇa has been described as holding *śaṅkha*, *chakra* and *gadā* only, rarely a sword or a bow also, the absence of *padma* being notable. So he advocated that the early Mathura Vishṇu images showing only the above-mentioned attributes should be recognised as those of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa.[25] It is to be noted that Sondh is located near Mathura and the image under discussion does not show the lotus. The posture of blowing the conch, we think, provides an important clue for its identification with Kṛishṇa who has been described as such at various places in the *Mahābhārata*.[26] So we feel that the Sondh image represents Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa rather than Vishṇu.

The earliest definite representation of the deity, however, comes from Sanghel in the Nuh tehsil of district Gurgaon in the form of an Ekānaṁśā relief in mottled Mathura sandstone (*Plate* 16.3). Measuring 24.5 × 24 cm., it shows the triad—Saṁkarshaṇa-Balarāma, Ekānaṁśā and Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa—standing to front. Ekānaṁśā, the sister of Balarāma and Kṛishna,[27] is two-handed. Her right hand is held in *abhaya-mudrā* and the left rests on the waist. Following iconographical injunctions, she is placed between Baladeva and Kṛishṇa.[28] Like other Kushāṇa figures Ekānaṁśā is shown here with an archlike canopy over her head. Quadrumanous Baladeva on her proper right wears a typical early foliated *mukuṭa* and other ornaments. His normal right hand is raised to the leval of the shoulder in fear-allaying gesture and the left one is akimbo, holding perhaps a flask. The rear hands carry a mace and a plough surmounted by a lion. The normal hands of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa are similar to those of Baladeva and Ekānaṁśā. Unfortunately, the head and the additional hands are broken. The triad, however, resembles almost exactly the known reliefs of Ekānaṁśā and comes from the neighbouring region of Mathura, the legendary ancestral home of the Vṛishṇis.

Agroha, the ancient Agrodaka, is a well-known archaeological site of Haryana.[29] Situated about 22 km. north-west of Hisar on the metalled road to Sirsa, it has got very extensive mounds which have partially been excavated even. Rodgers' excavations during 1888-89 brought to light a very large number of carved bricks and sculptured stones which clearly indicated the existence of a brick temple.[30] Srivastava's excavations during 1938-39 and the recent excavations (1979-85) by the Department of Archaeology & Museums, Haryana,[31] too, have corroborated the evidence of Gupta brick temples at Agroha. The temple/s seem/s to have been adorned by panels depicting probably the Rāmāyaṇa and Kṛishṇa-*līlā* scenes. A fragmentary brick panel measuring 21.5×15 cm. recovered during the excavations,[32] shows the head, neck and one of the forelegs of a horse (*Plate* 16.4). Unfortunately, the rest of the figure is broken. The ferociousness of the equine, however, is evident from the sharp teeth, swoollen nostrils, wide open eye and mouth, erect manes and the upraised foreleg. Obviously, the animal has been depicted in the posture of attacking. As such, it seems to have been a representation of the demon Keśī who rushed to attack Kṛishṇa on his chest with his front legs and attempted to kill him but was done to death by the god.

Another fragmentary panel from the same site, measuring 21.5×19 cm.[33], shows a wrestling scene (*Plate* 16.5). But for the left leg, the figure of the wrestler on the left has survived completely but the other one has survived in the form of his firmly planted left leg and a small portion of the belly only. There is no definite identification mark but the robust bodies of the wrestlers, the gracefully depicted garment and the elegance with which the panel has been carved endow it with a speciality. The panel, when complete, may have depicted the scene of Śāla-*vadha* or a wrestling match between Bhīma and Jarāsandha watched by Kṛishṇa or a scene of the wrestling arena of Mathura.

Stylistically assignable to the post-Gupta period are some relics from Gujjar Kheri, situated about 25 km. north-north-west of Sonepat, which may have belonged to some Vaishṇava temple depicting Kṛishṇa-*līlā* scenes. To judge from its very extensive mound and the large number of antiquarian remains it has yielded, Gujjar Kheri may have remained a very important town of Haryana during the early historic and medieval times.[34] A square pilaster showing *ardha-padma* and beautiful vine-scroll motifs provides evidence of the existence of a stone temple at Gujjar Kheri in about 700 A.D. A door-jamb (*Plate* 16.6), probably belonging to the same temple, contains two vertical and two horizontal panels, alternatively placed. In the lowermost panel is shown a beautifully carved male figure wearing *ardhoruk*, *ekāvali* and *vanamālā*, standing in *pratyālīḍha* posture, uprooting or breaking something with both his hands. The hair style is very exquisite and the facial expression very serene. The *vanamālā* here certainly suggests the figure to have been that of Kṛishṇa.[35] The upper vertical panel shows the god in the posture of Kāliya-damana with anthropomorphic Kāliya standing before him with folded hands. The horizontal panels, which are much smaller in size, depict two equestrians and elephant riders respectively facing each other.

Gujjar Kheri has yielded another small figure, broken below the waist, which may be recognised as Veṇu-Gopāla (*Plate* 16.7).[36] The execution is somewhat crude. The cowherd-god is shown as playing on his flute held stylistically in both of his hands. The hair is combed backward, and bedecked with a jewal at the apex. *Ekāvali*, armlets and bracelets may also be seen on the person of the god. The bend of the body in thc extant portion indicates that the god must have stood gracefully playing on his flute. Stylistically, it may be assigned to *circa* eighth century A.D.

The foregoing account reveals that though Kṛishṇa was not unknown in Haryana yet his plastic representations are not commensurate with his importance as a Hindu god and an incarnation of Vishṇu. The reason is not far to seek, however. Right from the earliest representations of Kṛishna belonging to the Kushāṇa period, where his *Ārādhya* or incarnatory form was to be emphasised, he is depicted as having four hands and carrying the same emblems as Vāsudeva-Vishṇu. Since the Sāttvat Pāñcharātra sect was dominant at Mathura and in the surrounding region including Haryana, Kṛishṇa was depicted in his *Ārādhya* form as Vāsudeva-Krishna, hardly distinguishable from Vāsudeva-Vishṇu.[37] Arjuna and Kṛishṇa are regarded as the incarnations of Nara and Nārāyaṇa. So even in his incarnatory form, Kṛishṇa has generally been depicted as Nārāyana, i.e., the four-handed Vāsudeva holding *śaṅkha*, *chakra*, *gadā* and *padma*.[38]

Notes and References

1. *Ṛigveda*, VIII 84, 3-4.
2. *Kauśītaka Brāhmaṇa*, XXX 9.
3. *Chhāndogya Upanishad*, III 17.6. It is interesting to note that in the *Mahābhārata* (Karṇa Parva) Kṛishṇa alleges the superiority of the teachings of Āṅgirasa (Āṅgirasa-śruti) over others.
4. S. Sorensen, *An Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*, Delhi, 1963 (reprint), p. 237.
5. For details, see P. Banerji, *Life of Krishna in Indian Art*, New Delhi, 1978; *Blue God*, New Delhi, 1981; A.L. Dallapiccola et al (Ed.), *Krishna—the Divine Lover: Myth and Legend*

through Indian Art, Bombay 1982; Milton Singer (Ed.), *Krishna Myths, Rites and Attitudes*, Honolulu, 1966; D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Lord Krishna: The Light Through Darkness*, Chandigarh, 1988 etc.

6. *Ashṭādhyāyī*, IV. 3, 98. See also VI. 3, 38.
7. J.N. Banerjee, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1956, p. 85. See also R.G. Bhandarkar, "Allusions to Kṛishṇa in Patañjali's Mahābhāshya", *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III, 1874, pp. 14ff.
8. R.G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, Pune, 1929, p. 26. R.C. Majumdar, *The Classical Accounts of India*, p. 119.
9. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-22.
10 *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XXV, pp. 73-75.
11. *Epigraphia Indica*, XVI, pp. 25ff; D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1942, p. 92.
12. These Vṛishṇi heroes were later apotheosized and identified with *parama*, *mahat* or *jīva*, *manas* and *ahaṁkāra*—The first four creative principles of the Sāṁkhya system—The *Purāṇas* attach some allegorical meanings also to these names. For details, see Bhandarkar (1929), *op. cit.*, pp. 4ff; Kalpana Desai, *Iconography of Viṣṇu*, New Delhi, 1973, pp. 3 and 37ff; N.P. Joshi, *Iconography of Balarāma*, New Delhi, 1979, pp. 10-15 etc.
13. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-15.
14. Devendra Handa, *Studies in Indian Coins and Seals*, Delhi, 1985, pp. 66ff.
15. Devendra Handa, "Vaishṇava Icons from Haryana", *Panjab University Research Bulletin (Arts)*, Chandigarh, Vol. XVI, No. 2 (October 1985), pp. 125ff.
16. Handa (1985), *op. cit.*, pp. 96, 104 and 108.
17. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 295.
18. D.R. Bhandarkar, "Hansi Stone Inscription of Pṛithvīrāja, (Vikrama) Saṁvat 1224", *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLI (1912), pp. 17-19.
19. The Eka-haṁsa *tīrtha* at Ikas in district Jind, Ekarātṛi and Jyotisara near Thanesar are the only places which can be connected with Kṛishṇa traditionally. But even these places have not yielded any archaeological relics which could be associated with the god.
20. Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Report*, Vol. II, p. 226; Vol. XIV, p. 134; *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 291; Devendra Handa, "Some Important Towns of Haryana: A Study Of Their Ancient Past-2", *Journal of Haryana Studies*, Vol. III, No. 1 (1971), pp. 10ff.; Suraj Bhan, "Excavations at Sugh (1964 and 1965)", *Ibid.*, Vol. IX (1977), pp. 1-47 etc.
21. It was presented to the National Museum, New Delhi by the Vice-Chancellor of the Panjab University, Chandigarh in December 1968 and is exhibited there as No. 68. 193 in the Early Indian Sculpture Gallery. The copyright of the photogranh published here lies with the National Museum, New Delhi.
22. Some more plaques showing both the vowels and the consonants have also been recovered from Sugh and are preserved in the Gurukula Museum at Jhajjar (Rohtak) and with some individuals. See also *Indian Archaeology 1968-69: A Review*, p. 80, pl. LVIII.
23. *The Hindustan Times*, dated 19.12.1968; B. Ch. Chhabra, "Sugh Terracotta With Brahmi Barakhadi", *Bulletin National Museum*, New Delhi, No. 2, pp. 14-16. See also R.C. Agrawal, "Learning The Alphabets", *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. XVIII, No. 4 (June 1969), pp. 358-59 & pl.
24. D.S. Punia, "Recently Explored Icons of Viṣṇu and Hari-Hara in South Haryana", *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. XXIX, nos. 1-2 (Sept.-Dec. 1979), pp. 128-29, fig. 1. The accompanying plate is after Punia's fig. 1.

25. N.P. Joshi, "Prārambhika Vishṇu-mūrtiyon kā eka Adhyayana", *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.*, no. 2 (Dec. 1968), pp. 6-26 & figs.
26. *Mahābhārata*, Bhīshma Parva, 25.15; Droṇa Parva 88. 21, *Śrī-mad-bhagavad-Gītā*, I. 14-15 etc.
27. *Harivaṁśa*, II, 101, 18. It is also interesting to note that the *Mahābhārata* (Vana Parva, 208, vv. 7-8) describes her as the seventh daughter of Aṅgirasa.
28. *Bṛihat Saṁhitā*, LVII. 37; *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, III. 85, 72.
29. C.J. Rodgers, *Report of the Panjab Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1888-1889*, pp. 41-43; H.L. Srivastava, "Excavations at Agroha (Punjab)", *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 61, Delhi, 1952; Devendra Handa, "Some Important Towns Of Haryana: A Study Of Their Ancient Past", *Journal of Haryana Studies*, Vol. II, Nos. 1-2 (1970), pp. 4ff.
30. Rodgers, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
31. *Indian Archaeology 1979-80: A Review* onwards. See also R.C. Agrawal, "Prāchīna Hariyānā", *Ajkal*, Nov. 1968, p. 28.
32. It was obtained from Trench No. XD-7, Quadrant III, at a depth of 50 cm from layer 1.
33. Trench No. XG-8, Quadrant IV, layer 3, depth 2.05 metres.
34. Devendra Handa, "Some Unpublished Sculptures from Gujjar Kheri (Haryana)", *Panjab University Research Bulletin (Arts)*, Vol. XVII, No. 1 (April 1986), pp. 107-22 and Fig. 20.
35. I showed the photographs of the Gujjar Kheri relics to Shri R.C. Agrawal and Prof. D.C. Bhattacharyya and discussed with them the possibility of the figure being that of Kṛishṇa. They concurred with my view.
36. All the relics from Gujjar Kheri described here are preserved in the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Haryana, Chandigarh. We are thankful to the Director for their photographs published here.
37. N.P. Joshi, "Kṛṣṇa In Art—Whether Two-Armed Or Multi-Armed", *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.*, No. 21-24 (June '78-Dec. '79), pp. 19ff.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 20. A large number of Vishṇu images from Haryana and Punjab show Balarāma as an attendant of the god. We feel that all these images are the result of the identity of Vishṇu and Kṛishṇa in the minds of the people of the region. For details see our forthcoming paper "Balarāma as an Attendant of Vishṇu", *Prof. R.N. Mehta Felicitation Volume*.

17

The Apocryphal Tirtha-Names in Kuruksetra

O.P. BHARADWAJ

The land of Kurukṣetra is the cradle of Indian Civilization. A large portion of the earliest literature in Sanskrit was composed here in the valleys of the holy rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī. It was the scene of the first political and cultural activity in our country. It is not surprising therefore that most of the Hindu gods are associated with this land in one way or the other and it is dotted with innumerable Tīrthas connected with sites, forests, lakes and rivers some of which had already acquired a holy character in the remote Vedic age.

Popular tradition places the number of holy sites in the region at 360.[1] Even if this number is an exaggeration, the lists of Tīrtha-names which are available to us are impressively large. Sir Alexander Cunningham in his "*Report of a Tour in the Panjab in 1878-79*"[2] listed about 207 Tīrthas. Pt. Ram Swaroop Sharma in the first part of his "*Kurukṣetra Rahasya*" published in 1931 from Jind in Haryana[3] gave the names of only 125. Ten years later Dayali Ram, sometime Director Education erstwhile Patiala State, gave probably the longest list of the Tīrtha-names, about 259 in all, in his "*Kurukṣetra Darpaṇa*", originally brought out in Urdu from Ambala in 1941.[4] In an article on "*Tīrthas of Kurukṣetra as enumerated in the Mahābhārata and Vāmana Purāṇa*", published in 1976,[5] Dr. Silak Ram listed about 229 names.[6] There are several other accounts also but a systematic and analytical examination of the innumerable Tīrtha-names of

Kurukṣetra, roughly comprising the present state of Haryana, remains yet to be undertaken.[7]

Cunningham suspected most of the Tīrthas in his list to be invention of modern days.[8] This suspicion cannot be said to be wholly unwarranted. There are many names which appear rather odd as Tīrtha-names although they can not be branded as spurious without proper examination.

In this brief note we intend to take up the three Tīrtha-names *Sudina*, *Ahan* and *Iḷāyāspada* or *Iḷāspada* which can be easily demonstrated to be apocryphal. It is interesting to note that these three names are duly mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*[9] and the *Vāmana Purāṇa*[10] and have been traditionally assigned to specific villages. Pt. Ram Swaroop Sharma places Sudina and Ahan both at village Bastali (Sanskrit Vyāsasthalī)[11] and Iḷāpada at village Shergarh near Kaithal.[12]

Cunningham connects Sudina and Ahan both with village Dusen[13] and places *Iḷāspada* at village Shergarh which, he thinks, was earlier known as Saraka.[14] Silak Ram locates *Sudina* at Dusen, *Ahan* at village Ahun[15] and *Iḷāspada* at Kaithal. Dayali Ram does not take note of these three Tīrtha-names.

Although these names find mention among the Tīrthas of Kurukṣetra in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Vāmana Purāṇa* they have been undoubtedly fabricated out of expressions occurring in *Ṛgveda* 3.23.4 which is reproduced below in *Padapātha*[17] along with corresponding translation in English.

नि त्वा दधे वरे आ पृथिव्याः इलायाः पदे सुदिनत्वे अह्नाम्
I place thee in the best spot of earth the seat of *Ilā* on the best day of all days,
दृषत्ऽवत्याम् मानुषे आपयायाम् सरस्वत्याम् रेवत् अग्ने दिदीहि ॥
On the Dṛṣadvatı, Mānuṣa, Āpayā, Sarasvatī richly Agni ! Shine.

The *Ṛṣis* of this hymn, addressed to Agni, are the two Bharata princes Devaśravas and Devavāta. In the *mantra* before us the poets place Agni in the best spot of earth, the seat of Iḷā, on the best of days and pray to the god to shine in all effulgence at Dṛṣadvatī, Mānuṣa, Āpayā & Sarasvatı. Dṛṣadvatı, Āpayā and Sarasvatī are the three well known rivers of Kurukṣetra. Mānuṣa has been construed by Wilson[18] and Geldner[19] as an adjective of the (banks of) three rivers and rendered as "frequented by men". Griffith[20] on the other hand takes it as the vocative singular of Mānuṣa and translates it as "O man !". However M.L. Bhargava[21] suggested long ago that the word here stands for the name of a town and lake and like the three accompanying river names is the locative singular of the stem Mānuṣa. It has since been conclusively established by Ram Gopal[22] that

Mānuṣa stands, in this *mantra*, for the name of a lake. The second half of the *mantra* thus contains four names, one of a lake or town[23] and three of rivers which had all acquired a sacred character by the time this hymn was composed.

In the first half the three expressions *Iḷāyāspade*, *Sudinatve* and *Ahnāṁ* present no difficulty. While Sāyaṇa[24] and Veṅkaṭamādhava[25] explain "*Iḷāyāspade* as "*Uttaravedyāṁ*" or "in the Uttaravedī" denoting the land of Kurukṣetra which is known as the *Uttaravedī* of god Brahmā,[26] it agrees well with the context since the Mānuṣa lake and all the three rivers mentioned above belong to Kurukṣetra. Modern scholars uniformly translate it as "the seat of Iḷā. It is to be noted that *Iḷāyāspade*, being a conjunction of the two words, *Iḷāyāḥ* (gentive sing. of *Iḷā*) and *Pade* (loc. sing. of *Pada*), cannot be taken as one single word to denote a place-name. *Sudinatve* (loc. sing. of *Sudinatva*) is explained by Sāyaṇa as "यजनीयदिवसानाम् शोभनदिनत्वार्थम् । येषु दिनेषु इन्द्रादयो वरीयांसोदेवाः पूज्यन्ते तानि सुदिनानि". or "a day worthy of performing a sacrifice" representing days on which sacrifice is offered to foremost gods like Indra. Veṅkaṭamādhava takes it as "a cloudless day" in contradistinction to "*Durdina*", "a bad day" in the sense of a "cloudy or rainy day"(अनभ्रत्वादह्नां सुदिनत्वम्). Modern scholars uniformly render it as "the best day" which too cannot be a place-name. *Ahnāṁ* is the genitive plural of the word *Ahan* meaning "of days", and again utterly unthinkable as a place-name. It is thus impossible to visualise these three words or expressions as names of Tīrthas. Nevertheless this is precisely the situation presented to us by the Great Epic and the *Vāmana Purāṇa*. Why ?

The explanation is quite simple.

As we have already seen the second half of the *mantra* contains four Tīrtha-names, of one holy town/lake and three sacred rivers. Someone placed the three expressions *Iḷāyāspada*, *Sudina*(*tva*) and *Ahan* also in the same category and, taking the form *Iḷāspada* of the first name,[27] converted them into Tīrtha-names and introduced them in the *Mahābhārata*, Vana Parva, Tīrthayātrā account which is, in any case, most disorderly and disorganised. Their entry into the *Vāmana Purāṇa* which owes much to the *Mahābhārata*, posed no difficulty. Priests eager to multiply the number of Tīrthas for obvious reasons assigned them to different villages.

Was this the work of a simple scribe, a mischievous interpolator or a motivated redactor? The answer to this question lies in the situation of the villages to which these three Tīrthas have been assigned. All the places lie in tehsil Kaithal of district Kurukṣetra. Shergarh is hardly 2-3 kms. from Kaithal and Bastali about 25 kms. on the road to Karnal. Ahun not far from Bastali, lies a few kms. closer to Kaithal. In the same area, hardly 11 kms. to the west of Kaithal, lies the village and lake of Mānuṣa, now called Mānasa, with the river Āpayā only one *krośa*[28] to its east; both mentioned in the second half of the *mantra*. It appears that the fabricated Tīrtha-names were knowingly assigned to places near Mānuṣa and Āpayā. The selection of the villages Ahun and Dusen was a clever move with an eye on the phonetic similarity of these names with *Ahan* and *Sudina*. The interpolations are therefore most probably the work of a shrewd redactor who belonged to Kaithal (ancient Kapiṣṭhala) or some place nearby.

It is difficult to pinpoint the interpolations to any particular date or period in the absence of any clue. The closest possible guess could be some time around the 7th century A.D. which may be taken as the earliest possible date of the composition of the *Vāmana Purāṇa*.[29] It may be that these names were introduced in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Vāmana Purāṇa* about the same time. This will however remain only a conjecture till some definite evidence becomes available.

It may be added that relevant verses containing these Tīrtha-names find place in the main texts accepted in the Critical Editions of the *Mahābharāta* and the *Vāmana Purāṇa*. This only shows that the texts constituted in critical editions are generally not to be taken for granted.

Notes and References

1. Alexander Cunningham, *Report of a Tour in the Punjab in 1878-79*, Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. XIV, p. 90.
2. See pp. 97-106.
3. See pp. 28-45. Part-II of this booklet never appeared.
4. See pp. 63-118. A Hindi version also appeared from Ambala. The author acknowledges the help taken in the preparation of this work from *Kurukṣetra Māhātmya* of Ramchandra Saraswati, *Kurukṣetra Darpaṇa* of Munshi Kale Rai, *Risala* of Pt. Chuni Lal and several other works including one *Kurukṣetra Māhātmya*, *Kurukṣetra Parikramā*, *Gurutīrthasaṅgraha* and *Tarikh Khalsa*. See. Intro. p. 4.
5. *Journal of Haryana Studies*, Vol. III, Nos. 1-2, pp. 14-32.
6. The lists of Cunningham, Dayali Ram and Silak Ram contain names of traditional Tīrthas also which are not mentioned in the literature.
7. See e.g.
   सरयूप्रसाद गुप्त, महाभारत तथा पुराणों के तीर्थों का आलोचनात्मक अध्ययन, वाराणसी ।
   Bhagwan Singh Suryavanshi, *Geography of the Mahābhārata*, New Delhi, 1986; S.S. Parui, *Kurukṣetra in the Vāmana Purāṇa*, Calcutta, 1976; Savitri V. Kumar, *The Purāṇic Lore of Holy Water-places*, New Delhi, 1983; and S.M. Bharadwaj, *Hindu Places of Pilgrimage in India*, Delhi, 1973 etc. etc.
8. *Op. cit.*, p. 90.
9. Cr. Ed., Poona 1942, Vana 81.63 and 84(i).

   रुद्र कोटिस्तथा कूपे ह्रदेषु च महीपते ।
   इलास्पदं च तत्रैव तीर्थम् भारतसत्तम ।।
   अहश्च सुदीनं चैव द्वे तीर्थे च सदुर्लभे ।

   Readings इडास्पदं and श्रद्धास्पदं are also available.

10. Cr. Ed. Varanasi 1967, Sm. 15.24 (ii) & 61. Reads *I ḷāspada* for *Iḷāspada*:

इडास्पदं च तत्रैव तीर्थं पापभयापहम् ।।
अह्नं च सुदिनं चैव द्वे तीर्थे भुवि दुर्लभे।
तयोः स्नात्वा विशुद्धात्मा सूर्यलोकमवाप्नुयात् ।।

11. *Op. cit.*, p. 38. He spells *Ahan* as *Ahna* and *Sudina* as *Munina*, *Mudita* or *Sudita*.
12. *Op. cit.*, p. 35. He gives a second name *Indrāspada* too for *Iḷāspada*.
13. *Op. cit.*, p. 99. He spells *Sudina* as *Sindan* and *Ahan* as *Anna*.
14. *Op. cit.*, p. 104. Spells *Iḷāspada* as *Irāspada*.
15. *Op. cit.*, p. 23. Erroneously states that *Ahan* is spelled as *Anna* in *Vāmana P.* Sm. 15.61.
16. *Op. cit.*, p. 21.
17. Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, Poona ed. See *infra* n. 24.
18. *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā*, Text & Eng. Tr. etc., 6 Vols., Delhi, 1977.
19. *Der Rig-veda*, German Tr., Harvard Oriental Series, Vols. 33-35., 1951.
20. *The Hymns of the Rigveda*, Eng. Tr., Third ed., Two volumes, Benares, 1920.
21. *The Geography of Ṛgvedic India*, Lucknow 1964, p. 31 f.
22. A New Interpretation of the Vedic Word Mānuṣa, *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Instt.*, Vol. XVII, May-August 1961, (Prts. 3-4) pp. 193-202.
23. There is a village of identical name on a very old mound by the side of the lake, now called Mānasa.
24. *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā*, 5 Vols., Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala Poona, 3rd ed., 1984.
25. *Ṛgveda* with commentaries of Skandasvāmin, Udgītha etc., 8 vols, Ed. Vishva Bandhu, Hoshiarpur, 1965.
26. *Mbh.*, Vana, 81. 178:

तरन्तुकारन्तुकयोर्यर्भदन्तरं रामह्रदानां च मचक्रुकस्य च ।
एतत्कुरुक्षेत्रसमन्तपञ्चकं पितामहस्योत्तरवेदिरुच्यते ।।

This verse has been repeated in Śalya 52.20 and also in the *Vāmana Purāṇa* Sm.1.14. Also see *Vāmana P.* Sm.1.13; and 12.15. And much earlier *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa*, XXV.13.3. says :......

ते देवा अब्रुवन् एतावती वाव प्रजापतेर्वेदिर्यावत् कुरुक्षेत्रमिति तौ न व्यजयेताम् (...)

27. Ilāyāspada is not used in later works. *Ṛgveda* has the form *Iḷāspada* too. See e.g. 1.128.1, x.91.1. *Iḷāyāspada* occurs in III. 29.4 and X.91.4 also.
28. *Mbh.*, Vana 81.55:

मानुषस्य तु पूर्वेण क्रोशमात्रे महीपते ।
आपगा नाम विख्याता नदी सिद्धनिषेविता ।।

The verse is almost literally repeated in *Vāmana P.* Sm.15.1. Āpayā and Āpagā are identical.

29. Scholars widely disagree over the date of composition of the *Vāmana P.* R.C. Hazra (*Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, 2nd ed, Delhi 1975, p. 91) considers it not earlier than the 9th century A.D., P.V. Kane (*History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. V, Prt. II, pp. 904 f.) puts its compilation between 600-900 A.D.; V.S. Agrawala (*Vāmana Purāṇa—A Study*, Varanasi 1964, p. ii) places it in the first half of the 7th century A.D.

18

Some Highlights of the History of Kalinga

K.D. BAJPAI

In ancient times the popular name of Orissa was Kaliṅga. This name often occurs in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas* and in several classical Sanskrit works, besides the Buddhist and Jaina literature. Kālidāsa, the great Sanskrit poet, in his *Raghuvaṁśa*, places the capital of Kaliṅga on the sea-coast. He refers to Mahendra, the famous mountainous range of Orissa, its sea-coast and the commercial activities of Orissa with the *dvīpāntaras*.

In connection with the *Indumatī-svayaṁvara*, the poet eulogises the power of the Kaliṅga ruler and the beautiful land ruled over by him.[1]

In the same work *Raghuvaṁśa* in the context of Raghu's *digvijaya*,[2] *Kālidāsa* describes the victory of Raghu over the Vaṅga country. The Vaṅgas had a strong fleet of boats. Thereafter the people of Utkala helped Raghu in entering the main land of Kaliṅga, covered with the Mahendra mountain ranges :

Sa tīrttvā Kapiśāṁ sainair-baddha dvirada-setubhih,
Utkalā-darśita pathaḥ, Kaliṅgābhimukhuṁ yayau.
(*Raghu*, *IV*, 38)

The Mahendra mountain was counted among the eight chief mountains of the country (*Kulaparvatas*). The ruler of Kaliṅga gave a stiff resistance to Raghu, but eventually was over-powered. The victor after establishing his symbolic supremacy over Kaliṅga, gave it back to the ruler as a gesture of friendship and goodwill :

> *gṛhīta-pratimuktasya sa dharma-vijayī nṛpaḥ;*
> *śriyaṁ Mahendranāthasya jahāra na tu medinīm.*
> (*Raghu*, *IV*, 43)

This *digvijaya* of Raghu is reminiscent of the victory of Samudragupta over the Kaliṅgas in the *4th* century A.D.

In this connection it would be worthwhile to compare the symbolic victory of the Gupta ruler with the war on Kaliṅga waged by the Mauryan king Aśoka in the *3rd* cent. B.C. Aśoka in his wild pursuit of uprooting his contemporary ruler of Kaliṅga adhered to the ruthless way of imperial expansion. The people of Kaliṅga, who had enjoyed a long tradition of independence till then, could not tolerate any external domination. They were aware of the imperial policies of the previous Magadhan monarchs and hence were not prepared to yield to the machination of Aśoka.

It seems that Aśoka was probably ill-advised by his war monger and greedy generals. They may have compelled him to wage the disastrous war to occupy the fertile region of Kaliṅga, having considerable trade potentiality due to its long sea-coast. The consequences of that war are well known. Aśoka could succeed in Kaliṅga only after an unprecedented blood-shed and upheaval.

The Mauryan domination could not last long in Kaliṅga. Soon after the demise of Aśoka, Kaliṅga declared its independence. A family of rulers, known as the Mahāmeghavāhanas, came into power after the downfall of the Mauryas. This new ruling dynasty of Kaliṅga seems to have close relations with the Chedi region (modern Bundelkhand of Madhya Pradesh). This can be inferred from the name 'Chedi' occurring in the records of the Mahāmegha-vāhana family of the Kaliṅga region.

The Chedi region had become a centre of the Aryan culture from the early Vedic times. The worship of god Indra, one of whose epithets was *mahāmegha-vāhana*, was quite popular in that region. King Vasu, one of the early Vedic rulers of Chedi was appropriately designated as *Chaidya uparichara* (ruler of Chedi *janapada*). The Chedis may have migrated from their original land to the Kaliṅga region during the late Mauryan period. They may have found there a congenial atmosphere for the growth of their power. Soon they established themselves as the ruling dynasty of the main Kaliṅga region. Khāravela of the well-known Hathigumpha inscription made his hegemony felt beyond the limits of Kaliṅga. Khāravela and his successors made their kingdom politically strong. They also followed a broad-based policy of religious toleration. The chief Indian religions and various folk-cults flourished in Kaliṅga side by side.

The Greek writers Megasthenes, Pliny and Ptolemy have described the main Kaliṅga region (*Macco-calingae*) and its important towns, such as Katak, Konārka (Konnagara) and Purī.

The name Utkala and Oḍra (for parts of the present Orissa), were not so popular as the name Kaliṅga. The available evidences indicate that at least from about the beginning of the Christian era, the people of Kaliṅga used to travel through the Bay of Bengal towards China in the north-east and to Indo-China and Indonesia in the south-east. The name Kaliṅga became well known outside India in the regions with which Orissan people came into contact.

The discovery of Roman and Chinese coins in several parts of Orissa and the occasional references to Kaliṅga in the Chinese and Indonesian literature furnish eloquent testimony to the maritime activities of the people of this area and their cultural and trade-relations with far-off lands.[3]

During its palmy days in the early historical period the boundaries of Kaliṅga extended from Sumha (South-Western part of Bengal) to river Godavari in the South. Its western limit was Amarakaṇṭaka in the Shahdol district of Madhya Pradesh. The Bay of Bengal (*Mahodadhi*) marked its eastern boundary.

From the *Periplus* (1*st* cent. A.D.) we learn that Kaliṅga was also known as *Dosarene* (Sanskrit Daśārṇa).[4] We know that the region of eastern Malwa was famous as Daśārṇa. It was watered by river Daśārṇā (present Dhasān). The similarity in the name Daśārṇa of both the areas is striking indeed. The *Periplus* says that the region of Orissa yielded ivory, which was known as *Dosarenic*.[5] The Orissan ivory has long been famous and is mentioned in early and medieval literature as a major item of industry and export.

Kaliṅgapattnaṁ on the sea-coast was an important port. Ptolemy has referred to Palur, another important town of Kaliṅga, which has been identified with Dantapura. The ship-building industry in the coastal area was given a fillip by the ruling dynasties of Orissa. The rulers of the Bhaumakara and Gaṅga dynasties paid special attention to the internal and external trade-routes. This was necessary for developing the economic condition of the country.

It is interesting to note that names of several rivers and towns of ancient Orissa became popular in south-east Asia. Apart from some other names, the name of Siṁhapura may have given its name to the present city of Singapore.

The sea-route trade-relations of Orissa and the Coromandal coast with the eastern and south-eastern foreign countries were favourable to India. Hence an impetus in this direction was given during the Gupta and post-Gupta periods by the contemporary ruling dynasties. This is borne out by the literary and archaeological evidences. The contribution of Orissa to cultural and commercial relations with foreign lands and the resultant economic advancement of India became a recognized fact in the past.[6]

In the field of religion, literature, architecture, sculpture and performing arts, Kaliṅga played no less significant role. The Vedic-Purāṇic religions, Buddhism, Jainism and several folk cults (*loka-dharmas*) found in Orissa an encouraging atmosphere for their simultaneous growth. The ancient ruling dynasties of Orissa—the Chedis, the Bhaumakaras, the Somavaṁśis, the Gaṅgas and others—never tried to impose on the people their own religion as the State religion. On the other hand, they patronized all the popular religious faiths. They had particular regard for the social customs and religious leanings of the Tribal people.

Ancient Orissa occupies a prestigeous position in regard to the development of Sanskrit literature of different categories. Probably it was there that the Bhāgavata Purāṇa was composed. The traditions continued during the Medieval period also.

The development of architecture and sculpture, particularly related to the Vedic-Purāṇic faiths and Buddhism, continued in Orissa. From the second century B.C. to the 13*th* cent. A.D. there were close contacts of Orissa with the art-centres of Sanchi, Mathura, Sirpur, Malhar, Sarnath, Nalanda and Kurkihar. When we compare the art of Bhubaneswar, Udaigiri-Khandagiri, Lalitgiri and Ratnagiri with that of the other art-centres, mentioned above, we notice close mutual contacts among them. Orissa became the centre of several art-traits and became a connecting link between the north and south. It was through Kaliṅga that several Indian themes and art-devices reached Thailand, Kampuchia and Indonesia.

Notes and References

1. *Raghuvaṁśa*, VI, 53-8.
2. *Ibid.*, ch. IV.
3. See K.D. Bajpai, *Prāchīna Bhārata Kā Videshon Se Saṁbandha*, (Indore, 1973), pp. 104-08; 115-22.
4. See W.H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, 2*nd* ed. (Delhi, 1974), pp. 47 and 253.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 47 and notes.
6. For details see Motichandra, *Sārthavāha* (Patna, 1966), pp. 106-132.

19

The Peacock Type Coins of Kumaragupta I : A Review

NISAR AHMAD

The Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I who adopted the title of Mahendra is known to have struck gold coins in multiple varieties and the Peacock type was one of them which was minted not only in justification of his name but also to project himself as Mahendrakumāra. Its obverse bears the effigy of the king, nimbate, standing and facing to left on the right side and peacock facing the king on the left. Its reverse contains the figure of Kārtikeya, nimbate, riding on his *vāhana* peacock and holding spear (*śakti*) in his left hand.

The nomenclature of this type is a subject of some controversy. Vincent Smith designates it as 'Peacock type'.[1] John Allan follows him.[2] A.S. Altekar termed it as 'Kārtikeya type'[3] on the reason that 'the reverse of this type, which shows god Kārtikeya himself, is, however more important than the obverse, whose motif occurs on the reverse also of some other types'[4]; and it is commonly accepted.[5] However, it is surprising that the reverse device of the other types (Class II of Horseman and Tiger slayer) of Kumāragupta I, wherein the goddess is shown feeding a peacock, is not considered in naming them. It is also to be noted that the name of any female deity, like Gaṅgā-makaravāhinī or Ambikā-siṁhavāhinī, who also figure on the Gupta coins, has not come up in his consideration for the purpose of nomenclature.[6] According to J.P. Singh, the obverse motif should not 'be considered less important than its reverse motif'; and, for him, even the designation Peacock type is not adequate for the obverse motif; so he names it as 'King Feeding Peacock type or simply as king and Peacock type'.[7] P.L. Gupta does not take cognizance of this terminology, and by maintaining the earlier two nomenclatures, calls it Peacock (Kārtikeya) type to keep it in the line of all the other type-names and at the same time to emphasize the exclusiveness of the reverse.[8] And, now it is also favoured.[9] But, to coin the nomenclatures, the identical criterion should be applied. Generally the Gupta coin-types (viz. Standard, Archer, Chakradhvaja, Battle-axe, Lyrist, Tiger-slayer, Lion-slayer, Rhinoceros-slayer, Chhatra etc.) are named after the specialities of the obverse device; and, therefore, persuing this line and to avoid perplexity, it is better to retain its earliest name, Peacock type.

On the obverse of this type, the circular legend, beginning at I and terminating at XI, is not satisfactorily read. Allan earlier proposed it as *Jayati Svabhūmau guṇarāśi Mahendra Kumāraḥ* but at the same time he also admitted the uncertainty of this reading.[10] H.P. Sastri identifies the word *guṇarāśī* as *śatrunihantā*.[11] Allan, later, on the basis of a better specimen, revised the reading of the legend as *Jayati svaguṇairguṇarāśi Mahendra Kumāraḥ*.[12] Altekar once doubtfully deciphered *Svaguṇairguṇāravindaḥ* or *vindas*[13]; but subsequently he held that 'the obverse legend is not yet possible to decipher completely', although he proposes that it begins with *Jayati svaguṇairguṇa* and ends with *Mahendrakumāraḥ*.[14] Gupta accepts the revised reading of Allan.[15]

The reverse figure, according to Smith,[16] is a goddess probably Kumāradevī but others identify it as Kārtikeya. No doubt, sometimes it appears as goddess (*BMC*, XV.13) but in view of the other representations, it has to be taken as Kārtikeya. The numismatists hold that Kārtikeya is shown sprinkling incense,[17] or scattering some round[18] objects, apparently *puroḍāśas* or gold coins[19] with right hand on an altar on right. They are not taken into cognizance by Gupta.[20] But J.N. Banerjea observes: 'The altar appears to be nothing but two of the re-entrants of the right side of the pedestal (*pīṭhikā*) on which the god with his mount is shown and the right hand thus does not sprinkle incense but is really shown in the iconographic pose of *varada*, i.e. that of conferring a boon'. So he thinks that the peacock stands on *pañcharatha* pedestal which is commonly found in Indian art of the late Gupta and subsequent periods.[21] But Kārtikeya is clearly visible dropping objects, on two specimens of the Bayana Hoard (*GC*, *BH*. No. 1695, pl. XXVI.5, *BKB*-192); and thereat, they are depicted as three or five small circles. Hence conclusively Kārtikeya appears in two forms: conferring boon or dropping some objects; and, further all the above identifications regarding the objects seem to be mere conjectures: 'the offering by a God is incongruous'[22] and more so in view of the non-existence of the altar; nor they look like coins because of their being hollow.

Allan believes that this type was "issued in honour of Kārtikeya.[23] Altekar amplifying this surmise, writes that the type, 'which is an innovation of the reign, was obviously intended to be a numismatic homage to the deity after whom he was named'.[24] However, it was not a remarkable innovation by Kumāragupta I in the field of the Gupta numismatics as his Elephant rider and Apratigha types, etc. were; here, on the obverse the king is shown feeding peacock and, on the reverse, goddess was replaced by the god Kārtikeya. And, if it was a numismatic homage to the deity after whom he was named, the coins of this type should have been issued in large numbers; but such is not the case. He explains this fact by proposing that the idea of issuing the Peacock type 'was conceived late in the reign'.[25] Banerjea develops this hypothesis further: Kumāragupta was certainly in urgent need of the graces of the War-god Kārtikeya, for the last period of his rule was troubled by the ruthless invasions of the Hūṇas and the Pushyamitras, and his special predilection for this martial god is also manifest in the name of one of his sons, *viz.*, Skanda, if not of himself'.[26] P.K. Agrawala stretches it furthermore: 'It seems, however, quite plausible that Kumāragupta had dedicated himself to Skanda worship from his early life, as is indicated also by the introduction of a peacock on the reverse side of his coin types and given to his eldest son, the name Skanda'.[27] Elsewhere, he adds that 'his devotion towards the war-god must have increased greatly in the later part of his reign when the tranquility of the kingdom was troubled by the Hūṇa invasion and Pushyamitra rebellion'.[28] Against the political inference, Singh states: 'It is, however, not possible to connect the issue of these coins or their depiction in any way with the Hūṇa invasion, as it does not seem to have occurred during the reign of Kumāragupta'. For the invasion or the military threat of the Pushyamitras, he feels that 'the success of Skandagupta against these enemies was achieved after his father's death or shortly before, thereby leaving little time for him to issue these coins to show his gratitude to the god'.[29] But his contention in respect of the Hūṇa invasion is contrary to the truth, the Hūṇas definitely invaded the Gupta empire before the death of Kumāragupta I. In connection of the above suppositions which are based on the notion that these coins were struck at the end of the reign of Kumāragupta I, the metrological feature of these coins, that is not in conformity of them, should be brought out.

Altekar postulates three weight-standards of 121, 124 and 127 grains for the gold coins of Kumāragupta I; and, according to him, all the coins of the Kārtikeya type were minted on 127 grains.[30] In this respect, their classified weights are enumerated hereunder:

Weight	*Number*	*Percentage*
123.1—124.0	1	2.70
124.1—125.0	3	8.10
125.1—126.0	4	10.81
126.1—127.0	13	35.13
127.1—128.0	10	27.02
128.1—129.0	6	16.21

Thus it is evident that all the coins were not issued on the weight standard of 127 grains although coins conforming to this weight exceeded in number to those of 125, 126, 128 and 129 grains but they form 35.13% of the known specimens; and 21.61% and 43.23% coins were struck below and above of 127 grains, respectively. It is also well known that Kumāragupta I also coined his gold money on 132 grains; and, this weight standard was adopted by his son Skandagupta; hence this weight standard would have been inducted by Kumāragupta I at the end of his reign. And, in the light of this, it seems that these coins, weighing between 123 and 129 grains, but none of 132 grains, would have ceased sometime before the termination of his rule. Thus the striking of these coins cannot be associated with the Hūṇa invasion or Pushyamitras rebellion.

To ponder over the order of minting of the coins of the two classes of this type, their analyzed weights are also mentioned as follows :

Class 1	*Varieties*			*Number of coins*	*Percentage*
	A	*B*			
124.1—125.0	1	1	=	2	8.33
125.1—126.0	—	2	=	2	8.33
126.1—127.0	1	9	=	10	41.66
127.1—128.0	—	5	=	5	20.83
128.1—129.0	—	5	=	5	20.83
				24	

Class 2					
123.1—124.0	—	1	=	1	7.69
124.1—125.0	—	1	=	1	7.69
125.1—126.0	—	2	=	2	15.38
126.1—127.0	1	2	=	3	23.07
127.1—128.0	1	4	=	5	38.45
128.1—129.0	—	1	=	1	7.69
				13	

Thus we find that the specimens of class 2 are more than half of those of class 1 in number. Further, we notice that none of the specimens of class 1 were made of 129 grains whereas merely 7.69% of those of class 2 were struck on this weight. Furthermore, the specimens of class 1 had concentration on 127, 128 and 129 grains whereas those of class 2, on 126, 127 and 128 grains. So the coins of class 2 appear to be somewhat earlier. Here it can also be said that Kumāragupta I neither dedicated his kingdom to Lord Kārtikeya to regard him as their temporal ruler like the Yaudheyas or Kumāras nor exalted him to seek his blessings to become successful in some fierce wars as the circumstantial evidence proves.

Singh tries to bring out its significance in the light of the Chakravikrama type. He points out that, on the obverse of the Chakravikrama type, Chandragupta II is a recipient of the divine favour from the Chakrapurusha whereas on the obverse of this type Kumāragupta 'is shown feeding the divine bird, and thus is not shown in direct association of the God, Kārtikeya, who is depicted on the reverse'. So he concludes: 'It is possible to hold that Kumāragupta intended to show himself, by the issue of these coins, as a favourite of the god but at the same time kingly vanity led him to avoid depicting himself as a recipient of any thing from the god. It was, for this reason that the god represented on the reverse of these coins was shown scattering perhaps gold coins, which may be suggestive that the grace of god was behind the opulence of his kingdom''.[31] But the question is: if Kumāragupta I represented himself here on the obverse as 'a favourite of god', why did 'the kingly vanity' led him to avoid depicting himself as a recipient of the divine favour when his father had not hesitated in this regard?

In all probability, Kumāragupta projected himself at par with Kārtikeya: the peacock on the obverse of these coins is depicted as the *Lāñchhana* of Kumāragupta I as well as the epithet *Mahendrakumāra* is not only placed on the reverse but, too, on the obverse; and therefore, he also introduced peacock in place of garuḍa on the reverse of the silver coins which were inducted for circulation in the Madhyadeśa. Agrawala also in similar tone rightly believes that Kumāragupta 'considered himself as incarnation of Skanda, as the legend *Mahendrakumāraḥ*, i.e. Mahendra as Kumāra, repeated both on obverse and reverse' of these coins 'and the bare headed and bare bodied figure of the king on obverse with peacock show'.[32]

The distributions of the known coins of this type are as follows—Bharsar-1; British Museum-9; St. Petersburg Museum-6 (one belongs to the collection of Alexander Grant); Indian Museum-5; Lucknow Museum-2; Jhusi Hoard-8 (3 of them are in the collection of E.C. Bayley); Kotawa Hoard (Gorakhpur district)-2; Faizabad Find-1; Bayana Hoard-13; and, Bharat Kala Bhavan-5 (of the 6, 1 is catalogued in the Bayana Hoard).[33] The coin of the collection of Alexander Grant was found from Oudh; presumably this was obtained in the vicinity of the Faizabad district. Among the British Museum specimens, two coins are from Allahabad. Of the Indian Museum pieces, the provenance of 3 of them are known: one each from Allahabad, Ayodhya and Varanasi. Important enough is that excluding the Bayana Hoard, all their find-spots are located in the districts of Faizabad, Allahabad, Banaras, and Gorakhpur. Thereby it appears that the coins of this type were struck in the mints of the eastern U.P. and the specimens in the Bayana Hoard travelled there from this region.

These coins are distinguished in two classes: I. Kārtikeya looking left; and II. Kārtikeya facing.

Class I : *Kārtikeya looking left* :

The specimens of this class are further divided on the basis of the distinction on the reverse into two varieties: A. Kārtikeya dropping; and B. Kārtikeya with empty hand.

Variety A:

This variety has two specimens, but they are further classified on the number of the circles below the right hand of Kārtikeya.

Sub-Variety :

Obv. : King, nimbate, standing upright, facing to left, wearing waist band round the waist with long sashes and short dhoti, feeding the peacock from the bunch of grapes held in his right hand, left hand hanging down and resting on hip, and putting a conical ornament at the top of head; peacock, depicted on left, faces to right.

Rev. : Kārtikeya, nimbate, three fourth to left, sitting on his *Paravani*, holding a spear (*śakti*) in left hand rested on waist; there are three small circles below the right hand which thereby suggest the dropping by him.

Weight :

BH—165: 124.8; BKB.

Size :

Ibid., 0.82″.

Provenance :

Bayana Hoard.

Sub-Variety 2 :

Obv. : As sub variety 1.

Rev. : As sub-variety 1 but five circles below the right hand of Kārtikeya.

Weight :

BKB—192: 8.2 (126.5).

Size :

Ibid., 1.95 (0.76).

Provenance :

Bayana Hoard.[34]

Variety B :

There are twenty two coins in this variety.

Obv. : As variety A.

Rev. : As variety A but Kārtikeya's right hand empty.

Weight :

JRAS (1889)—E.C. Bayley No. 3: 128.6; St. Petersburg, 127.6; BMC-248: 128.4; 249: 126.8; 250: 126.5; 251: 128.5; 252: 128.3; 253: 128.2; IMC—30 and 31: 127.2; 32.126.0; BH—1691: 126.3; 1692: 126.7; 1693: 127.2; 1694: 127.2; 1694: 127.5; 1696: 126.6; 1697: 126.5; 1698: 125.4; 1699: 126.8; 1700: 126.2.

BKB : 190-8.1 grammes (125.0 grains); 191: 8.2 (126.5).

Size :

St. Petersburg: 0.7; BMC—251, 252: 0.75; 248-50; 0.8, 253; 0.85; IMC—31: 0.74; 32: 0.75; 30: 0.78; BH—1698: 0.75; 1699: 0.76; 1693, 1694, 1696: 0.78; 1691, 1692, 1697, 1700: 0.79; BKB—190: 1.93 cm. (0.75); 191: 1.97 (0.77).

Provenance :

St. Petersburg: Allahabad; JRAS (ECB): Jhusi (Allahabad); BMC-253: Allahabad; IMC-31: Allahabad; ibid-32: Ayodhya.

Class 2 : Kārtikeya facing

The issues of this class are further grouped into two varieties. A. King with dagger; and B. King without dagger.

Variety A :

Two specimens are known in this variety :

Obv. : As class 1; but slightly bent forward and right hand empty; and, a dagger tied with the waist on right.

Rev. : As variety B of class 1; but Kārtikeya and peacock facing to front.

Weight :

JNSI, XXI (1): 127.0; BKB-193: 8.26 grms. (127.4).

Size :

JNSI, XXI (1): 0.73; BKB-193: 2.06 cm (0.81).

Provenance :

JNSI, XXI (1): Faizabad; BKB: Bayana Hoard (but Altekar does not catalogue it in his Bayana Hoard).

Variety B :

In this variety, seventeen, 14 weighed (one with ring is not in the above study of metrology) and 3 unweighed, coins occur.

Obv. : As variety A, but no dagger.
Rev. : As variety A.

Weight :

JRAS (1889) E.C.B. No. 1: 128.2; ibid., No. 2: 127.8. ibid., Alexander Grant: 127.6; ibid., Bharsar: 124.0; BMC—254: 126.0; 255: 132.7 (with ring), 256: 127.8; IMC—33: 127.0; 34: 127.2; BH—1701: 125.9; 1702: 127.0; 1703: 126.9.

Size :

BMC—255, 256: 0.75; 254: 0.8; IMC—33: 0.8; 34: 77×7; BH—701: 0.73; 1702: 0.8; 1703: 0.82; BKB—194: 1.98 (0.77).

Weight not recorded :

W. Theobald, 1; Kotwa, 2.

Provenance :

JRAS (1889) E.C.B. 1 and 2. Jhusi Hoard; ibid., A.G. (now in St. Petersburg) Oudh; ibid., Bharsar; ibid., Kotwa; BMC—256: Allahabad; IMC—34: Varanasi; Bayana Hoard.

Notes and References

1. *JRAS*, 1889, pp. 105-6; *IMC*, I, pp. 113-14.
2. *BMC, G.D.*, pp. 84-86.
3. *The Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard*, 1954, pp. 272-75; *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, 1957, pp. 203-6.
4. *Op. cit.*, 1954, p. ci, fn. 2.
5. *JNSI*, XXI (1), pp. 72-3; *ibid.*, XXX, pp. 203-6.
6. Above, XXXVII, pp. 98-9, fn. 1.
7. Above, XXXIX, pp. 124-5.
8. *Gupta Gold Coins in Bharat Kala Bhavan*, pp. 7-8.
9. *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.*, No. 35-36, pp. 88-89.
10. *BMC, GD*, p. cxix.
11. *JASB*, 1917, p. 15.
12. *NC*, XIV (5th Series), p. 235.
13. *Op. cit.*, 1954, pp. cii, 272.
14. *Op. cit.*, 1957, p. 204.
15. *GC, BKB*, pp. 21, 74.
16. *JRAS*, 1889, p. 105; IMC, I, p. 113.
17. *BMC, GD*, p. 84.

18. *Op. cit.*, 1954, p. 272.
19. *JNSI*, XXXIX, p. 127.
20. *GC*, *BKB*, pp. 74-5.
21. *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 144.
22. *JNSI*, XXX, p. 205.
23. *BMC*, *GD*, p. xcii.
24. *Op. cit.*, 1954, p. ci.
25. *Ibid.*; *op. cit.*, 1957, p. 203.
26. *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 144, fn. 1.
27. Skanda-Kārtikeya, p. 76.
28 *JNSI*, XXX, pp. 204-5.
29. Above, XXXIX, pp. 125-7.
30. *Op. cit.*, 1954, p. cxxvii.
31. *JNSI*, XXXIX, pp. 126-7.
32. Skanda-Kārtikeya, p. 76.
33. Altekar catalogues 13 coins (*op. cit.*, pp. 272-5) but of the Bayana Hoard specimens listed by Gupta and Srivastava (S.). (*GC*, *BKB*, pp. 74-5) one coin no. 193 is not included by Altekar and hence it appears to be a different. In this connection we may recall that 285 coins of the Bayana Hoard could not be procured (*op. cit.*, 1954, p. ii); hence they are not described by Altekar.
34. This coin is not published in the *Bayana Hoard.*

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Narrative in the Gupta Numismatic Art

ASHVINI AGRAWAL

The idea of representing stories in art, particularly in sculpture and painting, was a favourite one with Indians. For instance we find that the *Jātakas* or the stories of the Buddha's previous birth as forming an appendix to the Buddhist canon, have been depicted in Indian sculpture and painting from the earliest times. Side by side with the *Jātakas* we find that various important incidents in the life of the Buddha have also been a subject for the sculptors decorating the earliest known stupas, such as those at Bharhut and Sanchi. The *Jātaka* subject was so popular that it became a hot favourite of the artists of the Gandhāra School. Numerous examples of sculptures based on the *Jātaka* stories are to be found almost in every museum which has a Gandhāra gallery. The subject was so popular that it has been taken up by the artists of other schools, such as Mathura, Sarnath and Amravati, where numerous examples of the same can be found in the remains of Buddhist monuments. The subject of narrative adopted by sculptors was equally popular with the painters of ancient India. As a result some of the finest frescoes to be found in the caves of Ajanta, such as scenes of the *Chhaddanta Jātaka* in Cave 1 and of the *Viśvantara Jātaka* in Cave 17, are painted on this very theme. Some excellent glimpses of narrative art are to be met with in the sculptured panels of the Kailāśa temple of the Rāshṭrakūṭa period, which depict scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. This trait of Indian art did not remain confined to India itself but also spread to the far flung Pacific Islands as also to the deserts of Central Asia in Chinese Turkestan and the adjoining regions. Whereas the Buddhist narrative sculptures and paintings are to be found in Central Asia at places like Kuchi in the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, on the southern slopes of Tien-Shan mountains, we have complete story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* depicted in the sculptures at the base of the great stupa at Borobudur in Central Java.

The attention of the scholars working on the theme of narrative has generally been concentrated on sculpture and painting. However, some interesting examples of narrative art are to be traced in an altogether different field of art—Numismatics, which appears to have caught the imagination of Indian numismatists of the Gupta period. It is generally believed that the Guptas minted their gold coins after the fashion of the Kushāṇa gold specimens, and the latter in their turn had borrowed from the Indo-Greeks and the Romans. The foreign influence on the early Gupta coinage can not be denied but very soon the Indian mint-masters began to show distinct originality in designs. At the same time it must be noted that the coins of the foreigners generally depict the bust of the king on the obverse and a deity on the reverse, showing the issuer's religious affiliations[1] with some variations in exceptional cases.[2] Though the Greek mints produced some of the finest specimens of the numismatic art, their skill was confined to the limited choice of the portraiture of king's bust in different postures. On the other hand, the very idea of narrative, so dear to Indian mind, seems to have inspired the mint-masters of the Imperial Guptas to narrate the significant episodes and incidents connected with the life of the issuer, through their numismatic skill. The limited space on the format of coins must have presented a problem to the artists to portray their ideas in detail, a facility which was easily available to the artists working on stone or the wall. But this drawback was partly made up by the genius of the Gupta artists by providing long metrical legends on the margin of the obverse of the coins or sometimes putting just a single epithet on the reverse, small but sufficient to explain the scene portrayed on the coins. Many a time these legends find an echo in the epigraphic and literary compositions of the period and remarkably tally with the expressions or the stories narrated in them. Such an idea of narrative on coins was entirely original to the mind of Indian artists, can hardly be doubted, as no previous examples are to be found in the issues of their predecessors which could have inspired them. The existence of this concept of narrative on the Gupta coins stands amply illustrated by a careful examination of various gold coins of this period. We have chosen a few coins for the purpose of illustrating the present theme.

The series of the Gupta coinage begins with a remarkable originality shown on the king and queen type of gold coins of Chandragupta I, which depicts on the obverse the portraits of Chandragupta and his queen-consort Kumāradevī, standing facing each other. The king is holding a crescent topped standard in his left hand and is offering an object, which is identified as a ring or *sindūradānī*,[3] to his spouse Kumāradevī with his right hand. Chandragupta is written vertically on the either side of the king's standard, and on the left side margin the queen's name Śrī Kumāradevī is engraved. The reverse shows a goddess sitting on lion holding a noose in her right hand and a cornucopiae in the left. The legend on this side is *Lichchhavayaḥ*. (*Plate* 20.1). A superficial glance at the coin may bring to our mind merely the portraiture of the royal couple. But when studied critically along with the reverse legend it reveals one of the most important episodes of the Gupta history, which was destined to raise the Guptas to imperial glory from the rank of local rulers. The presence of the name of the Lichchhavis raises a very natural question as to why the name of these people occurs on the coins of Chandragupta and what possible connection was there between the two ? Perhaps this would have remained a riddle but for the epithet *Lichchhavidauhitra* i.e. daughter's son of the Lichchhavi used for Samudragupta in the Allahabad Pillar inscription, which reveals that Chandragupta's chief queen Kumāradevī was a daughter of the Lichchhavi ruler. The existence of their name as well as that of Kumāradevī on these coins clearly demonstrates that the Lichchhavis made an important contribution towards the rise of the Guptas. Vincent Smith has pointed out with ingenuity that, "at the time of this fateful union the Lichchhavis were masters of the ancient imperial city and that Chandragupta by means of his matrimonial alliance succeeded to the power previously held by his wife's relations......certain it is that Chandragupta was raised by his Lichchhavi connection from the rank of a local chief......to such dignity that he felt justified in assuming the lofty title of sovereign of Mahārājas, usually associated with a claim to the rank of lord paramount." Once the significance of the legend *Lichchhavayaḥ* is clear, the scene on the obverse of these coins stands revealed. It depicts the historic event of the marriage of Chandragupta I with Kumāradevī, which resulted in the merger of the two royal houses and laid the foundation of an imperial dynasty. This small narrative thus puts before us an important chapter of the Gupta history which would have never become known but for these coins.

The next in the series are the standard type gold coins of Samudragupta, which show the king standing to the left, holding a standard in the left hand and offering oblation in fire with the right. The Garuḍa emblem is found on the left hand side. Samudra is written under the left arm. The reverse shows the goddess sitting on the throne and the legend on this side reads *Parākramaḥ*. (*Plate* 20.2). Because of the motif of the coin and the dress of the king it has been called a close copy of the Kushāṇa proto-type. But its individuality is brought to fore by the metrical circular legend in chaste Sanskrit on the obverse which reads : *Samara-śata-vitata-vijayo-jita-ripur-ajito-divaṁ-jayati*, i.e. 'the invincible (king) who has won victories in a hundred battles, and conquered the enemies, now wins the heaven', which is not to be found on any earlier specimens in the history of coinage. When we see this coin in the light of this legend, it opens an entire new vista of Samudragupta's life before us. It remarkably explains the whole story of Samudragupta's achievements so elaborartely described in the Prayaga·*praśasti*. It was not a mere copy of the Kushāṇa proto-type but the vision of the artist was to portray Samudragupta as a great conqueror and also a performer of many a pious deed like horse-sacrifice, forming a narrative of Samudragupta's achievements in war and peace.

From amongst a very large number of gold coins issued by Chandragupta II Vikramāditya we have picked up only the following types. The most rare variety, known as Chakravikrama type is represented by only two specimens discovered so far.[4] These coins depict on the obverse the Chakrapurusha (personification of the discus of the god Vishṇu, which is considered as Vishṇu himself)[5] standing to the right within a wheel and offering three round objects to the king, who is shown nimbate, standing in front of the deity, extending his right hand to receive the divine gift. There is no legend on this side. The reverse shows the goddess Lakshmī standing on lotus. The legend on the right is *Chakravikramaḥ* (*Plate* 20.3). It is certainly an issue of Chandragupta II, whose epithet Vikrama is well-known and is found on his other types of coins in combination with Ajit, Siṁha etc. The scene on the obverse of this type may be explained easily. The three balls symbolise three-fold royal power—*mantraśakti*, *prabhāvaśakti*, and *utsāhaśakti*. Kauṭilya describes the following essential qualities of the king: *śaktistrividhā jñānabalaṁ mantraśaktiḥ, kośadaṇḍabalaṁ prabhuśaktiḥ vikramabalaṁ utsāhaśaktiḥ*. (6.2.33). i.e. 'Power is threefold: the power of knowledge is the power of counsel, the power of the treasury and the army is the power of might, the power of valour is the power of energy.' It is clear that keeping with this idea of ancient political thinkers, the artist has depicted the conferment of these powers upon Chandragupta by the god Vishṇu himself. This single type tells so much about Chandragupta II. Firstly it represents him as a great devotee of Vishṇu. Secondly it tells us of his great qualities as a king—a great statesman, a warrior of dauntless courage and a great builder of the resources of the state.

Another type of Chandragupta's coins depict on the obverse the king riding a caparisoned horse, sometimes carrying weapons like bow and arrow or sword. The marginal legend is *Paramabhāgvata mahārājādhirāja Chandraguptaḥ*. On the reverse the goddess is shown sitting on a wicker-stool. The legend on this side is *Ajit-vikramaḥ* 'of invincible valour' (*Plate* 20.4). Though the scene is not exactly a narrative but we can still assign to it this trait, as it pointedly refers to Chandragupta's strong cavalry. It reminds us of Kālidāsa's description of Raghu in his march against the Sassanians and the Hūṇas, leading his cavalry, who has been described as *aśvasādhanaḥ* 'having a force of cavalry as the means of achieving his objective'. The celebrated poet vividly describes, how the horses of Raghu removed the fatigue of journey by rolling on the banks of the Oxus, thus emphasising the skill of his hero as a horseman and the strength of his cavalry. It is highly probable that Kālidāsa had Chandragupta II in his mind when giving this description.

Kumāragupta I issued the largest varieties of gold coins which are considered as the best examples of the numismatic art. His peacock or Kārtikeya type are considered the finest of the entire series. On the obverse of this type, the king is shown feeding a peacock, the mount of the god Kārtikeya. The circular legend reads : *Jayati svaguṇair-guṇa guṇarāśi Mahendra Kumāraḥ* i.e. 'victorious is Mahendra Kumāra by his own merits'. The reverse shows the god Kārtikeya riding on a peacock. The legend on this side is *Śrī Mahendrakumāraḥ* (*Plate* 20.5). Here the motif of these coins may be said to have become the subject of one of the Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa's verses. While describing the *svayaṁvara* of Indumatı in VI.4 of his *mahākāvya*, the *Raghuvaṁśa*, Kālidāsa remarks that prince Aja occupying his high jewelled chair looked majestic like the god Guha (Kārtıkeya) seated on the back of the peacock. It is also possible that *Mayūra pṛishṭaśrayiṇa Guhena*[6] of Kālidāsa has a reference to actual participation of Kumāragupta in a *svayaṁvara*.

A new type of gold coins issued by Kumāragupta I depict the king riding a caparisoned horse, leaning forward and attacking a rhinoceros with a sword in the right hand. The realistically engraved rhinoceros, with its horn on head, is shown turning back his head to attack. The circular legend is (*Bhartā*) *khaḍgatrātā Kumāragupto jayaty-aniśaṁ*. It has a unique reverse which depicts the goddess Gaṅgā standing on an elephant-headed crocodile with a lotus-stalk in its trunk. Behind the goddess is a female attendant holding a parasol (*chhatra*) in her right hand. The legend on this side is *Śrī Mahendrakhaḍga* (*Plate* 20.6). This type was named as rhinoceros-slayer type by Dr. A.S. Altekar,[7] as he equated them with the lion-slayer and tiger-slayer types of this king. Altekar translated the obverse legend as, "Ever victorious is the lord Kumāragupta, who is *khaḍgatrātā*, protector by the sword (*khaḍgenatrātā*), as well as protector from rhinoceros (*khaḍgebhyastrātā*)". The reverse legend has been translated by him as "Rhinoceros (killed by) Mahendra."[8]

If seen in the light of Prof. Altekar's explanation of the legend, the coins simply depict Kumāragupta as a skilled hunter, as already known from his lion-slayer and tiger-slayer types and can hardly be called narrative. But as pointed out by S.V. Sohoni,[9] *khaḍgatrātā* means 'protector' of rhinos (or protecting by sword) not a slayer. The legend should therefore, be translated as 'Ever victorious is the lord Kumāragupta who is saviour of rhinoceros', and the reverse legend shall mean 'the illustrious Mahendra (saviour of) rhinoceros'. With this translation, the narrative portrayed on these coins becomes intelligible. The celebrated poet Kālidāsa tells us that the king Daśaratha went to forest and cut off the horns of rhinos which were required for ancestor worship, according to the injunction of the *Dharmaśāstras*. Kālidāsa says "Generally whose heads were made light by deprlving them of their horns by means of his sharp arrows, because he did not tolerate the excessively raised horns (heads) of the enemies because he was appointed for bringing under discipline the haughty, but did not want to take away their long life".[10] The idea of the mint-masters, therefore, appears to be to portray Kumāragupta as the performer of the Hindu rites as per injunctions of the *śāstras*.

The most important example of narrative on the Gupta coins is to be seen on the *apratigha* type of coins on which Kumāragupta is shown standing facing in a monk's dress with both hands folded on his chest and hair tied in knot on the top of the head. He is flanked by two figures—a lady in the pose of argumentation (*vitarka-mudrā*) on the left, and a male in warrior's dress on the right. The reverse shows the goddess Lakshmī sitting on a lotus and the legend is *Apratighaḥ* (*Plate* 20.7). Since the circular legend on the obverse has not been deciphered so far the scene portrayed on the obverse is still an enigma to the numismatists. However, all the scholars agree that it depicts some very important episode of Kumāragupta's life and have put forward different explanations. Hoernle, Smith and Allan thought that it depicts the Buddha worshipped by two women. R.C. Majumdar opined that the figures represent Śiva flanked by Nandi and Pārvatī. V.V. Mirashi thought that the central figure was that of some sage, to whom Kumāragupta and his queen had gone for advice in the hour of some national calamity. A.S. Altekar suggested that it may be the scene of Kumāragupta's abdication. S.V. Sohoni has changed his views about it from time to time describing it as Kārtikeya with his two wives or Kumāragupta flanked by Kaśyapa and Aditi. More recently he has opined that these coins depict Kumāragupta being blessed by Śrī and Pratāpa.[11] The common point in this multiplicity of views is that these coins narrate an important episode in the life of the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I. We may have to wait for the discovery of some fresh specimens of this type with a clearer circular legend to enable us to interpret the scene on these coins properly.

The foregoing discussion demonstrate the skill of the Gupta mint-masters in describing important incidents in the lives of their patrons and employing their art in the service of history.

Notes and References

1. There are some examples in the earliest numismatic history of the West, where characteristics of narrative representing historic events are to be found on coins, e.g. Anaxilos of Rhegium introduced the 'Mule-chariot type' to commemorate his victory in the Olympics. But this

tradition died out at very early period and gave place to the portraiture of a figure of some deity and the City-badge of the issuer. It was replaced by the Greek and the Roman coinage, the main feature of which was the portraits of the issuer and a deity on obverse and reverse of the coins. It had become finally the established form in regular currency by the 4th century B.C.

2. As an example of such exceptions, may be cited the coin of Alexander on which he is shown attacking an elephant-rider, identified with Porus, from the horse-back.
3. Altekar, A.S., *Gupta Coinage*, 26.
4. One of these was found in the Bayana Hoard and the other is in some private collection. The provenance of the second specimen is not known. *JNSI*, XXII, 261.
5. *Cf. Chakrapāṇiḥ svyaṁ Hari.*
6. *Raghuvaṁśa*, VI.4.
7. *Bayana Hoard*, CVII.
8, *Ibid.*, CVII-CVIII.
9. *JNSI*, XXIII, 345ff.
10. *Raghuvaṁśa*, IX. 62. This translation is done by Prof. Jagannath Agrawal for us.
11. For detailed discussion on this type, see our forthcoming paper in the *Indologica Taurinensia*, Turin.

21

Two Days with the Scholar at Deogarh

N.P. JOSHI

I had the unique privilege of visiting the famous Gupta site of Deogarh (Kīrttinagara of Chandella times and onwards) with my *gurubandhu* Śrī R.C. Agrawal on 28th and 29th of February, 1984. On behalf of the Digambara Jaina Committee Śrī Ashok Kumar Tadaiya of Lalitpur had accompanied us.* Deogarh, situated at the distance of 33 km from Lalitpur and 125 km from Jhansi in the State of Uttar Pradesh, is known well for its Jaina and Brahmanical monuments. The Jaina antiquities have been very comprehensively dealt with by Dr. Klaus Bruhn[1] and the Brahmanical temples have been discussed by M.S. Vats[2] and Madhuri Desai[3]. Our aim was to see and study the other lesser known sites of Deogarh namely Nāharaghāṭī, Rājaghāṭī, Eka patthara kī bāvaḍī and Siddha kī guphā. As a token of love and regard for my friend I take this opportunity and submit herewith a brief account of our survey of the four sites (*Plate* 21.1).

Nāharaghāṭī and Rājaghāṭī with a distance of about two furlongs or say 402 m in between stand overlooking the river Betwa (Vetravatī) and roughly at a height of fifteen metres have a number of rock-cut niches and panels with or without sculptures in them. They seem to have been originally carved during the

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* We would like to record our grateful thanks to Dr. Arvind Kumar Jaina and Ashok Kumar Tadaiya of the Digambara Jaina Committee, who extended full cooperation. Shri Tadaiya took us round the sites and also made our stay comfortable.

Gupta period (*c*. 4th-6th century A.D.) and even to this day appear in fairly good state of preservation.

Naharaghati (Fig. 21.1)

As soon as one starts stepping down towards the river at this site he finds a Saṁskṛta Brāhmī inscription of the Gupta period (marked A in the plan). It records the making of an abode for the divine mothers (*mātṛ maṇḍalam*).[4] The *mātṛkā* panel (fig. marked B *Plates* 21.2 & 21.3) below the inscription opens with two handed ithyphallic (*ūrdhva liṅga*) Śiva in *lalitāsana* with a *vīṇā* in his two hands. His head is badly mutilated. Then comes three faced Brāhmī seated cross legged on a lotus seat. Her central face has suffered injuries. Third figure is that of two handed Māheśvarī supporting a child in her left lap (*Plate* 21.4a and Fig. 21.2a). Though her head is badly mutilated she deserves special notice, because in this case the *mātṛkā* is seen seated on a lion with face turned upwards (*devī vīkṣaṇa tatparaḥ*). The goddess usually appears with a bull as her mount. Māheśvarī is followed by Kaumārī on peacock with a fruit and a spear in her hands. Next comes two handed Vaiṣṇavī on Garuḍa. Then appears Vārāhī (*Plate* 21.4b and Fig. 21.2b), who again catches our attention. She is perfectly a two handed human faced goddess with an additional face of a boar projecting on the right side. This face is now partly broken, though there are distinct traces of its existance. Vārāhī has not been provided with any mount as such. Last two *mātṛkās* are two handed Aindrī on elephant and four armed ematiated Cāmuṇḍā without any mount as such. Lastly comes two handed Gaṇeśa carrying a bowl of sweet balls in the left hand and his trunk turned and resting on it. His *sarpa-yajñopavīta* is prominently visible.

Below the *mātṛkā* panel one can see in a niche an *eka-mukha liṅga* of very high artistic quality though with chin partly damaged (marked C, *Plate* 21.5). Moving a few steps further appear a number of niches with or without sculptures in them. Amongst these the following deserve special mention :

(1) Viṣṇu in *pralamba-bāhu* pose (92×69 cm; marked H; *Plate* 21.6) with Cakra-puruṣa below his left hand, the corresponding figure on right, probably of Gadādevī, has now been lost over the legs. The niche bears beautiful floral border on all its three sides. This Viṣṇu figure is much akin to the Udayagiri Viṣṇu seen outside Cave 6,[5] but the high *kirīṭa* and big *prabhāmaṇḍala* are special features of Nāharaghāṭī Viṣṇu.

(2) Four handed Mahiṣamardinī Durgā (41×61 cm; marked G) trampling the head of the demon buffalo facing left with her left foot. She carries a sword and a shield in her extra hands. Paucity of space is responsible for indistinct nature of attributes in the normal hands.

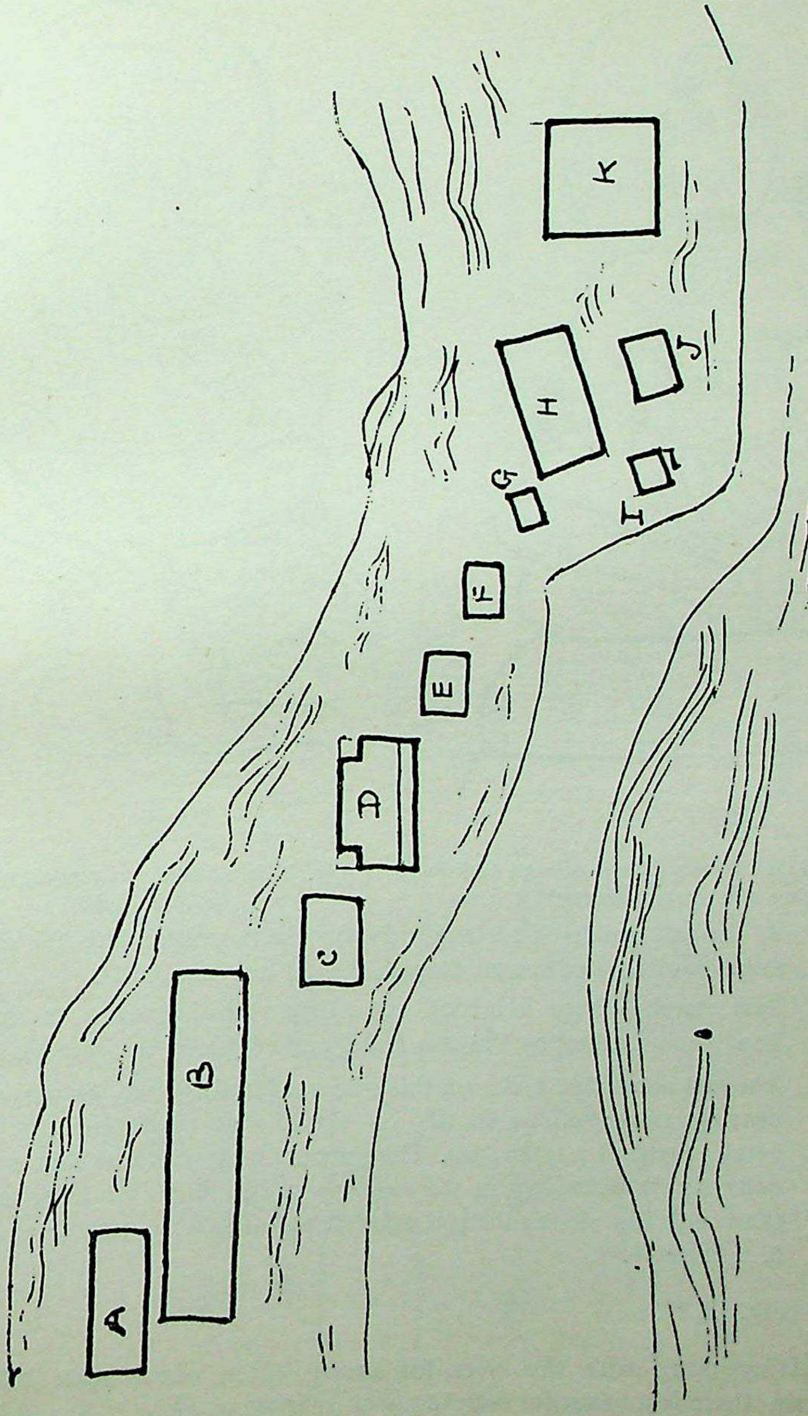

A
B
C
A
E
F
G
H
I
J
K

Fig. 21.1. Niches in Nāharaghāṭī

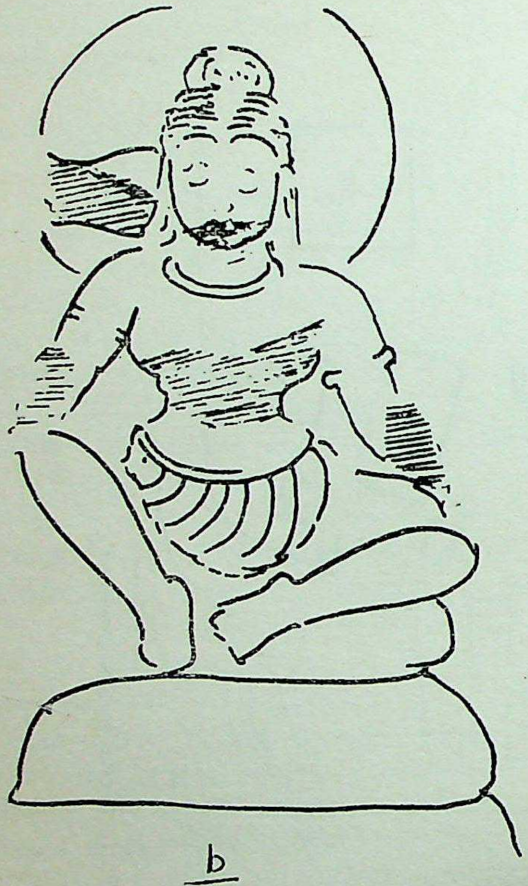


Fig.21.2b : Human-faced Vārāhi with an additional face of a boar, Nāharaghāṭī

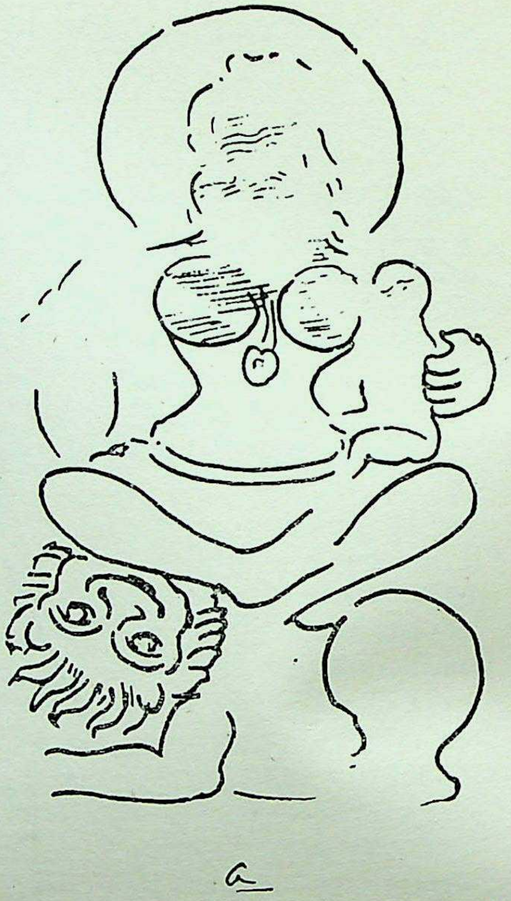


Fig. 21.2a : Māheśvarī supporting a child in Nāharaghāṭī

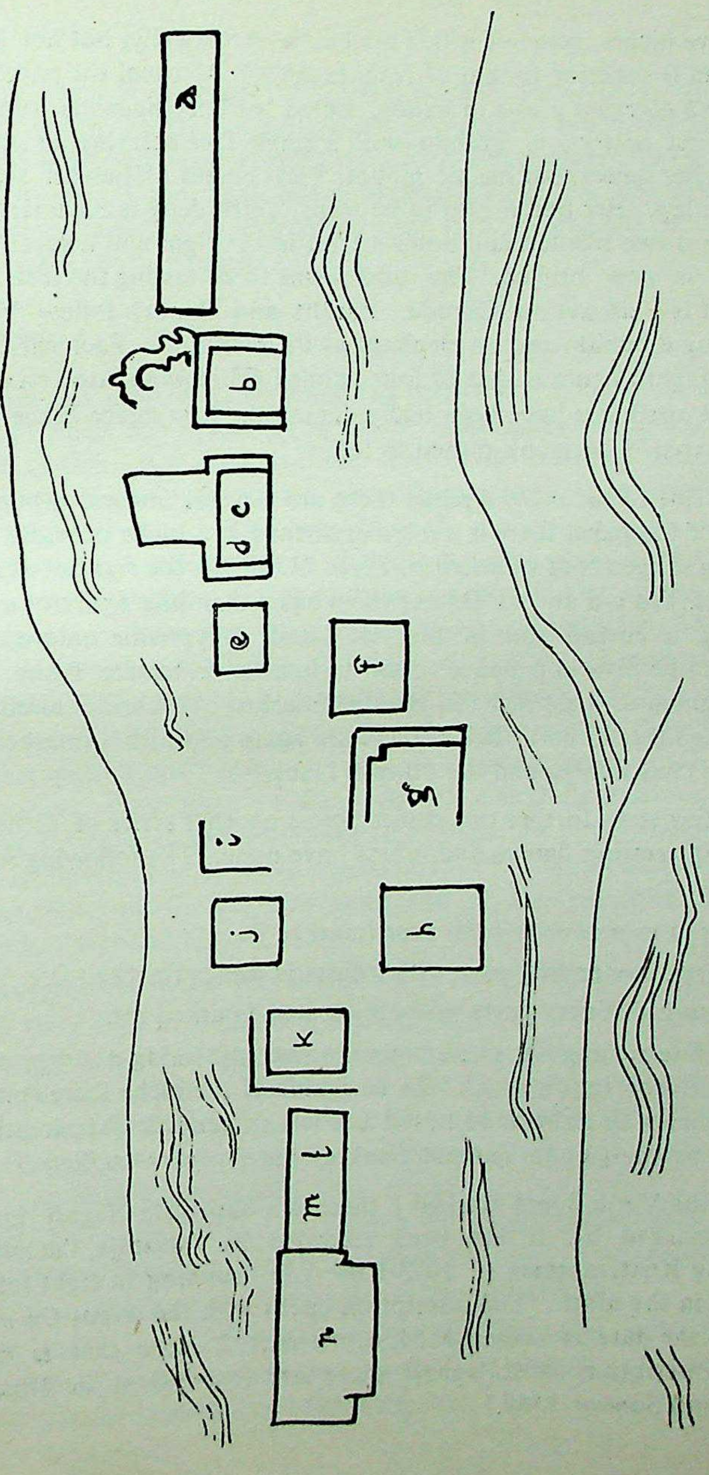
(3) By the upper side of a blank niche on the corresponding side of Durgā there is a figure of seated Gaṇeśa (ht. 26 cm; marked I).

(4) Just nearby there is a rock cut Sūrya standing with lotus flowers in hands and flanked by Piṅgala and Daṇḍa (61×46 cm; marked J).

(5) The last accessible niche on this side bordered by two Gupta pilasters bearing *ghaṭa-pallova* motifs on them, was perhaps on the point of being reused at a later date. The purpose was to carve out a *Tīrthaṅkara* figure standing in *kāyotsarga-mudrā*, but just after preparing the rough line sketch the job was left unfinished (91×81 cm; marked K : *Plate* 21.7).

Rajaghati (Fig. 21.3)

Walking along with the river for about 402 m one reaches Rājaghāṭī, where again there is a beautiful *mātṛkā* panel (marked a; *Plate* 21.8) and in all no


a
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n

Fig. 21.3. Plan of niches in Rājaghāṭī

less than twelve niches. some of which are blank. Artistically, but not iconographically this panel is superior to that of Nāharaghāṭī.[6] As usual the panel opens with ithyphallic Śivā carrying a *vīṇa* in hands, seated with a *yogapaṭṭa* running round his knees. First *mātṛkā* is Brāhmī with a single face carrying an *akṣa-mālā* and *kamaṇḍalu* in her hands, but has no mount. Next comes Māheśvarī seated with a child in her lap. Her bull is also to be seen. Third deity is Kaumārī seated on a peacock. She is two handed and holds a fruit in the right and a spear in the left hand, which is now broken. The bird seems to be tasting the fruit borne by its mistress. Next is Vaiṣṇavī on Garuḍa. Vārāhī and Aindrī follow Vaiṣṇavī and are seen using a buffalo and an elephant as their mounts. Each carries a child in the left lap. Eighth figure is that of four handed Cāmuṇḍā seated on a corpse, but her hands and attributes have been badly damaged. Last figure in the panel is that of seated Gaṇapati with trunk turned to left.

By the side of the *mātṛkā* panel there are several niches. Almost touching the right side of the panel there is a *liṅga* enshrined in a niche provided with double *caitya-gavākṣa* shaped roof (marked b, *Plate* 21.9). To the right of this there are two niches (marked c-d and e). One of them has a standing figure of a two handed male carrying a curved rod in his left hand. Ithyphallic nature of this figure suggests him to be Śiva in penance. Next to him is a female figure (marked c) seated on haunches. Last niche in the line (marked e) enshrines another beautiful *eka-mukha liṅga* (ht. 23 cm). Below there are again two niches (marked f and g); of them one (f) has a *liṅga* and the other is blank.

Just a few steps further one comes across another series of niches, some of which have interesting figures and others have none. The following sculptures are noteworthy:

(1) Viṣṇu in *pralamba-bāhu* pose (marked j).

(2) Sūrya in standing pose with lotuses in hands (marked l).

(3) Two indistinct figures probably seated (marked m).

(4) A fine rectangular niche higher in size enshrining a *liṅga* placed on a platform (marked n). On each side of the niche there stands a female figure with right hand raised and left suspended. Apparently they seem to be Gaṅgā and Yamunā flanking the *devāyatana* (*Plate* 21.10).

Below the Viṣṇu figure marked j, there is a Saṁskṛta Nāgarī inscription of 1097 A.D. (marked h). It has been recorded by Vatsarāja, the minister of the Chandella king Kīrttivaraman (*c.* 1073-1099 A.D.) running in eight full lines and a few words in the ninth. The inscription opens with the words *Oṁ namaḥ śivāya* and ends with the date as *Samvat* 1154, *caitra vadi* 2 *ravau* that is on Sunday.[7] Besides this inscription at Rājaghāṭī there are inscriptions in Hindī dated in *Samvat* 1126 and *Samvat* 1549.[8]

Eka patthara ki bavadi

As the name of the place implies it is a small rock-cut water reservoir, by the side of which nearly on the ground level appear some niches with images in them. First is a *mātṛkā* panel opening with Śiva and ending with Gaṇeśa; and the other two niches in the same line house standing Sūrya, Mahiṣamardinī Durgā, seated Gaṇapati and lastly a Śiva-*liṅga* placed on a rectangular platform. All the figures are badly weather beaten and corroded.

Siddha ki gupha

This site at a short distance from Eka patthara kī bāvaḍī, has also some rock-cut panels, of which one housing a figure of Mahiṣamardinī Durgā (*Plate* 21.11) is of superb quality. Bordered on three sides with beautiful floral patterns and series of stepped pyramids (*pañca paṭṭikā*) along with other motifs the niche is in good state of preservation. The four handed goddess carrying a sword and a shield in her extra hands stands in *pratyā-līḍha* pose. Her spear in the right hand has already been brought in action and she is subduing the human faced buffalo[9] by catching his tail in her normal left hand and trampling his head under her right foot. Besides this panel there is a figure of seated Gaṇapati with trunk turned to left and also a line drawing of Hanumāna carrying a club in his right hand. These belong to very late periods. By the right side of these figures there are some Nāgarī inscriptions[10] with or without rectangular borders bearing a few shell characters. Very near to these there is a Brāhmī inscription of late Gupta age running in two lines and recording the name of one Bhokṣaka.[11] There is another big inscription in shell characters.[12] We do not know if the ascetic or *siddha* after whom the site bears its name, had got the beautiful figure of Durgā carved for his own use.

Survey of the above four sites leads us to conclude that:

(i) Originally all of them are of the Gupta period, but so far the sculptures are concerned they vary in quality and details. For example, the *sapta-mātṛkā* panels at Nāharaghāṭī and Rājaghāṭī have several iconographical differences. Similarly the figures of Mahiṣamardinī at Nāharaghāṭī and Siddha kī guphā change their poses, that is one is in *ālīḍha* and the other is in *pratyālīḍha* pose.

(ii) The demon buffalo in Siddha kī guphā figure evinces somewhat a human like face, which is a novel feature, but not followed elsewhere in the contemporary Gupta art or even thereafter.

(iii) As the Nāgarī inscriptions show the four sites were well known and continuously visited by people for centuries afterwards at least upto *Samvat* 1594 that is 1492 A.D.

Notes and References

1. Klaus Bruhn, *The Jaina Images of Deogarh*, Leiden 1969.
2. M.S. Vats, *Gupta Temple at Deogarh*, Memoir No. 70, Archaeological Survey of India, 1952.
3. Madhuri Desai, *The Gupta Temple at Deogarh*, Bombay 1958.
4. *Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent Hindu and Buddhist Monuments*, for the year ending March 1918, Lahore 1918, p. 12 serial 1.
5. J. Harle, *Gupta Sculptures*, Oxford 1974, pl. 8.
6. Both these *sapta-mātṛkā* panels had already received attention of R.C. Agrawal, but then he had relied on some blurred photographs only—R.C. Agrawal, Matṛkā Reliefs in Early Indian Art, *East and West*, New Series, Vol. 21 Nos. 1-2, pp. 85-86.
7. Cunningham A., *Archaeological Survey Reports* X, p. 102.
8. See no. 4 above, at serials 136, 137.
9. I am thankful to Shri Krishna Dev ji, Varanasi for drawing my attention to this interesting feature.
10. See no. 4 above, at serials 130, 131, 132, p. 20.
11. Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, X., p. 102.
12. See no. 4 above at serials 133, 134, p. 20.

22

Six Large Terracottas

T.K. BISWAS

Bharat Kala Bhavan has in its collection about a dozen terracotta figurines comparatively larger in sizes than the normally available ones. These terracottas were acquired mostly, through purchase and all are reportedly hailing from Kauśāmbī in Uttar Pradesh. These figures were not exposed through systematic excavations and, therefore, these are being studied here purely from the iconographic and stylistic points of view. Examples of large size terracottas are not wanting in ancient India. Mathura, Ahicchatra, Bhitargaon, Chausa, Paharpur Rangmahal, Devnimori, Mirpurkhas[1] and a few sites of Gandhāra yielded a number of comparatively large size ancient terracottas. However, when compared with the number of smaller terracottas, the number of large terracottas appears to be microscopic.

The large terracotta plaques were intended to decorate the base of a stupa or a temple. They are also found, occasionally, fitted on the drum of a cylindrical stupa. Some of these are found attached on the walls of the galleries of a stepped temple. Exterior walls of early brick temples are also found to be decorated with large sized terracotta plaques.

The large size terracottas in Bharat Kala Bhavan, however, pose a different problem. These terracottas were moulded in the round and, therefore, the fixing of these on the severely plain walls of a temple or the basement of a stupa etc., did not arise. Of the six terracottas to be discussed in this article, the identity of at least two can be fixed. Of these two, one represents Gaurī (*Plate* 22.1) while the other stands for an image of Cāmuṇḍā (*Plate* 22.2). It appears that these images were never intended either for permanent installations within a temple or made for permanent worship. Most probably, these images were made for impermanent worship and after the worship, these were abandoned. These images could also have been modelled to be placed within the niches of a temple which could not survive in Kauśāmbī till date.

These terracotta figurines, belong, mostly, to the late Kushāṇa, Gupta and even to the post-Gupta periods when the popularity of image worship was gaining momentum. The stone sculptors could not work out the images commercially. This could, perhaps, be another reason why terracotta images were modelled to substitute the increasing demands for images. In making terracotta figurines of gods and goddesses, there was another added advantage. Since these were meant for impermanent worship, the clay modellers were not bound by any prescription laid down in the religious texts.[3] This religious allowance also prompted terracotta modellers to carry on their activities with somewhat relaxed attitude. Through the studies of these images, it becomes evident that though the modellers enjoyed freedom of expression, yet they tried their best to follow the traditional norms as far as practicable in fashioning the image of a god or goddess. The six terracottas of our issue are of hollowed variety, modelled by hand and a few of these still bear sparingly red slips on their bodies.

One of the finest, if not the finest among the terracottas in question, is the mutilated torso of a young female (Acc. No. 22532) whose intact left hand holds the tall handle of a mirror (*darpaṇa*). Her damaged right hand was seemingly engaged in displaying *abhaya mudrā* (*Plate* 22.1). These two elements persuade one to identify her as representing Gaurī, an aspect of Durgā (38 × 35 cms.).[4]

The right ear of this figure is the only member of her face that survived the ravages of time and it was found adorned with a heavy *kuṇḍala*. The *kuṇḍala* of the other side is also there but of the left ear, there is no trace. A bunch of her hair is seen on her left shoulder. Dated stylistically in the 6th century A.D., this goddess was endowed with a young sensuous torso with a pair of full and voluptuous breasts topped with subdued but sensitive nipples. A few spiral lines are clearly visible on her neck (*kambu-grīva*). Her neck is found to be decorated with two necklaces one of which is seen close to her neck while the other dangles down between her firm breasts. Her upper arm is adorned with a *keyūra* while a bunch of bangles (*balayas*) enrich the beauty of her forearms. While the upper part of her body was kept bare, her lower part is found to be clothed, the folds and a knot of which are still visible. She carries a narrow scarf on her left shoulder. The full and firm bosoms, the narrow waist with sensuous folds above her waist, the deep navel and the mildly bent hip made this image as sensuous and immortal. When intact, our goddess must have been standing in graceful flexions (*tribhaṅga*) and she reassured her devotees all protection from her side.

The torso of Cāmuṇḍā (Acc. No. 22531) is equally interesting. Besides this figure, Bharat Kala Bhavan has two more large size terracotta images of Cāmuṇḍā (Acc. Nos. 23097 and 23202) from the same site. The existence of three Cāmuṇḍā images within a given period proves that she enjoyed considerable popularity in Gupta Kauśāmbī and in subsequent days. There are expressions in our *śilpa* texts such as '*kṛiṣā durvikṣadā*'[5] or *kriṣodarī tu durvikṣaṁ*'[6] which denoted that if emaciated images were made and worshipped, it would bring famine in a country. Such textual injunctions did, not hold good at least for Cāmuṇḍā images. Born out of Ambikā[7] or Śiva[8] or even of Viṣṇu[9], the emaciated goddess, according to the Purāṇas, delivered her devotees from injustice, anti-religious forces and also from evil doings. She has been worshipped as a Mother and in certain traditional list of seven Mothers (Sapta-mātṛkā), her name is found to be included.[10] Known in different names such as Rūpa-vidyā, Kṣamā, Rudracarcikā, Rudra Cāmuṇḍā, Mahālakṣmī, Siddha-yogeśvarī, Danturā, Siddha-Cāmuṇḍā and Śuṣka-revatī, she commanded respect from gods and men alike.

The terracotta torso of our issue (*Plate* 22.2) may be placed stylistically to late Gupta phase. Though badly mutilated, this represents the skill and expertise of the unknown clay modeller who very aptly projected the physical privation, the emaciated form of goddess Cāmuṇḍā, the personification of hunger (*Yā devī sarvabhūteṣu kṣudhā rūpeṇa saṁsthitā*).[11] The ribs, the pendulous breasts with discernible nerves and veins, the partially survived slackened neck adorned with an amulet tied in a tassel are found to be very carefully delineated. The modeller appears to have had a first hand knowledge about human anatomy, otherwise, nearly correct realisation of such anatomical adjustments could not have been realised so convincingly (28×29 cms.) in this torso.

This group of large terracottas includes the bust of a divine figure who had, when intact, the face of a goat (Acc. No. 22735). Even in fragment, the long goat like ear is still visible (*Plate* 22.3). The ear and the adjustments of beards and elongated face all point towards its identification of a divinity with composite form. There are atleast three deities who occasionally appeared with the head of a goat. They are god Agni,[12] Dakṣa[13] and Jaina Naigameṣa[14] (38×30 cms.) This two-handed god of our issue carries by his left, a water vessel while by his damaged right hand, he appears to have held something like an *akṣa-mālā*.[15] Bare bodied god is adorned with a broad necklace and his right wrist bears a bangle with twisted rope like design. His loincloth is partially visible both in front and back.

There is a hollowed torso of a female in this group (Acc. No. 22528) that calls for a comparison with a similar type of a male torso in the personal collection of Shri G.K. Kanoria at Patna. It is likely that these two were made as a pair.[16] Modelled in late Kushāṇa and early Gupta mannerisms, this forcefully fashioned torso (38×21 cms.) is shown bare bodied and in the lower part, she is draped in a dhoti that reached down to her anklets (*nūpura*). Divine jewelleries of her include necklaces (*hāra*), bracelets (*balaya*), upper arm band (*keyūra*) and ear-ring (*kuṇḍala*). She carries in her left hand something like a club(?) and her damaged right hand appears to have been engaged in *abhaya* pose. The Kanoria male torso has been identified as Kubera. Could this young lady be then identified as Hārītī? (*Plate* 22.4).

No less interesting, however, is the damaged bust of winged female (Acc. No. 22752). She represents, perhaps, a coy Yakṣi(?). The manipulation of her right hand suggests that it was taken up to offer a support to her chin while the left hand was extended to give a support to the elbow of her right hand. When intact, the winged beauty must have been standing with benign modesty yet her posture had enough alluring effects. Modelled in hand, the hands of this winged female (26×30 cms) bear marks of indentations which, in a way, enhanced her fantastic form. Though the head of this Yakṣī is missing, yet at her back, one notices the marks of dressed hair arranged in order. The wing on the left is intact while right wing of her has been broken away but the marks of its presence are still there (*Plate* 22.5).

In this group, there is a headless bust of a female (Acc. No. 22731), whose two hands are found to be severed from near the shoulder (*Plate* 22.6). From the young, full and voluptuous breasts of this female, her entire lower part is missing. In her ears, once she wore two heavy ear ornaments, the dangling lower parts of which are still noticeable. As her personal adornment, she had two necklaces, one short and the other one long which dangles down between her round breasts. The shorter necklace incorporates in its chain ancient coins like (*niṣka*) elements. Two entwined locks of her hair in the form of buns are seen on either side of the shoulders. The headless bust (28×28 cms.) does not bear any identifying attributes. Therefore, it is not possible to say whether it represented a divine lady or not (*Plate* 22.6)! Comparatively crudely finished, it appears to have been produced in the post-Gupta phase when classical flavour on terracottas started speedily waning away and she calls for a comparison with the sculptures of its contemporary period.

Large clay figures substituted the stone images and satisfied the growing demands for images of divinities. The modellers appear to have been in the grip of the style and mannerisms of the contemporary stone sculptures. These clay figurines fulfilled the purposes for which they were made but since the material used was perishable, most of these could not survive in their original shapes.

Notes and References

1. Amy G. Poster (Ed). *From Indian Earth*: 4000 *years of Terracotta Art*, The Brooklyn Museum, New York, 1986, p. 40 and also see pp. 46-54. See also M.A.A. Qadir, *Paharpur*, published by Department of Archaeology, Bangladesh, 1980 (Reprint) p. 30.
2. Harold Ingholt, *Gandharan Art in Pakistan*, New York, 1957, pp. 21-22 and also see Maurizio Taddii, *Archaeologia Mundi* translated by James Hogarth, Geneva, 1970, pp. 174-75, *plates* 133-135.
3. Vide *Śukranīti* Ch. IV, Section IV, 305-305, *The Sacred Book of the Hindus*, edited by B.D. Basu, Allahabad, 1914.
4. J.N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography* (4th Ed.), 1985, pp. 502-504.
5. Vide *Śukranīti*, op. cit., Ch. IV, Section IV, 294-295.
6. *Matsya Purāṇa*, 261. 34-37. (Reprint 1980, Delhi by M/s. Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Limited).
7. *Mārkaṇ eya Purāṇa*, Devī Māhātmya, Canto 85-87, translated by F.E. Pargiter; The Asiatic Society of Bengal (Reprint) Delhi, 1981.
8. Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Reprint 1968, Vol. I, part I, pp. 379-382, also see Vol. II, pt. I, pp. 192-193.
9. *Matsya Purāṇa*, 179. 36-37.
10. J.N. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pp. 504-505.
11. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Devī Māhātmya, op. cit., canto 88 and see also Gopinath Rao, *op. cit.*, Vol I, Pt. II, pp. 380-81.
12. For Agni with goat head, see J.N. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 525; see also Gopinath Rao, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 524, *plates* CLII
13. Dakṣa Prajāpati had also the head of a goat. See B.C. Bhattacharyya, *The Jain Iconography* (Second Edition), 1974, p. 134.
14. Naigameṣa appears also with the head of a goat. Vide B.C. Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, p. 132; See also V.A. Smith, *The Jaina Stupa and Other Antiquities of Mathura*, *Plate* XVIII with inscription *Bhagavā Nemeṣa*.
15. Maruti Nandan Prasad Tiwari, *Khājurāho Ka Jaina Purātattva* (Hindi), Khajuraho, 1987, p. 87.
16. Amy. G. Poster, *op. cit.*, p. 125, *plate* 59.
17. Terracotta winged Yakṣīs were found in a good number from the Śuṅga period. See S.S. Biswas, *Terracotta Art of Bengal*, *Plate* L (a, b, c, d).

23

Some Unique Representations of Siva of the Vakataka Period

I.K. SARMA

The Vākāṭaka period ushers in a classical phase of Indian art and iconography. Being happily disposed to the Guptas of the North and the Southern Vishṇukuṇḍins, early Pallavas of Āndhradēśa, the crucial geographical tract occupied by the Vākāṭakas became a repository of early Brāhmaṇical religions. Two unique images of Śiva are examined here to highlight how the older *Vedic* concepts continued to be preserved among the iconographical creations in spite of the anthropomorphic pantheon of gods emerging out of the great proselytization of the *purāṇic bhaktimārga* coupled with the growth of tantricism. As Nilakanta Sastri[1] has rightly pointed out religious development is not unilinear but complex; with purism on one side, we also find Śāktic regressions on another".

I. A Dwarf Siva Image from Mansar: Dt. Nagpur (Maharashtra)

Mansar, 36 km. north-east of Nagpur and 5 km. due west of Ramtek, is noted for an extensive ancient mound (*Hidimba Tekdi*) with remains of brick temples and several stone images datable to 5th-6th centuries A.D. The image herein described is a grey sandstone one, and from the details about its discovery, one cannot be certain whether it was separately consecrated in a temple (*mūlabera*) or merely a niche (*koshṭha*) figure. It was retrieved from a brick debris by Shri Bishan, a local mine contractor.

The first notice of this figure as Kubera was made by S.B. Deo.[2] It is described again as a sculpture of "four-armed Jambhāla datable to *circa* 5th century A.D." by Raghbir Singh.[3] The image is a short stumpy one and measures only 84 cm. high and 76.5 cm. wide.

Seated at ease on a low rectangular stool with a back rest, the two right arms are resting on an hexagonal pillow placed at the back. The central tassels of the lower garment are floating on the cushion seat. From the very first look, the figure recalls to mind the stocky *Yaksha* or *Kubera* forms. But a careful study of the attributes, dress and ornamentation would place it among the most remarkable and unique forms of Rudra unknown to Indian Art.

The image is four-handed, the upper right and left held respectively a rosary (*akshamālā*) and lily-stalk part visible. Both the hands possess bracelets with an ornamented clasp. The lower right hand elbow resting on the back pillow, exhibits in the palm a laced ornament or flowers held up by the middle two fingers (*Plate* 23.1). The thumb and the third finger are broken. The left palm with the four fingers inwardly is placed on the knee. The wristlets are plain round-sectioned ones with beaded clasp in front. The right leg has an anklet similar to the one worn on the wrist, while in the left it is *nāganūpura*. In the left ear of the god there is a pulley shaped ear-ornament (*Plate* 23.3) (*tāṭaṅka*), the right ear has plain elongate lobe (*Plate* 23.4). A loose *hāra* made of tortoise beads is around the *kaṇṭha*, however, the multiple strings of a broad ornamental *muktā-yajñopavīta*, in all six, clasped by ornamental leonine or *gajavyāla* heads at the right and left sides are very symmetrically arranged. The way the *yajñopavīta* is shown flowing over the right hand and shoulder, in the *upavītī fashion* indicates that the God is performing an auspicious *dāna* ceremony and the object is a precious ornament as shown in the palm which is in *varada-mudrā*. Besides, a simpler *kaṭibandha* string which held the lower *nīvi*, there is a rolled cloth above the paunch serving as an *udhara-bandha*, very appropriate for a *gṛihastha* who is performing an auspicious ritual. The plumpy physique is ably shown by the folds of fleshy parts—at the stomach, broad chest, shoulder, and short arms. Neck part has the *Trirekhā* fold.

The facial features are typically Vidarbhan—broad and thick nose and lips with prominent pout and double chin. The outsized eyes are large—*ākarṇātanetrin*.

The headdress (*Plates* 23.2 and 23.3) is the most important of all the features in this figure. The *jaṭās* massed under the coils of a *nāgavalaya*, the head band (*agrapaṭṭa*) covers an ornamented beaded-*mālā*. The *chandrakaḷa*, the crescent, is so aptly tucked to the *nāgavalaya*. On the left part of the headdress is a skull (*kapāla*) and eight favoured flowers (*ashṭapushpikā*) above. S.B. Deo, basing on the headdress, ornaments and the facial features etc. rightly compares the image to the Ajantan *Yaksha-dvārapālas* on the facade of cave no. 19, and identified the figure as "*Baṭuka-Bhairava*". He considered the image as "a unique Śaiva icon belonging to 5th century A.D. displaying Vākāṭaka tradition". However, he realised the absence of dog and presence of jewels as factors going[4] against Bhairava identification.

Sara Schastok[5] has considered the figure under the class of *Kubera* or *Yaksha*. There is no doubt that the headdress, ornamentation and physique make it closer to the Gupta (Deogarh)—Vākāṭaka examples on one hand and early Chālukya-Rāshṭrakūṭa dwarf *yaksha* figures on the other. In fact the figure very nicely compares with the later systematised iconographic forms such as *Dakshiṇāmūrtī* and *ardhanārī* figures among the early Chālukyan temples of the Krishna-Tungabhadra Sangama zones (Śrīśailam). In fact, a dwarf figure of Brahmā exhibits a remarkable affinity in physique and expression.

Late C. Sivaramamurti[6] has placed this figure as a frontis-piece in his classic *Śatarudrīya* and dated it to 4th-5th century A.D. He holds that the epithet *hṛasvāya* and *vāmanāya* is visualised in this figure. A careful analytical study, of the attributes and ornamentation, unfolds its theological and philosophical speculations that form the background of the various aspects which in turn related to a specific power and function of this great God. He is a *Kapardin*—(*namaḥ Kapardine cha*) the *jaṭās* arranged in an *ushṇīsha* tied by a coiled *nāgavalaya* on the right. He is a *Chandraśekhara* and *Sukhāsīna*, hence *āsīnebhyaḥ*. He is physically—a *hrasvāya i.e.*, tiny, a dwarfish *Vāmanāya*. Significantly he is an *upavītin* wearing the sacred thread of six streaks standing for a *gṛihastha* and fully qualified to observe *vaidika āchāra* i.e., *dāna* and *yajña*. Here the *muktāyajñopavīta* is shown over the right hand (as in early Pallava sculpture) in the act of giving. He appears also as a *Vāmadeva*, better say *Soma* (*Umayā saha*), as the ornament in the left ear, the headdress, the lotus in the upper left hand and the *nāganūpura* anklet in the left leg and the graceful feminine countenance displayed on the left half of the body of this remarkable image (*Plate* 23.3).

From the above analysis it is clear that the form of the God sculptured here has all its germs in *Śatarudrīya*. This is very true of many images, which were caused after *Vedic* and *non-āgamic* concepts.

II. Images from Mandhal: Dt. Nagpur

Mandhal is 75 km. south-east of Nagpur. The discovery of stone images, during July 1974 while digging in the forest area shot up to fame the historicity of this place.[7] Excavations were undertaken during the years 1975-76 and 1976-77 for two seasons.[8] The Vākāṭaka remains were found mainly in the Bholahudki

Tekdi which is about 1½ km. from the village. Brick built temples on rectangular platforms were found. As in Central Andhra-Karnataka areas, Sangama Zones of Krishna-Tungabhadra rivers, Mandhal excavations revealed the existence of early brick temples datable to 4th-5th century A.D. along with Red Polished Ware and copper plate records. The brick sizes conform to 44 × 23 × 8 and 40 × 24 cm. and admirably tally with brick shrines exposed at Siddheswaram (Kurnool Dt.) and Kudavelli Sangameswaram, below the structural stone temples of the early Chālukyan vintage.[9] As in Lower Deccan, the post Sātavāhana period in Vidarbha is characterised by a prolific activity of rising brick temples for Brāhmaṇical deities. Among the several stone images (Vishṇu, Brahmā, Naigameśa, Śiva, Pārvatī, Durgā) obtained from the Bholahudki mound, a unique form of Śiva is of seminal importance for tracing the development of Hindu iconography.

Twelve-Headed Siva

This is a two-handed *sthānaka* image (*Plate* 23.5), the part below thighs is unfortunately missing. Standing in *samabhaṅga*, both the hands possess *āyudhas*, touching on the broad *kaṭi* in akimbo. The right wrist is broken, while in the left a sword is clearly noticeable, besides a wristlet. Other ornaments on body are a *phalaka-hāra* around the neck, *yajñopavīta* and *kaṭibandha* of rolled cloth belting the lower garment. This appears frontally as a short skirt hovering on the two human heads above the thighs.

The most important and interesting aspect lies in the depiction of heads, in all 12 (*dvādaśa Śīrshaka*). The main central face of the torso has its *jaṭās* arranged in a fan-shape, fastened by double rings (*Valayas*) at the root. Eight heads are shown in two groups—the lower four faces are oriented to the corner directions—while the top four towards the cardinals. The facial expressions display closed-up lips, eyes in *Vismaya* with prominent eye-balls, while the bipartite sporting moustache is unusual to the early indigeneous style. The ear terminals are quite long but without any lobes. Four more heads are shown sprouting one each from the two upper arms and two from either side of the thigh region touching the lower garment and flanking the *ūrdhvameḍhra*.

We cannot be certain on the point whether correspondingly on the rear side similar heads are shown on the hips also as the lower part is lost. However, these four heads exhibit smiling countenance and half closed eyes. On all the faces the third eye is absent, which is by itself an early feature. A.M. Shastri[10] held this figure as a representation of Mahāsadāśiva, basing on the 12 heads. N.P. Joshi takes this image as an emanation of twelve chief *liṅgas*, known as *Jyotirliṅgas*. This is entirely a different concept and may it be noted, that this image is quite an early example than the later *Purāṇic Jyotirliṅga Śiva-kshetra* set up came to be recognised. We may point out that no such form of Sadāśiva exists wherein the heads are shown sprouting from the various parts of the body. In all the *vyakta* forms of Sadāśiva,[12] the heads are depicted on either side of the main central face and alike frontally oriented, besides the several hands, and in rare cases multi-legged too. While in the *mukhaliṅgas*, the heads are shown against the *rudrabhāga* of the *liṅga* and these are oriented towards the cardinals and rarely towards the corners. The faces are generally in *saumya*: *aghora* or in *dhyāna* with half-bent or closed eyes.

It is well known that *Rudra* is described as the lord of all quarters, *diks* and *dikpālas* (*diśāṁ cha pataye*),[13] and in later iconography Śiva becomes *Īśāna*, the Lord of North-east. In the present image although the top eight heads could be taken to represent the above aspect—the other four heads on the arms and thighs have no such schematic orientation, much less conform to any textual prescriptions. They are just depicted in a cult figure and have no relevance to the Vedic Sadāśiva or *dikpati tattvas*.

Siva with Eight Faces (*Plates* 23.6 and 23.7)

This is presently in Nagpur University Museum (no. A. 93). The image is carved in round and assignable to fourth-fifth century A.D. Apart from the four faces oriented towards cardinals it has additional faces one each at the root of the two arms (the right one broken). The back face has a moustache and a third eye. The heads on the thighs have turbans while the visible head over the arm is shaven. The hairdo of the four heads is alike and tied with a *Phālapaṭṭa*. The lower *vastra*, a short *dhotī*, though covers the nudity, the erect phallus is distinctly shown. N.P. Joshi[14] has regarded this image as an example of *Ashṭamūrtī* Śiva.

The question then remains as to what was the esoterism behind such depictions? We now resort to the epic or *purāṇic* sources. In the *Mahābhārata*, we have a curious, rather vulgar, explanation for the origins of such faces on Śiva *sthāṇu*.[15] The *liṅga*, it is said, acquired several faces to behold the bewitchingly beautiful Tilottamā, while this *apsarasa* was circumambulating the *sthāṇu*, i.e., the fixed *liṅga* of Śiva or according to another version when Tilottamā danced before them, Indra sprouted extra eyes and Śiva extra heads to see her from all angles.[16] Thus Śiva who is the very symbol of chastity and asceticism being *ūrdhvaretaḥ*, becomes excessively erotic.

It appears, therefore, the Mandhal images present an erotic aspect of Śiva. As a sequel to this fresh study and interpretation, we would like to dilate on yet another important and renowned form of *Śiva* obtained from Bhita,[17] near Allahabad.

Bhita Linga (*Plates* 23.8 to 23.10)

This is regarded by all the scholars as the earliest specimen of a *pañcha-mukha-liṅga* (84 cm. high). This is, in fact, a stone column, the lower part roughly dressed (*Brahmabhāga*), which was perhaps fitted to the *pīṭha* mortise. The incised phallus mark (the *meḍhra* with testicles) symbolising the *ūrdhvaretaḥ* aspect appears to be a later incision caused on the standing column. The four faces together with the top face are held to represent the Sadāśiva form by both C. Sivaramamurti and later on B.N. Sharma.[18] J.N. Banerjea[19] took it as a memorial column in spite of the fact that the inscription terms it as a *liṅga* and the carved figure a *priyatamadevatā*, the dearest God or Pet God, of the donor or the devotees of those times. We have no doubt about its pre-Christian era date[20] but only differ on the identification of the faces over the column and interpretation of the concepts that underline this carving. The illustration published originally by R.D. Banerjee is reproduced here (*Plate* 23.8). The top face, though mutilated, has revealed certain distinct features like the distended ear lobes with circular pendents, broad chin and the *jaṭās*. These *jaṭās* are well combed falling on the back in long strips (like the *tāla* leaves), as the rear side of the column shows (*Plate* 23.10). Further, the front clearly reveals the torso, its navel part, the erect phallus as well as a thin double-stringed *yajñopavīta* across. Two hands are clearly shown—the right one has a wristlet and is in *abhaya* just above the south-east corner head, whereas the left palm rests over the *śikha* of the north-east face (*Plate* 23.9). The object held in the palm is not clear. The faces—one each on the thigh below the *kaṭi* in the front and on the hips are oriented to the corners. Their facial expressions are differing in each case, so also the *kuṇḍalas*. Both *chakra* and *ghaṭa* types are extant and the coiffure differs from head to head.

As is evident, the main figure is certainly carved and perhaps in a seated posture shown upto the knee only. This figure cannot be regarded as *Īśāna* by any stretch of imagination. The heads, both in front as well as rear, are corner oriented and sprout from the thighs and hips of the main figure. So these faces cannot be taken as those of a *Mukhaliṅga*.

Here therefore, is an erotic delineation of *Śiva sthāṇu*, not certainly the *Vedic* Sadāśiva. As that erudite Professor Giuseppe Tucci has pointed out images are like books, "there are condensed in them thousands of years of thinking and meditation, and their proper understanding needs a full familiarity with an immense philosophical speculation".[21]

Notes and References

1. K.A.N. Sastri, *South India and South East Asia*, (Mysore, 1978), p. 127.
2. *Tarun Bharat*, (Hindi), dated 4th July, 1972.
3. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*: 1972-73, p. 59, PL. XLII-B.
4. S B. Deo, "A Unique Sculpture from Mansar (Maharashtra)" *Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society*, XXXV (1975-76), pp. 275-277.

5. Sara Schastok, "A Sixth Century Kubera image from Mandsor" *Chhavi*, II (Benaras, 1983), pp. 105-108, Fig. 301 and Fig. 304.
6. C. Sivaramamurti, *Śatarudrīya—Vibhūti* of *Śiva's Iconography*, (New Delhi, 1976).
7. A.M. Shastri, "*Mandhal Utkhanan*", *Vidarbha Saṁsodhan maṇḍal Vārshika*, 1977 (Nagpur, 1979), pp. 142-174.
8. *IAR*, 1975-76, p. 36; *Ibid.*, 1976-77, p. 39.
9. I.K. Sarma, *The Development of Early Śaiva Art and Architecture*, (New Delhi, 1982), pp. 91-92, Photos. 59-61. Also see for a detailed account of N.C. Ghosh's excavations at Kudavelli, *IAR*, 1978-79, pp. 37-41, pl. V.B. to VII.
10. A.M. Shastri, *op. cit.*, p. 143.
11. N.P. Joshi, "Early Forms of Śiva", Michael Measter (Ed.), *Discourses on Śiva*, (New Delhi, 1985).
12. B.N. Sharma, *Iconography of Sadāśiva* (New Delhi, 1976).
13. C. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
14. N.P. Joshi, *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.
15. H.D. Sankalia, "Iconographic elements in Adiparvam of Mahabharata", *BDCRI*, V, p. 152.
16. Various versions of this story are narrated. See W.D.O. Flaherty, *Asceticism and Eroticism in the Mythology of Śiva*, (New Delhi, 1975), pp. 84-86, 248-249 and 294.
17. This is now in the State Museum, Lucknow. Acc. No. H-4. R.D. Banerjee, *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1909-1910, p. 148, PL. LIV.
18. B.N. Sharma, *op. cit.*, pl. I.
19. J.N. Banerjea, *Religion in Art and Archaeology*: *Vaishnavism and Saivism* (Lucknow, 1968), pp. 68-69. He deems it similar to Yashṭhīs of Andhau and Suivihar inscriptions.
20. The characters of the inscription appear to be of post-Śuṅga period and hence a date of 2nd century B.C. may not be appropriate. It is also quite likely that the inscription as well as the incised pillars were later caused on an extant column.
21. Foreword in B.N. Sharma's *Iconography of Sadā Śiva* (New Delhi, 1976), P.X.

24

A Recently Discovered Buddha Image at Aurangabad

WALTER M. SPINK

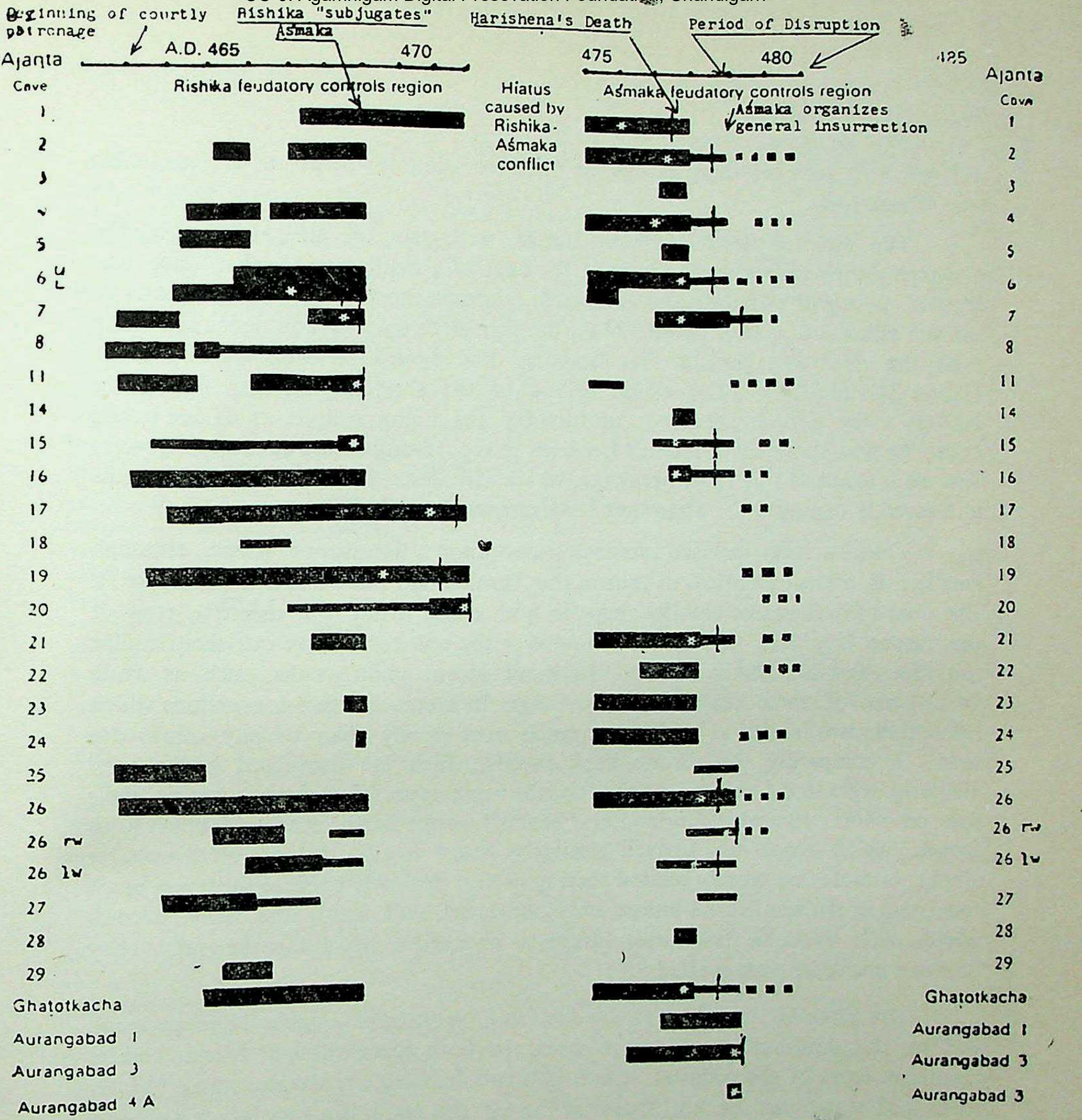
A handsome Buddha image, seated in the *pralambapādāsana* pose, was discovered in 1976 beneath the fallen rock and dirt just to the right of the old Hīnayāna *chaitya* hall (Cave 4) at Aurangabad[1] (*Plates* 24.1 to 24.3). It is situated well beneath Cave 5, a sixth century excavation, which owes its inconveniently high placement to the fact that the image under discussion, which was carved roughly a century earlier, was already occupying the area below. This also explains why the steps leading up to Cave 5 had to approach from the right, rather than from directly in front of the cave (*Plate* 24.4).

As I shall explain, the image and the small shrine (now called Cave 4A) that contains it are apparently contemporaneous with the image in the nearby Cave 3 (*Plate* 24.7). Both can be dated to circa 478 A.D.[2] That is, both were completed just before the Aśmakas abandoned their active patronage of both this site and Ajanta, presumably because the insurrection that they were fomenting against their Vākāṭaka overlord increasingly demanded both their funds and their attention.[3]

As I have pointed out previously, consistent work on Aurangabad Cave 3 and Aurangabad Cave 1, like work on the Cave 26 complex at Ajanta, continued a year or so longer than it did on other excavations then underway, which were more suddenly affected by Hariśeṇa's death in about 477 A.D.[4] This was apparently because the three former undertakings were sponsored by, or at least favored by, the Aśmakan rulers. It would appear that Aurangabad Cave 4A falls into this priority category too. The many similarities between its image and that in Cave 3 suggest that they are almost exactly contemporaneous; indeed they may have been carved by the same sculptor. However, since the elaborate Aurangabad Cave 3, which must have taken at least three or four years to excavate, would have been started well before this little shrinelet, it seems reasonable to assume that its image provided the model for this one in Cave 4A rather than vice versa. Indeed, the nature of the Cave 4A shrinelet suggests that it was not begun until after Hariśeṇa's death—i.e., in 478—for it was in that year that a "doomsday psychology" started to affect the region. This created a situation in which it was quite inconceivable that a donor would start a major cave, although he might well think in terms of sponsoring a modest shrinelet such as this one, just as individual donors at Ajanta, even in 479 and/or 480, could still conceive of donating small excavations such as 9A, 9B, 9C, 9D, and 10A, (*Plate* 24.8).

Thus we can assume that Aurangabad 4A, hardly the type of cave that would have been started during the halcyon years of Aśmaka control over the region (from 475 through 477), was begun early in 478 by a donor who was aware of the limitations that these troubled times imposed but whose favorable political position at least allowed him to sponsor a small shrine such as this. Being so small, it could easily have been finished and dedicated by the time that active Aśmaka support was withdrawn at the end of the same year. This conclusion gains credence from the fact that a number of intrusive sculptures (described below) were subsequently carved in the shrinelet, for (if the custom at Ajanta can be our guide) this would only have been done in contexts where the image had already been put into worship.[5] At Ajanta, it was common for new donors, during the period of Disruption (i.e., 479-480 A.D.; see Time chart) to "usurp" space for their own intrusive votive images in caves that had been sponsored and dedicated by others during the site's heyday. The same thing appears to have happened here where all of the small Buddha images around the main image (*Plate* 24.3) and in the broken portico (*Plates* 24.5 and 24.6) appear to be unplanned—for additions.

This dating of the "original" portions of Cave 4A to 478 A.D., is supported by the fact that its pillared porch (now largely broken away; see *Plates* 24.5 and 24.6) is a much more elaborate feature than one would expect in the Period of Disruption, when concerns were focussed on Buddha images alone, rather than upon their setting. Furthermore, the fact that it contains intrusive images would be hard to explain if the main body of work itself were also to be assigned to the Period of Disruption. For such reasons, a dating to 478 A.D. rather than to



Known major patrons: Ajanta's Mahāyāna Phase (c. 462-c. 480 A.D.)

Cave 1: The Vākāṭaka emperor Harisheṇa: ruled c. 460 - c. 477

Cave 16: Varāhadeva, Harisheṇa's Chief Minister: in power until 478

Caves 17, 18, 19 (the "Perfumed Hall"), and 20: King Upendragupta of Rishika, ruling over the Ajanta region until his defeat by the Aśmakas in 472 or shortly thereafter

Cave 26 complex (consisting of Chaitya cave 26 and its wings, together with the adjacent Caves 25 and 27): The monk Buddhabhadra, "attached in friendship (to the minister of the mighty king of Aśmaka) through many succesive births". Active patron from 462-468; and 475-478.

Cave 4: Mathurādāsa, a wealthy devotee and "owner of the cave". Active patron from 462-468; and 475-478.

* = image carved

| = image painted

Heavy lines show more vigorous activity. Broken lines show intrusive work

479-480 A.D. for everything except the intrusive additions seems most reasonable (see Check List).

The great *pralambapādāsana* image, well over life size, and showing the expected *dharmacakra mudrā*, is set at the back of a small chamber that once was fronted by a pair of pillars and associated pilasters; except for the molded bases of the left pillar and pilaster (*Plate* 24.6), the shrinelet's front is now missing, while even the remaining portion has fractured and slipped somewhat out of position (*Plates* 24.4 and 24.5). The whole ceiling of the shrinelet has also long since broken away and disappeared; presumably the flying couples which one would expect to find above the Buddha's head (as in the Aurangabad 3 counterpart) were lost as a result of this same breakage, which also destroyed much of the side walls and severely damaged the attendant *bodhisattvas* (*Plate* 24.3).

The now sadly exposed image is seated upon a lion throne which, although smaller, is almost identical to that in the Aurangabad Cave 3 shrine (*Plate* 24.7). The lions have the same chunky shape in both cases, while the assertive tops of the throne legs and the associated nubs at the seat corners are extremely similar too (See *Plate* 24.3, taken in 1981. In more recent photographs, such as *Plate* 24.1, some of these features can no longer be seen). Further connections which relate these two images to each other much more closely than to any others are seen in comparing the throne back motifs, which are composed within very similarly organized formats. At the top, the same type of *makaras*, resting their feet on short decorated horizontal "beams" spout forth nearly identical lotus fronds, which reach up toward similarly posed *nāgas*. Below, quite similar elephants hold up closely related rearing *vyālas*; probably because there was much less room in the smaller 4A image, only one dwarf, seen below the belly, accompanies each *vyāla* in the latter image, as opposed to two below the *vyāla's* belly and one above in Aurangabad 3.[6]

The Cave 4A Buddha rests his feet on a very large double lotus pedestal, just as the Aurangabad 3 image does. In both cases traces of deer and wheel remain in front of the pedestal. Cave 4A's two *bodhisattvas* are also raised up on lotus pedestals, just as are those in Cave 3; this again is a very late feature (see Buddha Image Motifs Chart). Although smaller in size, and slightly less attenuated in their proportions, these Cave 4A *bodhisattvas* (now severely damaged) once must have been quite similar to those in Cave 3. The left *bodhisattvas* (*Plate* 24.2), in better condition than the other, can be readily identified as Avalokiteśvara by his antelope skin and by what appear to be traces of the *kamaṇḍalu*, the latter attribute also held by his counterpart in Aurangabad 3.[7] When the cave was first exposed, there were slight traces of the folded legs of an Amitābha image in the ruinous headdress of the Cave 4A *bodhisattva* (see *Plate* 24.5), and traces of a *chaurī* too, as we might expect; both of these features are very clearly preserved in

CHECK LIST: SHOWING THE FIRST INTRODUCTION OF VARIOUS FEATURES FOR BUDDHAS AT AJANTA, THE GHATOTKACHA VIHARA, AND AURANGABAD CAVE 3. If an image has one of the particular features listed, it will not have been carved earlier than the date noted.

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	467	468	469	470	471	HIATUS	475	476	477	478	479	480
Approximate date of each image: (Notably carving; blocking out was sometimes earlier, and painting later)	L6	11 7A 15A		17	20		1	[illegible]	16	2 7B 21 15B U6 22 26 26LW 26RW Aur3 Aur6A	All intrusive images date to 479 and/or 480: (i.e.Period of Disruption	
Buddha: Padmāsana	●											
Buddha: Pralambapādāsana									●			
Buddha placed in center of shrine	●											
Buddha attached to rear wall of shrine		●										
Buddha: unusually large halo	●											
Buddha: smaller (regular size) halo				●								
Buddha: hands --proper rt in abhaya mudrā		●										
Buddha: hands in dharmacakra mudrā	●											
Base with lions but no thronelegs	●											
Base with throne legs but no lions				●								
Base with devotees; no thronelegs & no lions							●					
Base with lion-thronelegs w or w/o devotees									●			
Base with dwarf-thronelegs instead of lionlegs										●		
Wheel plain (with undecorated hubs)	●											
Wheel festooned (Cave 1 = example)							●					
Wheel garlanded (Cave U6 = example)										●		
Wheel absent (pralambapādāsana)									●			
Nagas at base (pralambapādāsana)										●		
Wheel present (pralambapadasana)										●		
Wheel fused with lotus shaft										●		
Wheel raised on lotus shaft											●	
Base with nubs at corners (pralambapādāsana)									●			
Base with nubs at corners (padmāsana)										●		
Base shows small robe-end on seat cushion	●											
Base with arcing cloth over front (padmāsana)										●		
Base with scalloped cloth over front (")										●		
Makara: empty mouth	●											
Makara: dwarf emerging from mouth				●								
Makara: rests paws on throne arm									●			
Makara: frond or bird's head from mouth									●			
Makara: dwarfs as well as the latter									●			
Seated figure over makara	●											
No figure over makara		●										
Running or soaring figure(s) over makara									●			
Multiple figures over makara; dancing, etc.											●	
Vyāla: omitted				●								
Vyāla with no dwarf attendants	●											
Vyāla with one dwarf on or under								●				
Vyāla with two or more dwarfs on or under									●			
Vyāla with beads from paws as well as snout										●		
Pillared throneback									●			
Pilasters frame Buddha panel												●
	●											
		●										
Flying dwarfs above image										●		
Flying couples above image									●			
Both flying couples and dwarfs above image												
	●											
				●								
Bodhisattva attendants											●	
Standing Buddhas as attendants										●		
Attendants on lotus pedestals								●				
Attendants with halo								●				
Avalokiteśvara with long-stemmed lotus										●		
Attendants on long-stemmed lotus pedestals												

the Cave 3 counterpart (*Plate* 24.7). Another particularly striking point of connection can be seen in the treatment of the ornaments; both have very similar earrings, while the carefully detailed armlets are nearly identical in type and treatment. The necklaces and belts were alike too, but in the Cave 4A *bodhisattva* they have now almost completely fallen away. The garments in both were similarly disposed, except that the Cave 4A *bodhisattva* has elaborate carved pleats between the legs, whereas that of Cave 3 does not. Although the right *bodhisattva* in Cave 4A has suffered particularly, one can tell nonetheless that certain details of the garment—such as the wide swath of cloth across the upper thighs—were close to those in the Cave 3 example, just as we might expect.

As I have suggested above, after the impressive Cave 4A image had been dedicated and the site had entered into its anxious Period of Disruption, another donor (or donors) added the randomly placed little standing Buddha images which appear on either side of the throne back (*Plates* 24.1 and 24.3). All show *varada mudrā*, as we would expect. They were cut into the flat background which had been left, again somewhat as in the Cave 3 composition, adjacent to the original throne back motifs. As is typical of intrusive images, they are quite varied in size and positioning. Some stand upon double lotuses, while others do not; some, but not all, are attended by tiny kneeling devotees.

It seems likely that many other intrusive images must have been added to the shrinelet, even though most of them have been lost due to its collapse.[8] Along what remains of the left wall, toward the front, three small *padmāsana* images can be seen, all seated, in characteristic late fashion,. on lotus pedestals (*Plate* 24.6). It seems clear that they are intrusions: their positioning is not related to any overall decorative or iconographic program, but instead is typical of the random arrangements found in the Period of Disruption. Those at the extreme front are placed beneath what must once have been a fairly large standing image, of which only the lotus pedestal and two devotees at the right remain. The standing image is of course an intrusion too; had it been part of the original conception, it would have been placed at or nearer to the floor level.

Because none of these small images are in the *pralambapādāsana* mode, and because we know that small-scale *pralambapādāsana* images became particularly popular as intrusions during 480 but never before, it may well be that all of the intrusions in the shrinelet should be assigned to the earlier half of the Period of Disruption--that is to 479 A.D. The fact that all are finished (which is often *not* the case with images started during the last year of activity at the site) would also favor a dating to 479 A.D. rather than to 480 A.D.[9] This again supports the dating of the main image to 478 A.D., since it clearly precedes its accompanying intrusions.

This powerful image in Cave 4A is of particular interest because, if it can be assigned to 478 A.D., as I have suggested, it belongs to the very latest moment in the expansive phase of the Aśmaka's patronage. The grand and daring shrine of Aurangabad Cave 3, with its startling congregation of life-size devotees; the amplitude of the unfinished Aurangabad Cave 1; the singularly impressive *Parinirvāṇa* and Temptation scenes in Ajanta Cave 26; and the exuberant Śrāvastī Miracle panels at the front of the right aisle in that same cave: all of these reveal the mounting energies of the Aśmaka feudatories in the final months of their patronage of these sites, just after their overlord, the great emperor Hariśeṇa, died.

However, even though their powerful overlord's sudden death gave the Aśmakas the very chance they wanted to sieze control of the empire, their ambition far surpassed their ability to do so.[10] When the Vākāṭaka house fell shortly after 480, due to the general insurrection instigated by the Aśmakas, chaos alone took over the control of Hariśeṇa's vast domains which, by the time of his death in about 477 A.D., had stretched from sea to sea. The traumas of the next few years, reflected in the total abandonment of all of the original patrons' well-laid plans at both Ajanta and Aurangabad, and in the immediately subsequent spasm of disruptive donations at those sites during 479-480 A.D., led directly into an era of darkness in the last decades of the fifth century. The Vākāṭaka house as such never recovered, although both Hariśeṇa's daughter and his granddaughter nourished princes of the rising Viṣṇukuṇḍin and Early Kalacuri dynasties,[11] who by the opening decades of the next century, were to bring a new measure of order to his old domains.

Notes and References

1. See K.N. Dikshit, "A Newly Discovered Buddha Image from Aurangabad Caves", *Madhu* (Shri M.N. Deshpande Festschrift), ed. M.S. Nagaraja Rao, Delhi, 1981, pp. 235-236; *Plates* LXXXVIIa-d.
2. I use very specific dates for the Vākāṭaka phase of work at Ajanta and related sites because, between the years circa 462 A.D. and circa 480 A.D. which define the limits of these undertakings, the overall sequence of developments can be worked out so precisely. At the same time, one should allow a small margin of error (say one to three years) since the beginning and ending dates are necessarily approximations; furthermore the rate of development may have varied from year to year within the sequence. I explain this admittedly expedient approach, which allows a year-by-year chronology, in "A Reconstruction of Events related to the Development of Vākāṭaka Caves", in *Kusumāñjali*, C. Sivaramamurti Commemoration Volume, Delhi 1987, pp. 185-90.
3. For the political background, see Spink, W., "Before the Fall: Pride and Piety at Ajanta", in *Patronage in Indian Culture*, ed. by C. Blitzer and B.S. Miller; forthcoming 1989.
4. Spink, W., "The Vākāṭaka's Flowering and Fall," in the Proceedings of seminar on *The Age of the Vākāṭakas*, ed. A.M. Shastri; forthcoming 1989.

5. Even when there was plenty of room for them, intrusive images never appear in caves where the main Buddha was never carved, or was not dedicated because it was very unfinished or for some other reason. See Spink, W., "Ajanta's Chronology: Cave 1's patronage, "*Chhavi* II, Benares 1981, pp. 144-157.
6. For the date of the first appearance (at least in Vākāṭaka contexts) of most of the features under discussion, see the appended *Buddha Image Motifs Chart*.
7. The identification of the *bodhisattvas* in the article cited in footnote 1 appears to be reversed.
8. Three clearly intrusive small standing Buddhas, crowded close to the proper left side of the proper left *bodhisattva*, can be seen in the early (1976?) photographs of the image published in *Madhu* (*Plate* LXXXVII); they have now fallen away, as have many other important features of the now-exposed image.
9. For a discussion of some of the discrete iconographic developments during the last two or three years of Ajanta's development, see Spink, W., "Ajanta's Chronolgy: Cave 7's Twice-born Buddha," in *Studies in Buddhist Art of South Asia*, ed. A.K. Narain; New Delhi, 1985, pp. 103-116.
10. See "Ajanta's Chronology: Cave 1's Patronage", *op. cit*. It appears that Hariṣeṇa's death was indeed sudden rather than slow; otherwise, he would at least have made sure that his cave, upon which he had lavished such attention, was dedicated. Indeed, it would hardly have taken more than two or three days for a few painters to have finished the cave's decoration.
11. For such familial connections, and their historical implications, see Spink, W., "The Great Cave at Elephanta: A Study of Sources," in *Essays on Gupta Culture*, ed. B. Smith, Delhi, 1983, pp. 235-282; also "The Vākāṭaka's Flowering and Fall'"' cited in note 3 above.

25

Architecture of the Nalanda Monasteries

B.N. MISRA

General Cunningham, Fr. J. Heras and Dr. H.D. Sankalia, among others, have tried to identify the monasteries of Nālandā. Śakrāditya, mentioned by Yuan-chwang, belonged to early 6th cent. A.D. (C. 537 A.D. or so), about a hundred years before the arrival of Yuan-chwang, at Nālandā. Probably he erected the Mon. 4 at Nālandā. The clay-seal 1-848 discovered at Mon. 1 records that he erected a great monastery. Buddhagupta built a monastery to the south of Śakrāditya's monastery (i.e. Mon. 1B). To the east of this monastery was built Tathāgatagupta's monastery which may be identified with Mon. 1A lying exactly to the east of Mon. 1B. Bālāditya built his monastery probably to the north-east of Mon. 1A which may be identified with Mon. 1. Vajra probably built the Mon. 5 to the proper east of Mon. 4. The mid-Indian king (i.e. Pūrṇavarman) possibly erected Mon. 6 exactly to the north of Vajra's monastery. Śilāditya (i.e. Harshavardhana) probably built Mon. 7. The plan of the seven earliest monasteries erected at Nālandā, one after the other, thus tallies with the Archaeological Survey of India plan (Fig. 25.1). This was the architectural activity of monasteries upto the middle of the 7th century A.D.

During the 8th cent. A.D. Nālandā had a row of *Vihāras*. Muniśrī, a Chinese monk of Nālandā (A.D. 793) informs that during his time Nālandā had 9 *vihāras* and one gate as erected by nine kings. More than 10,000 monks were residing there. Nālandā was the largest monastery of the times.

During the 9th cent. A.D. when Devapāladeva ruled over Magadha, Aṅga and Vaṅga, Nālandā was decorated with a ring of *vihāras*. Nearly all the monasteries have the Devapāladeva level. He got constructed a monastery at Nālandā on behalf of Bālaputradeva, the king of Suvarṇadvīpa and attached five tax-free villages for its upkeep. At that time Nālandā possessed series of stuccoed and lofty dwellings.

Vipulaśrīmitra, a celebrated monk of Nālandā built a splendid monastery there for the 'Mitra' monks during the 12th cent. A.D.

Dharmasvāmin, a Tibetan student of Nālandā during A.D. 1234-36 records that when he was there, he noticed that it possessed seven lofty buildings, fourteen lofty buildings, and eighty small *vihāras*, all built of bricks. Two of the *vihāras* known as Dhana and Guṇa were in a serviceable condition. There were eighty-four *vihāras* having eighty-four monastic cells.

The latest monasteries at the Sites 1, 4 & 7 are still equipped with single or double beds. Very likely, two of these three monasteries were known as Dhana and Guṇa during 1234-36 A.D.

Monastery 1

Mon. 1 measures 205′×168′. It contains no less than nine levels of occupation within a total height of 25′. Out of the nine levels, three are in the lower, three in the middle and three in the upper group (Fig. 25.2). In the lower group, the uppermost level represents the Devapāladeva level (9th cent. A.D.) which is 3rd from the bottom. There are three drains each marking a particular level. In the monastery representing the Devapāla level were found the copper-plates of Samudragupta and Dharmapāla. There was a sudden destruction by fire as evidenced by the masses of vitrified concrete debris and the fused brick-wall surfaces. The earliest monastery at this site "dates from the 6th century A.D.," perhaps from before A.D. 537.[1] "The sculptured stone panels portraying human-headed birds revering a lotus (mentioned in the *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1921-22) were not integral with the original chabūtarā, but had been inserted here when the second floor of the porch above came to be laid." They are "assignable to the 7th or possibly the 6th century A.D., but the fact that they were not expressly designed for their present position deprives them of their value as evidence for a date of the structure containing them."[2] 3′-6″ below the Devapāla level was discovered a brick-paved courtyard which is to be associated with Bālāditya and Budhagupta and may thus be considered to date from about the end of the 5th century A.D."[3] Spooner has dated the chabūtarā approximately to 500 A.D. saying that Sir John

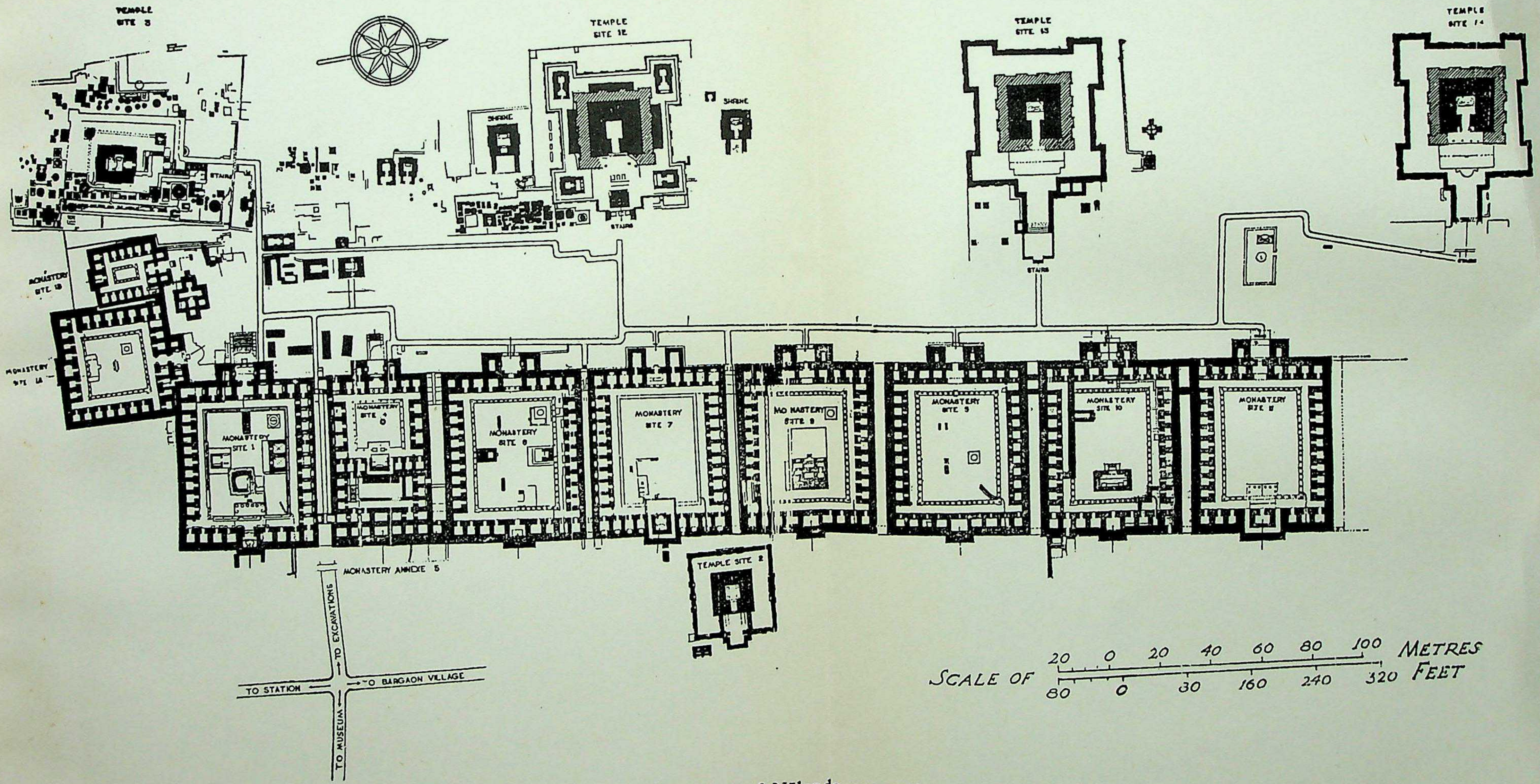
TEMPLE SITE 3
TEMPLE SITE 12
SHRINE
SHRINE
STAIRS
STAIRS
TEMPLE SITE 13
STAIRS
TEMPLE SITE 14
MONASTERY SITE 1B
MONASTERY SITE 1A
MONASTERY SITE 1
MONASTERY SITE 4
MONASTERY SITE 6
MONASTERY SITE 7
MONASTERY SITE 8
MONASTERY SITE 9
MONASTERY SITE 10
MONASTERY SITE 11
TEMPLE SITE 2
MONASTERY ANNEXE 5
TO EXCAVATIONS
TO STATION
TO BARGAON VILLAGE
TO MUSEUM
SCALE OF
20 0 20 40 60 80 100 METRES
80 0 80 160 240 320 FEET

Fig. 25.1 : Plan of Nālanda excavations

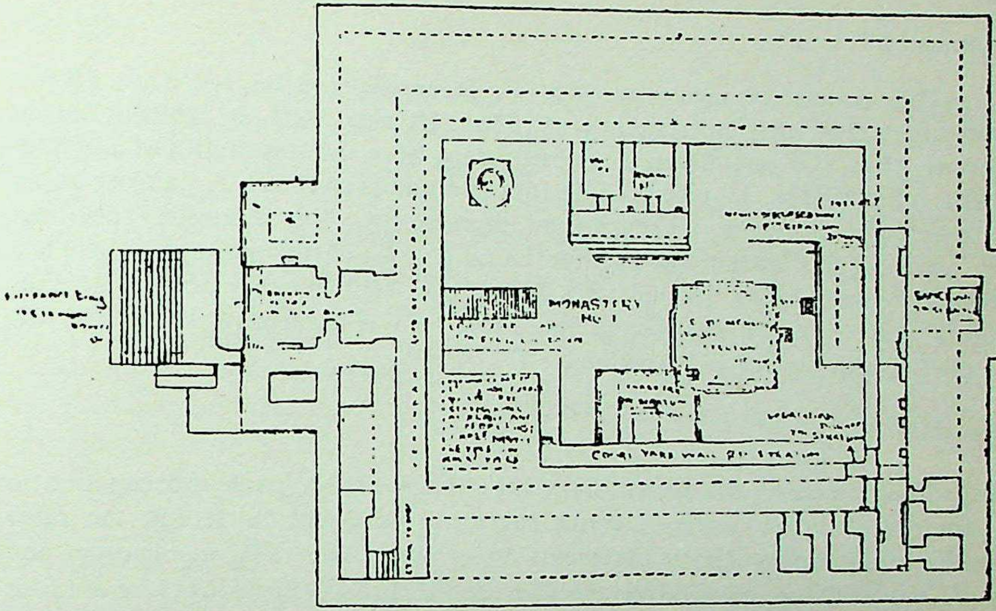

Fig. 25.2. Excavations at Nalanda.

Marshall dates the frieze to 7th cent. A.D. or possibly the 6th. Layers of ashes, potsherds, heavy brick debris, more ashes and finally natural earth accumulation "serve at once as an indisputable record of fire and destruction and of the abandonment and subsequent reoccupation of the site",[4] as evidenced in the *chaitya* existing in the middle of the monastery and representing three intermediary levels of occupation. A staircase in the south-west corner of the Devapāladeva level shows that it was atleast double storeyed (*Plate* 25.1).

Monastery 1A

The four lowest walls of Mon. 1 formed a complete square of themselves. It was erected first. On its collapse, Mon. 1A was constructed forming a complete square and overlapping the lower ruins of Mon. 1 at the north-east corner. When Mon. 1A went into ruins, the walls of Mon. 1 again overlapped Mon. 1A and formed a complete square. This process was repeated five times within a height of some 20 feet measured from the lowest foundations. Three of the levels are still apparent in the wall face of Mon. 1 and two of the levels of Mon. 1A.[5] Mon. 1A has in main two levels of occupation. The upper level of Mon. 1A is perhaps analogous to the Devapāla level (6th lower level of Mon. 1) and the lower level of Mon. 1A is contemporary to the 7th lower level of Mon. 1. A flight of concrete-paved steps at the north-east corner of Mon. 1A suggests an upper storey. Mon. 1A measures 145′ × 140′.

Monastery 1B

This monastery measures 85′×72′. It antedates Mon. 1A. Mon. 1B was erected first; then, after a certain interval, Mon. 1A was built as sandwitched in between Mon. 1B and Mon. 1. Subsequently, Mon. 1B was destroyed and later rebuilt. Finally Mon. 1A also fell into ruin and was re-erected.[6] A staircase at the north-east corner of Mon. 1B suggests an upper storey. This monastery also has two levels of occupation as in Mon. 1A and a long-narrow passage. There is a part-wall between Mons. 1A and 1B, a sort of back-stairs for the monks.[7] It thus follows that Mon. 1B was erected first, Mon. 1A was the second and Mon. 1 was the third in sequence of construction.

Monastery 4

This monastery measures 124′×121′. There are six levels of occupation in it. Some of the upper closely-occurring pavements were probably laid in the same structure. The three earlier pavements below represent each a separate and subsequent building erected on the same spot.[8] Broadly speaking there are four structures.[9] "The pre-Pāla level yielded a gold coin of Kumāragupta Mahendra I; but the presence of his coin here is not conclusive evidence, for a date of the remains in which it was found, since the remains may have been in existence well before the time when the coin was dropped here (though other evidence makes this improbable) or as is more likely they may date from some subsequent period, since the coin is of such a nature as to lead to its being hoarded long after it was coined. It was found immediately above the earliest concrete pavement of the verandah in the north-east corner of this same monastery No. 4 and is remarkably well preserved."[10] Two of the earlier channels from this monastery, falling through Mon. 5 belong to Gupta and late Gupta periods. The third channel above surely belongs to the Devapāladeva or the 3rd level. This channel shows four stone slabs making a rectangular opening. The monastery had Gupta period shrines just opposite its main entrance. These shrines were also surrounded by circumambulating passage as is evidenced by projecting walls of the shrines on the eastern facade of the monastery and the adjoining courtyard of Mon. 5. Concrete lintels support the upper structures which belong to Pāla periods of occupation. There are two staircases of different periods in the south-west corner of the monastery. The burnt pieces of wood adhering to the treads and risers of the steps are preserved in the Nālandā Museum.[11] In clearance of the eastern verandah of this monastery a stone column base, lying on the sloping top of the concrete debris that resulted from the collapse of the verandah roof, was found very near the outer edge of the verandah at too high a level from the parapet of the lower verandah. It is a conclusive evidence that the Devapāladeva level monastery had a second storey.[12]

Monastery 5

This monastery measures 121′ × 82′. It appears to be a kind of monastic annexe or *dharmaśālā* arranged round the three sides of a central court contiguous to Monastery 4 to the west.[13] It has four separate levels of occupation. An entrance cell doorway opening into the verandah has vestiges of a surmounting cornice, a brick cornice, a feature not found elsewhere at Nālandā.[14] The earliest stratum here consists of seven cells along the east side and four along the north and south sides. Each cell opens either into the next cell or into the verandah.[15] There are two rows of cells one behind the other, the cells in the front row communicating with each other through the corbelled doorways. The cells of the back row have no entrance.[16] The fourth side of this monastery was formed by the eastern side of Mon. 4.[17]

During the second stratum of occupation, some 4′ above the earliest stratum, a wide staircase was built along the northern front of the southern cells, giving access to an upper level of Mon. 4.[18] The first and the second stratums are alike in plan; but the third stratum, third from below, differs in plan. The huge staircase was still in use but its lower end had been covered through the rise in the level of the court. The fourth or the latest stratum seems to have followed the third one below. The four periods of this monastery existed side by side with the four periods of Mon. 4 and shared all the vicissitudes.[19] May be, this annexe was used in order to accommodate the increasing number of monks in Mon. 4 through the huge staircase. There are corbel-headed doors between the cells and the lintel-headed door-openings into the verandah of the annexe.[20]

Monastery 6

This monastery measures 150′ × 120′. It has two levels of occupation—the upper one representing the Devapāladeva-level and the lower one marking the pre-Pāla level.[21] A staircase in its south-west corner shows that it was at least double-storeyed.[22]

Monastery 7

This monastery measures 200′ × 170′. In main there are three levels of occupation. The lowest level is pre-Pāla, the middle one is Devapāla and the upper one is medieval (*Plate* 25.2). But four or even five pavement-levels seem to be indicated in the central courtyard, relating to the different walls.[23] It is recorded that Śīlādityarāja (Harshavardhana) constructed a brass-plate covered *vihāra* about 100′ or more in height by the side of the Nālandā monastery. He installed the golden statue of the Buddha, which had been prepared for the occasion of the

Prayāga Assembly, at Nālandā convent in memory of the victory of Mahāyāna over Hīnayāna.[24] Mon. 7 conveniently fulfils this statement as it stands just to the north of Mon. 6 and contains a pre-Pāla level.

Monastery 8

This monastery measures 213′ × 172′. Two different levels of occupation are discovered here. The lintel of the doorway of a cell in the south-east corner, which was the only one found here preserved to its original height, has been repaired; as the original wooden lintels were not found, three concrete lintels have been inserted to support the superstructure which is decorated with a pretty dentil cornice just a few inches above the door. (*Plate* 25.3). This treatment of a doorway is unique at Nālandā. A staircase in its south-west corner shows that it was atleast a double-storeyed structure.[25] The monastery belongs to the Devapāla period[26] and has a pre-Devapāla level also.

Monastery 9

This monastery measures 208′-1″ × 171′-6″. It has only one level of occupation representing the Devapāladeva-level. Evidences are there that it was used later also. A staircase with skylight in its south-west corner shows that it was at least a double-storeyed structure. The steps of the staircase were originally built of wooden sleepers, subsequently destroyed by fire.[27] In this monastery wooden pillars originally supported the roof of the verandah as evidenced by remnant wood.[28]

Monastery 10

This monastery measures 209′-9″ × 178′-9″ and belongs to the Devapāla period. The semi-circular arches set in mud-mortar over the doors at the south-west and north-east corners of the monastery are of the 9th cent. A.D. and are recessed to a depth of about 10″ or so, on both faces inside and outside, the recesses being evidently where wooden lintels originally rested"[29] (*Plate* 25.4). They represent the circular Roman arch.

Monastery 11

This monastery measures 212′ × 176′ and furnishes only one period of occupation. There was a stone doorway to this monastery as is evident from the broken pieces of stone lintels lying at the entrance.[30] The entire northern half of the structure at some stage was levelled to the ground. Atleast 25 fragmentary stone pillars are there in the monastery. Some of them still stand on their bases on the parapet wall of the verandah at regular intervals of 4′ or 5′. Their original height appears to be about 7ft. Their capitals are, however, missing (*Plate* 25.5). There is a staircase in the south-west corner with an opening in the western wall to admit light,[31] and suggesting a double storey. Wooden planks were used as steps as evident from the charred wooden pieces recovered in all of them. Similar pieces of charred wood were found on the sills of the doors to the cubicles. The monastery was thus destroyed by fire. A hoard of 54 billon coins was found here.[32]

Monastery 12

By the side of Mon. 11 there has been found Mon. 12 and "it is almost certain that the long row of monasteries extended further northwards to the modern village of Bargāon and future excavation alone can determine the extent of the entire monastic establishment at Nālandā".[33] Most of the writers on Nālandā have mentioned only 11 monasteries. The 12th monastery has not been fully exposed and as such it has not been shown in the Archaeological Survey of India plan.

General Features of the Monasteries (A.S.I. Plan)

Nearly all the monasteries show successive levels of occupation. The monasteries comprise a portico, an entrance flanked by two store cells, one on each of its sides, an antechamber attached to the entrance, a court bounded by parapet and a colonnaded verandah going round the court and attached to the cells on the four sides. They are generally provided with a well, drains, ovens, subsidiary and main shrines (Fig. 25.1).

The roof was approached by a flight of steps. In Mon. 4, 9 and 11 the staircases are provided with a sky-light window (*Plate* 25.6). Remains of large staircases on the gates of Mons. 1 and 4 were meant for their later monasteries.[34] Staircases inside Mons. 1, 5 and 10 were connected to their earlier constructions but utilised later also. In Mon. 9 burnt pieces of wood adhered to the treads and risers of the steps, some of which are preserved in the local museum.

Portico in the ninth century A.D. monastery is a four pillared hall having large rectangular niches or both the side-walls with its usually concreted or brick-paved floor as in Mon. 10. The pre-Pāla porticos are shown only in part. In Mons. 1 and 6 different levels of the porticos have concreted floors. Niches occur in the Devapāladeva level portico of Mon. 1, about 7′-9″ high and 7′ broad. The wooden lintels of the niches are modern but illustrate the older pattern. Below the lintels are carved projecting bricks. The south side-wall niche exhibits lower portion of Tārā[35] flanked by a figure on either side. These images were found in fresh paints when the niche was opened. Similar niches are seen in the porticos of Mons. 4 and 6. Niches in Mons. 1A and 4 might have contained wooden or stone sills measuring 9′-3″×6″×3″ and 8′-8″×6″×6″ respectively. Maximum area of a portico is seen in Mon. 1, measuring about 50′×24′. The stone-basements of pillars that supported the portico-roof are still in situ on the parapet-wall.

Entrances to the monasteries are more or less easily traceable in the Devapāladeva level but their full height cannot be estimated now. Entrances of the pre-Pāla monasteries have not been exposed. In Mon. 1 the maximum entrance opening was narrowed down at a later period to 6′. Its side-walls have two sockets (1 foot deep), one in each, for reception of the wooden log or beam which was inserted in them to bolt the door-leafs from inside. At Mon. 4, the earlier door-sill is 17′-10″ long. The later monolithic sill is joined with one foot long iron-clamps. Maximum door-opening is seen at Mon. 9 with its door-sill measuring about 19′-10″. Door-frames and their leafs were wooden as is evident from the ashes and burnt debris found in their position. The original door-jamb at Mon. 4 was made good entirely with lime-mortar without disturbing the original position of the socket on the west face of the wall intended for the reception of an upright stone or wooden pillar.

The concreted verandah usually goes round the court. Some idea of the court bounded by its parapet-wall and the verandah in the pre-Pāla level can be had in the southern half of Mon. 7 in its 4th level below (*Plate* 25.7) and in the northern half of Mon. 6. Square, hexagonal, octagonal or irregular stone or wooden basements occurring on the parapet-wall of the court mark position of the pillars for the verandah-roof. They generally do not occur at regular intervals, distances between each two bases varying from 4′-9″ to 6′. The height of the verandah-roof may be ascertained from two evidences. Actual height of the full and free-standing pillars in the Mon. 11 is 7′ (*Plate* 25.5). It is 7′-8″ at the south-eastern corner-shrine pillars at the *Chaitya* 12.

The parapet-wall exists between the court and the verandah. It is a solid brick-moulding plastered with thick layers of *surkhi* and concrete and supports the pillars. In many cases the pillar-basements have yielded heaps of charcoal indicative of the use of wooden pillars that were burnt during conflagrations, and the verandah-roofs collapsed only when the wooden pillars fell. Patil feels that "It is, therefore, most likely that the damages were more common and frequent from such accidental fires and it is quite probable that, because of this past experience, the builders used stone pillars in the later monastery site No. 11".[36]

The court in its ordinary form contains a well and a channel in one of its corners for sewage (as in Mon. 9), a colonnaded *chabūtarā* adjoining its main shrine (as in the eastern side of the Devapāladeva level of occupation in Mon. 1, in the second level below to the east in Mon. 11 or in the uppermost level of Mon. 4). In the second stage, one or two subsidiary shrines are added to the court so as to facilitate regular and methodical worship of the deities. Mons. 1B, 9 and 11 have no subsidiary shrines as such; but others do have one or two. A brick-built shrine appears in between the pre-Pāla and Devapāladeva levels in Mon. 7. The pre-Pāla shrines may be seen in the northern-half of Mon. 6 occurring below the latest shrine which belongs to the second level above as shown in its southern half. The shrine existing on the eastern side of the earlier court in Mon. 1 has a half-moon pedestal under the second level above. A similar pedestal has been exposed just to the north of Mon. 1A and belongs to an earlier shrine lying buried under it. Similar pedestal occurs on the long platform at its eastern side belonging to the 7th level below under the central *chaitya* in Mon. 1. Half-moon shaped pedestals of Kudappah black-stone are provided at the entrances of the *chaitya*-halls and monastic cells of the third-fourth century A.D. at Nagarjunakonda. The earliest pre-Pāla shrine on the S.W. corner of Mon. 1 was decorated with two mica-stone friezes inset in its middle pedestal, which are now preserved in the museum. These panels exhibit *kinnaras* doing reverence to the Buddha, symbolised here as a lotus from which floral designs stretch out in all directions. The pre-Pāla level courts in Mons. 1, 6 and 7 and early-Pāla courts in Mons. 6, 1A, 1B, 8, 9, 10 and 11, have brick-paved courts. Late-Pāla or post-Pāla courts in Mons. 1, 4 and 7 are all concreted.

The cells are usually arranged round the verandah (*Plate* 25.5). Their number varies from monastery to monastery. Mon. 1B contains 14 cells; Mon. 4 has 19 cells; Mon. 5 has 21 and Mon. 1A contains 27 cells, Mons. 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 contain 36, 34, 35, 37, 35, 35, and 32 cells respectively. These figures are, however, suggestive of the upper as well as the earlier cells existing below and also such cells which are just enclosures in the verandahs. This system of forming cells in the verandahs was followed up in all the monasteries, save Mons. 1, 1B and 6. The doorway of the cells generally opens into the verandah. There are no windows in the cells. The sky-open court provides ample light and fresh air to the cells and the residents, most of whom were *Bhikshus*, who did not like outsiders to peep in. The *Bhikshus* aimed at avoiding worldly contacts as far as possible. Maximum height of the door-way of a cell may be seen in Mons. 1 and 4 in their Devapāladeva levels and minimum height of the same is seen in the first level below in Mon. 5 on its northern and eastern sides. Maximum opening of a doorway is 6′-6″ in Mon. 1 and minimum 3′ in Mon. 5. The lintel above the door was originally wooden except in cases where the top of the door was corbelled; but as the conflagration consumed all traces of wood, concrete lintels with an iron-cantilever in it has been supplied in order to support the superimposed masonry. The verandah-cells have a corbelled brick-doorway of a maximum height. There are also corbelled door-links of about 5′-10″, 6′-2″ and 11′-7″ in height occurring in the first level below in Mon. 5 in the inner row running parallel to the eastern row of cells. The semi-circular arches over some of the doorways in Mon. 10 (*Plate* 25.4) are of the early ninth century A.D. and are "recessed to a depth of about 10″ or so, on both faces, inside and outside, the recesses being evidently there where wooden lintels originally rested"[37] (*Plate* 25.4). Thus they represent the circular Roman arch which is characteristic of the two caves in Mon. 1 including a sculptural fragment which is now in the Patna Museum and published in the *EISMS*, p. 161, *Plate* XCIVb. Sometimes, the entrances of the cells show cornice or carved projection above their lintels. Entrance of the last but one cell in the S.E. corner of Mon. 8 (*Plate* 25.3), two doorways on the eastern side of Mon. 5 and the door of a cell on the eastern side in the Devapāladeva level in Mon. 1 possess cornice-devices. The remnant cornice in the earliest level in Mon. 5 represents a pre-Pāla device. The contemporary cornice-devices in Mons. 1 and 8 of the early Pāla age appear to have been evolved out of the former.

The door-leaf of the entrance usually opened into the cell. On the opposite side of its doorway is found a little corbelled niche turning at right-angles and forming the letter 'L' in plan, which would be concealed behind the doorleaf when the doorway is opened. The doorleaf was necessarily single and was always bolted from inside by a wooden log which was inserted into a square or rectangular socket just behind the door-jamb.

That the cells had strong roof is evident from the square holes of the cells of early-Pāla levels in most of the monasteries for reception of the beams. Mons. 1A, 1B and 7 were found in a very dilapidated condition and it is, therefore, not unlikely that beam-holes also disappeared when the cells themselves collapsed. Generally, there are two holes with corresponding ones in the facing walls of a cell; but there are more than two and less than 10 holes also in one single cell. As many as 6, 8 or 9 beams in some cells supported the roof. The ninth century A.D. cells in the northern half of Mon. 4 have 2, 6 and 8 beam-holes in them respectively. Three cells in the S.W. corner in Mon. 11 exhibit 6 beam-holes each. There are 9 beam-holes in a verandah-cell situated in the N.W. corner of Mon. 10. It is only the latest levels in Mons. 1, 4 and 7 that contain bed-recesses or berths in cells for the residents.[38] In Mons. 4 and 7 there is one bed in each cell; but in Mon. 1 some cells contain two beds each (*Plate* 25.7). It seems probable that in the Gupta and the early medieval ages the *Bhikshus* used cots or wooden *chaukīs* as per the *Vinaya* rules; but when fire began consuming the furniture, concrete bed-recesses[39] were prepared and provided.

All cells, except those in the Mons. 1B, 5 and 7 have niches for books, images or lamps. In every case, there is an 'L'-shaped niche in one of the side-walls at the entrance of the cell. Generally the niches are larger or smaller, corbelled or vaulted. The cells contain one or two or no niches at all. Front-wall of the last but one cell in the S.E. corner of the Devapāladeva level in Mon. 1 shows an outer niche. The northern half of the monastery shows in its latest level cells with two or three niches each. These niches differ from earlier niches in shape and size.

Every monastery had a main shrine in the middle of the cells opposite to its main entrance. I-tsing informs that "Every monastery has its holy image, which is enshrined in a special temple".[40] Usually, the main shrine seems to be one and a half times larger than the other cells; but the shrine in Mon. 11 is the largest of all. The shrine in the Devapāladeva level in Mon. 1 contained a colossal image of the Buddha; but now his garment alone is seen on the beautifully plastered and painted platform. In Mon. 4 the roof of the Devapāladeva-level shrine marks the procession-path of the later Pāla shrine above and presents an exquisite example of corbelling (*Plate* 25.8).

Entrances of the monasteries are always flanked by store-cells, one on each of its sides, access to which is generally through a corbelled opening from the inner adjoining room. Probably, the outer eastern cells in Mon. 5 have no entrance. It is presumed that they were entered through the openings in their roof.

Two adjacent brick-built chambers stand against the northern high wall in the fifth level below in Mon. 1[41] (*Plate* 25.9). Their entrances are corbelled. Their roof is flat and ceiling is vaulted (fig. 25.3).

The bricks are joined in mud-mortar. The floor is paved with bricks-on-edge and furnishes an almost even surface. The front wall shows two niches with semi-circular tops. According to Banerji (Cf. *EISMS*, p. 162) "The arch of overlapping voussoirs was in common use at Nālandā. We find arches of this style in the great temples at Bodhgaya[42] and Konch in the Gaya district as well as in the so-called artificial caves at Nālandā".

Probably, the *Bhikshus* of the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. meditated there. From the N.E. and S.W. corners of these chambers, walls of different dimensions started through the court which were subsequently dismantled and removed. The sizes of the bed-recesses (*Plate* 25.7) provided in some of the monasteries are given below :

Mon. 1

(a) Single recesses = 6′-9″ × 3′-5″
(b) Double recesses = 6′-9″ × 3′-4″
= 7′-8″ × 2′-5″

Mon. 4

Single recesses = 7′-4″ × 3′-7″

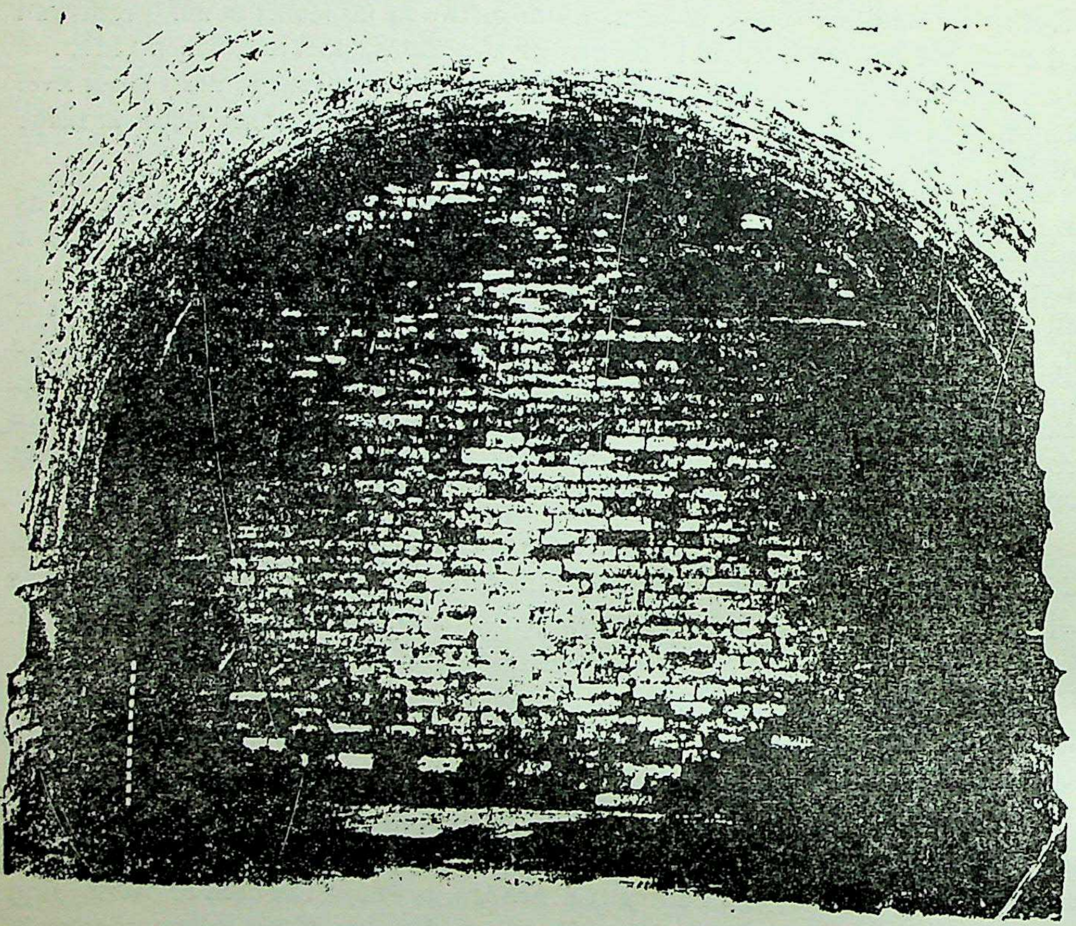

Fig. 21.3

Mon. 7

Single recesses = 6′-3″ × 3′-7″

Every monastery had its own drainage-system. Mons. 1 and 4 have four channels each, occurring one above the other, as suggestive of the successive occupations. The drains are generally located in the N.E. corner of the monastery; but the drain of Mon. 1A passes through its S.W. corner to join another drain at the site 3 in the west. The second lower drain in Mon. 1 and the drain in the Mon. 9 have two brick-walls and a covering throughout their length. Almost all the drains existing in the lowest levels are now used to drain out the sewage.

Mons. 7, 10 and 11 have no wells. A well exists buried below the earliest northern foundation wall in Mon. 1B. In Mons. 1A, 8 and 9 there are octagonal wells. Mon. 6 has a hexagonal well. Mons. 1 and 4 have ring-wells.

There are long ovens or hearths in Mons. 1A, 1 (on the south side of the central *chaitya* in the 7th level below), 6, 7 and 9. The residents cooked food on these ovens as is evident from the burnt bricks.[43] That is why they are available in all periods of occupations. I-tsing simply confirms this view when he says that "What we call a monastery is a general designation for the place of residence (for the *Saṁgha*), the whole of which may be regarded as a monastic kitchen."[44]

That the monasteries were thickly plastered is evident from the remains of plaster sticking here and there to the walls, stairs and other parts. Plaster in the pre-Pāla levels is seen in Mons. 1, 6 and 7. A pleasing plaster-work is charateristic of a later shrine in the northern portion of Mon. 6. Here the bricks forming a pot-and-foliage pattern, exhibit a pair of *maṅgala-kalaśas*. The plastered buildings were painted with floral designs and scenes as seen in Mon. 1 and a shrine lying to its west.

It is said that the monasteries were at least two-storeyed[45] on the basis of a discovery of one or two pillar-basements found at a sufficiently high level. It is difficult to ascertain whether these basements belong to the parapet-wall of the later buildings or mark the position of the pillars that supported the verandah-roof of the first-floor buildings. The former assumption seems more plausible. The second theory advanced for consideration is that enclosing walls of the Nālandā monasteries are abnormally thick. They must have had buildings erected on them. Two possibilities stand contrary to this hypothesis: firstly, the thick side-walls of the cells and spacious staircases were essential for vast monasteries and the thousands of resident *Bhikshus*; secondly, thick walls checked the day-time heat considerably.

Mons. 1A and 1B have the narrowest passage. At the northern end of this passage there is a staircase leading to Mon. 1B. A narrow passage exists in between Mons. 6 and 7. Almost all of the passages had doorways one on each of their respective ends. The spacious passage between Mons. 1, 4 and 5 is a typical example of such arrangements. Sometimes, they contain drains, cubicles or blocks for various purposes.

The wide open space between the rows of the monasteries and the temples was interposed with numerous shrines, votive *stūpas* erected at different periods of occupation of the site.[46]

In the foundation of Mon. 10 alternate layers of sand and bricks were used, while in that of Mon. 11 a thick layer of sand packing about 3 to 5 feet in thickness was found underlying the brick-masonry in the foundation.[47]

Notes and References

1. *ARASI*, (1926-27), p. 127.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

3. *Ibid.* (1921-22), p. 20.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 3, fn. and 20.
5. *Ibid.* (1923-24), p. 71.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
7. *Ibid.* (1924-25), p. 25.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
9. *Ibid.* (1923-24), p. 72.
10. *Ibid*, (1928-29), p. 145.
11. *Ibid.* (1929-30), p. 38, *Ibid.* (1936-37), p. 24.
12. *Ibid.* (1926-27), pp. 133-34.
13. *Ibid.* (1924-25), p. 82.
14. *Ibid.* (1925-26), pp. 33, 105.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
16. Ghosh, *Nālandā* (English), pp. 21-22.
17. *ARASI* (1925-26), p. 105.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 105-06.
19. *Ibid*, p. 106.
20. *Ibid.* (1929-30), p. 39.
21. *Ibid.* (1928-29), pp. 33, 186.
22. Ghosh, *Nālandā* (English), p. 22.
23. *ARASI* (1929-30), pp. 34, 87, 136.
24. Beal (tr.), *LHT*, pp. 119, 159; Saint-Hilaire, *HTI*, pp. 28, 32.
25. Ghosh, *Nālandā* (English), p. 23.
26. *ARASI* (1929-30), pp. 136-37.
27. *Ibid.* (1934-35), p. 39.
28. Ghosh, *Nālandā* (English), pp. 23-24.
29. *ARASI* (1929-34), p. 139.
30. *Ibid.* (1935-36), p. 22.
31. *Ibid.* (1934-35), pp. 38-39.
32. Ghosh, *Nālandā* (English), pp. 24-25.
33. *ARASI* (1930-34), pp. 139-40.
34. According to Sastri, in Mon. 1, the staircase from the entrance leads upto the top storey of the monastery. In case of Mon. 1A also he writes that "the flight of steps between two of the rooms on the north side possibly gave access to the roof of the verandah or the upper storey of the main monastery". (Cf. *MASI* No. 66, p. 23).
35. Sastri poses a conjecture for this image of Tārā: "Is it the one Huan Tsang described so vividly?" (Cf. *MASI* No. 66, p. 22). But he forgets the fact that this image was installed during the early medieval period.
36. Patil, *ARB*, p. 325.
37. *ARASI*, (1935-36), p. 22.
38. In the *SGNRN*, p. 5, Kuraishi also remarks that "The cells of the upper level monastery are built with recesses which contain beds for the monks, a feature which is generally absent in the earlier monasteries below."
39. The monastery-cells at Kasia also have brick-benches, 3′-8″ wide (Cf. *ARASI*, 1907-08, p. 120). A low platform in the Karṇa Chaupar cave of the Barabar-hills might also have served the same purpose. And if it is so, it would be one of the earliest beds. Sastri informs about the stone beds, '*vedīs*' evidently designed for lying. The ancient caves. found in the Tinnevelly district of the Madras Presidency, for instance, bear labels giving the names of the individuals for whom they were meant. Some of these labels, which are written in the Mauryan Brāhmī

script, call these beds '*atittanam*' (i.e. *adhishṭhānam*) meaning 'abode'. A few of these beds are raised on one side in the form of pillows and therefore must have served the purpose of beds" (Cf. *MASI*, No. 66, pp. 21-22).

40. Takakusu (tr.), *RBRIMA*, p. 113.
41. Sastri observes that "they resemble the rock-cut caves at Barabar and consist of two identical chambers measuring about 15′-1″ by 11′-8″ internally. Both of them are vaulted, the vaults being about 9′-6″ high. That they are pre-Muhammadan is unquestionable. They furnish us with early examples of vaulted roofs or curved ceilings which were constructed prior to the advent of Islam in India. He informs further that in Mon. 1A "on the south-west corner there is a long pakkā drain showing vaults at different places" (Cf. *MASI*, No. 66, pp. 22-23).
42. The roof of the upper storey of the main temple at Bodhgaya was a brick-built vault "with four sides meeting in a point, the arches being made in the old Hindu style of edge-to-edge voissoirs" (Cf. Patil, *ARB*, p. 100).
43. Sastri is, however, of the opinion that "It is not unlikely that here there was a medical seminary or *bhishakśālā* where *rasas* of sorts were manufactured and the medical students were given practical lessons in pharmacy unless, of course, they were meant to be culinary hearths" (Cf. *MASI*, No. 66, p. 23).
44. Takakusu (tr.), *RBRIMA*, p. 84.
45. In *JBRS* (XXX-II), pp. 138-39, Mookerji refers to a flight of steps pointing to at least three storeys of a particular monastery. Apparently, he means the flight of steps leading to the latest levels to the west of the monastery.
46. Beal (tr.), *THT* (III),p. 386 records it as a *vihāra*. General Cunningham identifies it with the mound A, still 53 ft. high and from 65 to 70 ft. thick, near the top and situated immediately to the west-ward of the ruined monastery standing to the least of the Punwā tank (*ASIR*, p. 31, pl. XVI).
47. "About 100 paces" according to the Bagchi (tr.), *SKFC*, p. 99. This *stūpa* is identified by General Cunningham with a small mound B which is due south of the Punwā tank.

* Illustrations: Courtesy, Mid-Eastern Circle, ASI, Patna.

26

Harsha and Iran

SHANKAR GOYAL

Buddhism and Hinduism in Iran

As in earlier periods, India's cultural and commercial contacts with Iran in the post-Gupta age were quite close. Yuan Chwang attests to the thriving state of Hinduism and Buddhism in Lāṅgala or Lang-Kie-ka-lo (to the west of India bordering on the ocean) which was "under the government of Persia". The script used by its people, and with some differences the spoken language also, were like those of India. It had above hundred *saṅghārāmas* and 'perhaps 6000 priests' and also 'several hundred *deva* temples' and very many professed Pāśupatas.[1]

According to the Chinese pilgrim Po-la-sse (Persia) herself abounded in *deva* temples. He generally uses this term for Hindu sanctuaries. The presence of several hundred Buddhist monks and two or three *saṅghārāmas* in Iran is also recorded by him and their preference for the Hīnayānist Sarvāstivādin school noted.[2] He also informs us that a *pātra* of the Buddha was in the palace of the king of this country. The Persian contact with Buddhism is revealed by several other evidences. We have from Dandanuliq, in the Chinese Turkestan, a picture of 8th cent. A.D. of a Bodhisattva in the guise of a Persian. The picture may be a specimen of the Buddhist art as it developed in Persia in the post-Gupta age. Here it may also be recalled that it was a Parthian prince An-Shih-Kao (second cent. A.D.) who had made the first organised efforts to translate the Buddhist canon into Chinese. The tenth-eleventh century Muslim scholar Alberūni records the presence of Buddhism, in former times, in Khorasan, Iran, Iraq and neighbouring countries upto the borders of Syria. These facts prove that Yuan Chwang's statement about the existence of the Buddhist monks in Iran in the seventh century A.D. is correct and that in the age of Harsha Hinduism and Buddhism were living forces in that country.

Indo-Iranian Commercial and Cultural Relations

Trade relations of India with Iran were also in a flourishing condition in the post-Gupta age. Amianus Mercellinus tells us that Indian wares were sent to the great annual fair at the mart of Batne, not far from the bank of the Euphrates, about the second half of the fourth cent. A.D.[3] The Chinese Annals refer to a brisk trade by land route between China and Western countries like Arabia and Persia which must have passed through India.[4] The Arabs and Iranians sent large number of merchant ships to China which passed through Indian ports. I-tsing, the Chinese pilgrim, came to India in a Persian ship and Vajrabodhi who went to China in A.D. 720 is said to have seen thirty-five Iranian ships in a port of Ceylon.[5] Arab and Iranian historians also make numerous references to Indian ships in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea and the first Muslim fleet is said to have appeared in the Indian waters in A.D. 636.

Several other aspects of India's cultural relations with Iran in the post-Gupta age may also be noted briefly here. The westward journey of the *Pañchatantra*,[6] the great Sanskrit book of stories, began in the sixth cent. A.D. with its translation into Pahlvi, and then into Syriac. Similarly, Persian and Arabian writers state that chess or *Shatranj* (Sanskrit *Chaturaṅga*) came in Persia from India. From Iran the game passed to the Arabians and from them, directly or indirectly to various parts of Europe.[7] Hindu sciences, notably Āyurveda and Arithmatic were highly prized in Iran. It is one record that Barzouhyeh, a subject of the Iranian Sassanid king Anushirvān or Khusru I who ruled between 531 and 579 A.D., came to India to learn Indian medicine and other sciences.[8]

It is thus evident that economic and cultural relations of India with Iran were quite close in the 7th century. Sometimes, these relations found reflection in political sphere also. Interestingly Tabari records that Nashīrwan (Khusru I) dispatched an expedition to India which resulted in the gain of some provinces for the Persians. According to Sykes there does not seem to be any certainty as to such a campaign but it is also not impossible that Khusru I did make such an attempt in this direction.[9] The question which we pose before ourselves, therefore, is: did Indo-Iranian economic-cultural relations assume political overtones in the age of Harsha?

Theory of Exchange of Embassies between Khusru II and Pulikesin II

The most interesting evidence of a close contact between India and Iran in the seventh century is preserved by the Persian historian Tabari (838-923 A.D.). He informs us that in the 36th year in the reign of the Persian emperor Khusru II (590-628 A.D.) i.e. in 626 A.D., (when Harsha was ruling over northern India and Pulikeśin II was the Lord of the Deccan), a king of India named Prmesh sent to the Persian ruler ambassadors carrying a letter and presents for him and his sons. The account of Tabari is in the form of the reply of Khusru II to the charges brought against him by his son Shiruyieh. It runs as follows: 'Two years ago, Pulakeśi, King of India, sent to us, in the thirty-sixth year of our reign, ambassadors carrying a letter imparting to us various news, and presents for us, for you, and our other sons. He also wrote a letter to each of you. To you he presented—don't you remember it?—an elephant, a sword, a white falcon and a piece of gold brocade. When we looked at the presents and at the letters, we remarked that yours bore the mark "Private" on the cover in the Indian language. Then we ordered that the presents and other letters should be delivered to each of you, but we kept back your letter, on account of the remark written on the outside. We then sent for an Indian scribe, got the seal broken, and the letter read. The contents were:—"Rejoice and be of good cheer, for on the day Dai ba Ādhar, of the thirty-eight year of reign of Chesroes, thou will be crowned king and become ruler of the whole empire. Signed, Pulakeśi". But we closed this letter with our seal, and gave it into the keeping of our consort Shirin".[10]

The name of the Indian king as written by Tabari reads Prmesha. Noldeke, the translator of this passage, rendered it as Pulakesha or Pulakeśī. He argued that as *R* and *L* are written with the same sign in Pahlvi, *R* is to be taken as the false mode of expressing *L*. Further, *H* may also be substituted for *K* (*Q*) in the Arabic or in the Pahlvi. It, therefore, follows that the name may be read as Pulakesha, obviously Pulikeśin II of the Chālukya dynasty of Bādāmī, who was a contemporary of Khusru II.

Evidence of the Ajanta Paintings

The suggestion of Noldeke was used by Fergusson to support his interpretation of the paintings found in Cave No. I at Ajanta.[11] Four of these paintings are found on the four corners of the central square of the principal design of the roof. They are replicas of the same design. The principal figure in these four pictures is a stout burly foreigner who is sitting crossed-legged on a cushion with a female companion or his wife. He is holding a drinking cup in his right hand and two female figures are shown offering fruits or food; in other two they are omitted.

Besides these paintings on the roof there is a very remarkable fresco on the wall of this cave which represents an Indian king on his throne receiving an embassy or deputation of people who are also foreigners, most likely, though not certainly, of the same nationality to which the foreign personage depicted in the painting of the roof belongs. They are bearers of a letter and are being dismissed with return present.

Fergusson assigned the cave No. I to the period between 610 and 630-40 A.D. He also believed that the foreigners depicted in these paintings were Persians. With these facts he combined the suggestion of Noldeke that Pulikeśin II of the Chālukya dyansty sent an embassy to Khusru in 626 A.D. Therefore it was easy for him to suggest that the drinking scene depicted on the roof or the Bachhanalian scene in the paintings, as it is called, represents Khusru II and his queen Shirin and that the Persian emperor must have sent a return embassy to the court of Pulikeśin II the ceremonial reception of which is depicted in the fresco on the wall. Thus the theory of the exchange of embassies between Khusru II and Pulikeśin II was postulated. It was accepted by Smith and many subsequent historians.

However the theory is open to serious objections: (1) As pointed out by Ettinghausen and R.C. Majumdar, Noldeke overlooked the fact that Prmesha is a good transliteration of the Indian word Parameśa, or Parameśvara, a title often used by the Indian kings. There is, therefore, no need to transliterate the original Prmesha conjecturally into Pulikeśa. (2) As regards the paintings of the Cave No. 1 at Ajanta, it is not at all certain that the cave or its paintings definitely belong to the age of Pulikeśin II. Yazdani ascribed these paintings to the 5th century A.D.[12] (3) The nationality of the foreigners depicted in these paintings is controversial. As regards the foreigners depicted in the so-called 'embassy scene' some scholars, such as Smith[13] and Rajendralal Mitra,[14] agree with Fergusson in believing that they are Persians, but Yazdani thought them to be of Turkish origin,[15] while Motichandra[16] hesitatingly and M.K. Dhavalikar[17] rather confidently suggest that they are Syrian merchants. So far as the foreigners of the drinking or the Bachhanalian scene are concerned, it is usually conceded that they are Persians, but the assertion that the chieftain and his wife shown in it are Khusru II and his queen Shirin, has been doubted by Foucher,[18] Dhavalikar[19] and others. As pointed out by Foucher, their costume is common enough in these paintings and its knowledge to the Ajanta painters is easily explained by the nearness of Ajanta to the Western coast. Therefore, there is no reason to assume that the couple in question are Khusru II and Shirin. Dhavalikar's suggestion that the scene represents a Persian nobleman and his wife[20] may therefore be correct.

Identification of Harsha with the King of India mentioned by Tabari

But the negation of the relevance of the Ajanta paintings for the theory of the exchange of embassies between Khusru II and Pulikeśin II does not solve the problem of the identity of Parameśa or Parameśvara, the king of India who, according to Tabari, sent an embassy to Khusru II in 626. Cunningham suggested the possibility that he was a certain Indo-Sassanian prince, Vāsudeva, whose existence as the ruler of Multan and adjoining regions is known from coins bearing legends in Pahlvi and Nāgarī, or Shahi Tigin who is called master of Tukān and Khurāsān in the Pahlvi legend and "Supreme Lord of India and Iran" (*Hitvi cha Airan cha Parameśvara*) in Nāgarī.[21] B. Ghosh is inclined to agree with him.[22] But the date of these rulers is not known. Further, it has been rightly pointed out that correspondence between an Indo-Sassanian prince and Khusru must have been in the Pahlvi. It is, therefore, unlikely that the former should have used his Indian title *Parameśvara* and not its Pahlvi equivalent in his letter.[23]

The theory that the Indian embassy received by Khusru II was sent by Harsha was advanced by R.C. Majumdar.[24] To us it appears to be the best solution of the problem. It may be pointed out that Harsha exerted a great influence in the north-west part of the sub-continent—even more than Majumdar was ready to concede. His hold over Rajasthan is indicated by the prevalence of his era in this region.[25] His political influence in Gujarat is proved by his victory over the king of Valabhī recorded in the inscriptions of Gurjaras of Lāṭa.[26] His invasion of Sindha has been explicitly recorded by Bāṇa,[27] while his political hold over some parts of the Punjab is proved by the testimony of Yuan-Chwang and the Tibetan historian Tāranātha. According to Yuan Chwang Harsha was able to assign the task of taking Yuan Chwang safely across the Indian border to king of Jalandhar.[28] Tāranātha has recorded the story of the persecution of Mlechchhas near Mūlasthāna or Multan at the hands of Harsha.[29] The Mlechchhas of this story, were undoubtedly Persians. The story, if correct, makes it highly likely that Harsha might have had some dealings with the Persian court.

Secondly, Harsha was not only an immediate neighbour of the Iranian emperor, there is also a likelihood that the former had economic and political relations with the latter. Bāṇa says that the conquest of Iran was regarded by Harsha's *sāmantas* as not so difficult. They boasted that "the land of the Turushkas is to the brave but a cubit. Persia is only a span".[30] Tāranātha's story of the persecution of the Mlechchhas near Mūlasthāna, probably Multan, at the hands of Harsha, though undoubtedly false, suggests a close relationship between India and Persia during Harsha's rule. Bāṇa refers to the fact that Harsha's horses were imported among other countries from Persia also.[31] In the *Kādambarī* also we are informed that a horse named Indrāyudha which was of exceptionally good breed was sent by the monarch of Iran for the hero of this work.[32] Tāranātha confirms the existence of such contacts by stating that a Persian king of Madhyadeśa (probably Harsha) and the latter sent to the former in return a few elephants. The story reminds one of a similar return present of elephants by Chandragupta Maurya to Seleucus.

Lastly, it may be pointed out that the Persian king refers to the Indian monarch as the king of India. As Iran is closer to North India than to the Deccan, prima facie one should infer that the term 'king of India' means the king of North India. In view of all these facts it should be regarded as more legitimate to hold that the king of India who sent embassy to Khusru II of Iran was Harsha and not Pulikeśin II.

Notes and References

1. Beal, S., *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, p. 277.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 278.
3. *The Classical Age* (hereinafter referred to as *CA*), p. 638. Also see Chakraborti, Haripada, *Trade and Commerce in Ancient India*, p. 338.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. Winternitz, *HIL*, III, 294 ff. According to Hitti (*History of the Arabs*, p. 404), the basis of the famous work *Thousand and One Nights* was a Persian book which contained several stories of Indian origin.
7. Murray, H.J.R., *A History of Chess*, 1939, quoted in *CA*, p. 639, no. 2.
8. *CA*, p. 640.
9. *History of Persia*, I, p. 456.
10. Majumdar, R.C., *Readings in Political History of India*, ed. by S.P. Gupta, p. 155.
11. *JRAS*, 1879, p. 155 ff.
12. *JBROS*, xxvii, 1944, p. 14.
13. Smith, V.A., *Early History of India*, 4th ed., pp. 442-3.
14. *JASB*, xlvii, 1878, pp. 66-8.
15. *Ajanta*, Pt. I, Text, p. 46.
16. *Bhāratīya Veśabhūṣā*, Prayāga, Saṁ. 2007, p. 21.
17. Dhavalikar, in *Foreigners in Ancient India and Lakshmī and Sarasvatī in Art and Literature*, ed. by D.C. Sircar, Calcutta, 1970, p. 14.
18. *Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society*, 1919-20, p. 99.
19. *Dhavalikar*, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
20. However, the argument of R.C. Majumdar that there was no reason for a scene of a political embassy finding a place amid religious surrounding in a cave is not valid. After all, even if it does not depict the scene of an embassy, the painting is patently secular and so are the drinking scenes depicted on the roof and all of them do find place amid religious surroundings.
21. *Later Indo-Scythians*, p. 123.
22. *JBRS*, XXX, p. 189.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 190.
24. See, Majumdar, R.C., *Readings in Political History of India*, pp. 156-7.
25. Goyal, S.R., 'Harsha and Rajasthan', *Proceedings of the Rajasthan History Congress*, Jaipur, 1979, pp. 14-9; *Harsha Śīlāditya*, Meerut, 1987, pp. 137-41.
26. Goyal, S.R., *Harsha Śīlāditya*, pp. 134-7.
27. *Ibid.* pp. 133-4.
28. See Goyal, *op. cit.*, p. 133.
29. Tāranātha, *History of Buddhism*, trans. by Schiefner, p. 94.
30. *Harshacharita*, ed. Cowell and Thomas, p. 380.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
32. *Kādambarī*, ed. Pt. Ramtej Shastri, p. 164-65.

27

Kalapriyanatha of Bhavabhuti's Plays

JAGANNATH AGRAWAL

In the prologues of his three plays the Sanskrit dramatist Bhavabhūti has stated that the play is being performed on the occasion of the festival (*yātrā*) of the Lord Kālapriyānātha, though the wording is not the same in all the three dramas. In the *Uttararāmacarita* we get,

> "अद्य खलु भगवतः कालप्रियानाथस्य यात्रायामार्यमिश्रान्विज्ञापयामि ।"[1]

In the *Mālatīmādhava*, the *Sūtradhāra says,*

> "मारिष सुविहितानि रङ्गमङ्गलानि । संनिपतितश्च भगवतः कालप्रियनाथस्य
> यात्राप्रसङ्गेन नानादिगन्तवास्तव्यो जनः ॥"[2]

Similarly in the *Mahāvīracarita* also Bhavabhūti informs that the play is being staged on the occasion of the festival (*yātrā*) of Lord Kālapriyānātha. There has been some difference of opinion amongst modern scholars regarding the identification of the god Kālapriyānātha or Kālapriyanātha. While P.V. Kane and several other scholars regard him as Śiva, V.V. Mirashi identifies him with the Sun. Let us, therefore, examine the question in some detail. Vırarāghava, the commentator of the *Uttararāmacarita*, explains it as follows:

> कालप्रियानाथस्य कालप्रियनामाम्बिकाया नाथः शिवस्तस्य ॥

'Kālapriyā is the name of Ambikā. Her lord (husband) is Śiva'. Thus according to Vırarāghava Kālapriyānātha is Śiva. Tripurāri, attributes the same meaning i.e. Śiva, but his explanation is different. He says, "महाकालास्पदस्य शम्भोः"

'of Śiva whose abode is Mahākāla'. Jagaddhara is rather vague in his explanation. He says, कालप्रियनाथस्य तद् देशदेवभेदस्य ।।" "of the distinctive deity of that country". So Jagaddhara is not very helpful in arriving at any conclusion regarding the deity.

On the basis of the explanations by Tripurāri and Vīrarāghava, it had been concluded by P.V. Kane and others that the plays were staged at Ujjain where there is an ancient temple of Śiva famous as Mahākāla. V.V. Mirashi challenged this identification on the grounds that Bhavabhūti has never hinted in his dramas that he was ever associated with Ujjayinī, nor that he was a devotee of Śiva. He seems to have been a worshipper of the Sun, because he has eulogised that deity in his play, *Mālatīmādhava*.[3]

The first objection raised by V.V. Mirashi is valid as we have nowhere any indication that Bhavabhūti ever lived in Ujjayinī in any capacity; but we cannot agree with him that he was not a devotee of Śiva, and did not hold that deity in special reverence. If that were so, why should he have made the first obeisance to Śiva in as many as four ornate verses, in the *Mālatīmādhava*. As for the god Sun, we find only one verse in praise of this deity, and that too not in the Nāndī itself, where the favourite deity is usually praised; but in Sūtradhāra's speech, and there too the Sun is casually introduced. He does not appear to be Bhavabhūti's sole object of devotion. Bhavabhūti rather appears to be liberal in his religious views who had equal devotion for the two gods Śiva and Viṣṇu. His devotion to Śiva is indicated by the eulogies of that deity in the *Mālatīmādhava*, whereas his devotion to Viṣṇu in the incarnation of Rāma is expressly acknowledged in the following verse of the *Mahāvīracarita*:

प्राचेतसो मुनिवृषा प्रथमः कवीनां
यत्पावनं रघुपतेः प्रणिनाय वृत्तम् ।
भक्तस्य तत्र समरंसत मेऽपि वाच-
स्ताः सुप्रसन्नमनसः कृतिनो भजन्ताम् ।। [I, 7]

In the third quarter of this verse Bhavabhūti specifically calls himself a devotee of Rāmacandra. In view of all these facts we cannot regard Bhavabhūti as a devotee of the god Sun, merely because of the occurrence of a verse in praise of the Sun, in the play *Mālatīmādhava*.

Mirashi has tried to prove that it was on the occasion of the festival of the god Sun that Bhavabhūti's plays were staged. He quotes the following verse from the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*:

सांनिध्यं मम पूर्वाह्णे सुतीरे दृश्यते जनैः ।
कालप्रिये च मध्याह्नेऽपराह्णे चात्र नित्यशः ।।

"People will always notice my presencein the forenoon at Sutīra, at noon in Kālapriya, and in the afternoon at this place (i.e. Mūlasthāna)".

Mirashi further says that the *Varāha Purāṇa* tells us where the three places where the images of the Sun had been installed by Sāmba were situated. Mirashi quotes:

साम्बः सूर्यप्रतिष्ठां च कारयामास तत्त्ववित् ।
उदयाचले च संश्रित्य यमुनायाश्च दक्षिणे ।।
मध्ये कालप्रियं चैव मध्याह्ने स्थाप्य चोत्तमम् ।
मूलस्थानं ततः पश्चात् अस्तमानाचले रविम् ।
स्थाप्य त्रिमूर्त्तिं साम्बस्तु प्रातर्मध्यापराह्णकम् ।।

Chapter. 178, Vv. 55-57

Mirashi goes on to say that 'These verses tell us that Sāmba established the images of the Sun-god at three places, viz (i) on the eastern mountain, (ii) at Kālapriya on the southern bank of the Yamunā, and (iii) at Mūlasthāna on the western mountain".[4]

Mirashi further remarks that, "There were famous temples of the Sun at Sutīra or Koṇārka in the east and at Mūlasthāna (Multan) in the west, which attracted pilgrims in large numbers from all parts of India. The same must have been true of the third place of Sun-worship, viz Kālapriya. It was apparently situated in the middle part of North India".[5] Mirashi finally concludes that since according to the *Varāhapurāṇa*, Kālapriya was situated on the south bank of the Yamunā, and since according to the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* of Rājaśekhara it was to the south of Gādhipura or Kannauj, it is, in all probability identical with the modern town of Kālpi. In further support of his view Mirashi quotes the following verse which occurs in the Cambay and Sangli copper-plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra III:

यन्माद्यद् द्विपदन्तघात-विषमं कालप्रियप्राङ्गणं-ङ्गण
तीर्णा तन्तुरगैरगाधयमुना सिन्धुप्रतिस्पर्धिनी ।
येनेदं हि महोदयारिनगरं निर्मूलमुन्मूलितं
नाम्नाद्यापि जनैः कुशस्थलमिति ख्यातिं परां नीयते ।।

"The court-yard of the temple of the god Kālapriya was rendered uneven by the strokes of the tusks of his rutting elephants. His horses crossed the unfathomable Yamunā which rivals the ocean in expanse. He completely devastated the enemy's city Mahodaya so that even now it has become greatly renowned among the people by the name of Kuśasthala".[6]

The verse from the Cambay and Sangli copper-plates does show that there was a temple of Kālapriya, the court-yard of which was dug by the elephants of the army of Indra; but there is no indication that it was a temple of the god Sun. The various Sanskrit lexicons like the *Amarakoṣa*, *Medinī* etc. give the meanings of Mahākāla (Śiva), Yama (the god of death), the black colour, time etc. to the word *Kāla*, but never that of the sun. So we cannot say which god is meant by Kālapriya. On the other hand if we accept the reading Kālapriyānātha given by Vīrarāghava, we get a perfectly familiar sense, i.e. the god Śiva, as already explained above. As regards the Puranic verses quoted by Mirashi, and noted above, Kālapriya being in the locative case can be taken as a place-name and not as the name of a god. Moreover it must be noted that the festival (*yātrā*) when Bhavabhūti's plays were staged, pertained to the god Kālapriyānātha and not simply Kālapriya.

The relevant clue for the proper identification of Kālapriyanātha is provided by the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* of Rājaśekhara, where we come across the following discussion:

"विनशनप्रयागयोर्गङ्गयमुनयोश्चान्तरमन्तर्वेदी । तदपेक्षया दिशो विभजेत्" इत्याचार्याः ।
"तत्रापि महोदयं मूलमवधीकृत्य" इति यायावरीयः ।।
"अनियतत्वाद्दिशामनिश्चितो दिग्विभागः" इत्येके
तथा हि यो वामनस्वामिनः पूर्वः स ब्रह्मशिलायाः पश्चिमः ।
यो गाधिपुरस्य दक्षिणः स कालप्रियस्योत्तर इति । अवधि-
निबन्धनमिदं रूपमितरत्वनियतमेव इति यायावरीयः ।।

From the above extract it appears that the ancient city of Mahodaya, i.e. the present day Kannauj had four localities each of which had its own name. These were (1) Brahmaśilā, (2) Vāmanasvāmi, (3) Gādhipura and (4) Kālapriya-nātha. The last of these was named after the god Śiva, who is called in this context as Kālapriyānātha and has been identified as Śiva by Vīrarāghava and Tripurāri. Bhavabhūti's plays were, therefore staged neither at Ujjain nor at Kalpi, but at modern Kannauj. This is quite natural also, for we know that Bhavabhūti was a court poet of king Yaśovarmā of Kānyakubja (Kannauj). We have the specific statement of Kalhaṇa on this point. While describing the conquests of king Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa of Kashmir, Kalhaṇa makes mention of Lalitāditya's victory over Yaśovarmā, in the following verse:

कविवाक्पतिराजश्रीभवभूत्यादिसेवितः ।
जितो ययौ यशोवर्मा तद्गुणस्तुतिवन्दिताम् ।।[7]

"Vanquished (by Lalitāditya) Yaśovarmā, (himself) a poet, and was waited upon by Vākpatirāja, the illustrious Bhavabhūti and others, was reduced to the status of a panegyrist of his (Lalitāditya's) merits".

The association of Bhavabhūti and Vākpatirāja who has written the Prākṛita *Mahākāvya-Gauḍavaho*, describing the *digvijaya* of his patron Yaśovarmā of Kannauj is also established by the following verse of Vākpatirāja:

भवभूइ जलहिणिग्गयकव्वामयरसकणा इव स्फुरन्ति ।
जस्स विसेसा अज्ज वि वियडेंसु कहाणिवेसेसु ।।

"The particles of the juice of the nectar of the ocean, (who is) Bhavabhūti, shine forth even now, in (my) description of the story".

It shows how great was the esteem of Vākpatirāja for the poet-dramatist Bhavabhūti.

The mention of Bhavabhūti, in association with Vākpatirāja and his patron king Yaśovarmā of Kannauj, proves beyond doubt that Bhavabhūti's plays must have been staged in the famous shrine of Śiva, called Kālapriyānātha, which was located at Kānyakubja, or modern Kannauj in Uttar Pradesh.

Notes and References

1. *Uttararāmacarita* with the commentary of Vīrarāghava, 9, N.S.P. Bombay, 1925.
2. *Mālatīmādhava* with the commentaries of Tripurārī and Jagaddhara, 5, N.S.P. Bombay, 1936.

सूत्रधारः– अलमलम् । उदितभूथिष्ठ एव भगवानशेषभुवनद्वीपदीपः । तदुपतिष्ठे । (प्रणम्य)

कल्याणानां त्वमसि महसां भाजनं विश्वमूर्ते,
धुर्यां लक्ष्मीमिह मयि भृशं देहि देव प्रसीद ।
यद्यत्पापं प्रतिजहि जगन्नाथ नम्रस्य तन्मे,
भद्रं भद्रं वितर भगवन् भूयसे मङ्गलाय ।।

4. V.V. Mirashi, *Bhavabhūti*, 83.
5. Mirashi, *ibid.*, 84.
6. *EI*, VII, 36 f; XII, 249 f.
7. Kalhaṇa, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV, 144.

28

Images of Atiriktanga Bhairava

ARUNDHATI BANERJI

Introduction

Atiriktāṅga-Bhairava is one of the sixty-four forms of Bhairava which belongs to the category of Saṁhāra-Bhairava.[1] The colour of this group resembles the lightning and the deities carry *kuṇḍa, kheṭaka, parigha* and *bhiṇḍipāla*. Bhairava[2] is considered to be the architect of creation, protection and destruction; all other deities are his ancilliary. Bhairava[3] has been projected as having a terrifying form to protect the Universe, which according to *Śivapurāṇa* is the full form of Śaṅkara. His epithets are Kāla-Bhairava, Āmarddaka and Pāpabhakshaṇa. According to *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa* Bhairava should be fashioned as having a bulging belly, multi-armed—each arm carrying some weapon, round yellow eyes, side tusks and prominent nostrils. The complexion should be as dark as cloud and the god should be adorned with a garland of skulls. Other ornaments and garments on his body should comprise *kuṇḍala*, waist-band, armlets, wristlets etc., and snake or elephant skin respectively. The most interesting aspect of Bhairava according to the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa* text is his terrifying form carrying a snake with which he frightens Pārvatī. The sculptures of Bhairava endowed with an extra leg are important as they are reported, though very rarely, from the north.

Sculptural Representations

In Indian art there are several representations delineated with an additional leg which are identified as Atiriktāṅga-Bhairava, Jvaradeva, Yajñapurusha known variously as Yajñamūrtī, Yajñeśa, Yajñeśvara or Yajña[4]—a minor manifestation of Vishṇu, Bhṛiṅgi and Agni. All these forms are found standing with an extra leg either carved in between the two legs or on one of the sides, usually having four arms but exception to this form was also noticed. Images of a male deity carved in stone, identified as Atiriktāṅga-Bhairava have been reported from Ellora, Modhera, Madhukeśvara shrine, Kiradu, Patna Museum, besides one from Delhi. Generally these representations are gruesome and inhuman in appearance. The symbols held by the icons of the deity are a dagger, skull-bowl, sword, kettle-drum, rosary, axe, trident and a flaming torch-like object. A garland of skulls is a common feature apart from the moustaches, *jaṭā*, *tilaka* and also the ornaments.

The earliest representation of the deity is perhaps depicted in a panel from Ellora[5] (*Plate* 28.I). The panel shows him extremely emaciated, surrounded by some ghastly goblins—one amongst which represents Kālī seated at the bottom. The sculptural details mark the occurrence of three legs—an essential feature of the deity.[6] On his right a devotee stands with folded hands in *añjali* mudrā. The figure exhibits a dreadful and inhuman appearance. In the caves of Ellora this form of Bhairava occurs quite frequently in skeleton form.

At Modhera Sun temple in Gujarat occurs a sculpture to the north of the entrance identified as Kāla-Bhairava.[8] This standing image is sculptured with three faces having equal number of arms and legs: one left, two right and two left and one right[9] respectively. In his upper right hand he holds a dagger.[10] This particular image bears some striking similarities with a standing male icon, which appears on the north face of the temple at Kanheri-ki-putali, four miles west of Bijolia. This sculpture also possesses three hands and legs; carries a rosary in one of the two right hands while the other two are held in front of his chest.[11]

A three-legged image which has been identified as Bhṛiṅgī,[12] partly damaged, is found in a niche on the southern wall of the north-western corner shrine in Madhukeśvara in Mukhalingam (*Plate* 28.2). Besides three legs, the image is also characterized by a third eye on his forehead, halo around his head and four arms; two upper hands carry a *paraśu* and a *triśūla* provided with a long handle. One of the lower hands is damaged while the other, i.e., the left rests on the head of a male figure standing by his side. The figure stands with three legs—the third depicted in-between the two is carved slightly behind and the left leg is little bent forward. The deity is decked with ornament like *jaṭāmukuṭa* decorated by crescent moon with locks of *jaṭās* hanging over his shoulders, a garland probably composed of skulls, a *sarpa-yajñopavīta*, armlets, bracelets, an *udara-bandha* and a waist band showing a rosette clasp in front. Ferocious appearance of the image with prominent eyes and a tooth coming out, treated very naturalistically which would possibly indicate as representing a *saṁhāra* form of Bhairava with an additional leg and surrounded by four attendants on either side having emaciated body, shrunken belly and prominent ribs. The image is bearded with well-marked eyebrows.[13]

Another standing image of three legged deity carved out of yellowish stone was found *in situ* on a hill near the medieval temples at Kiradu[14] in Rajasthan. That the image is having three legs is confirmed by the occurrence of an inscription in two lines on the pedestal bearing the date *Saṁvat* 1516 which describes the image as '*tripādu*'. The image possesses two legs erect while the third one bent at the knee, touches his left thigh, identified as Atiriktāṅga-Bhairava.[15] He wears wooden sandals (*Pādukā*) in all the three feet as evident in case of the south Indian representations.[16] This image has eight arms but only four attributes are visible, viz., dagger, skull-bowl, sword and kettle-drum. A long garland of skulls (*muṇḍamālā*) adorns the sculpture besides some other ornaments consisting of three-hooded snake (*Sarpābhūshaṇa*) over his head. Behind the image there is depicted a prancing dog, probably the usual *vāhana* of Bhairava. It is also significant to mention here the depiction of a three legged goddess at Kiradu in the niche of Temple No. I with matted locks of hair. She is headless and her attributes are not easy to recognize as the hands are all damaged (*Plate* 28.3). This female figure also possesses two legs erect while the third one has been carved as appearing from behind touching the *rathikā* pillar on the proper right. The deity is, however bare foot.

A three-legged image more likely of Atiriktāṅga-Bhairava now preserved in the Patna Museum[17] appears emaciated with a faint smile in his face, ascribable to a very late date, *circa* 14th-15th centuries A.D. This standing sculpture is characterized by holding an unsheathed sword in his left hand and a flaming torch rising from it in his right hand. The deity with curled locks of hair, beard, moustaches and pointed chin bears a circular *tilaka* on his forehead. He stands erect on all the three legs.

On the basis of sculptures described above a three legged form of Bhairava reported[18] from Delhi (*Plate* 28.4) could be identified as of Atiriktāṅga-Bhairava, which may be assigned to *circa* 15th century A.D. on stylistic ground. This icon of red sandstone measuring 87×40×13.5 cm. is interesting though lacks artistic vigour and excellence, thus pointing to a very poor craftsmanship. It also shows the presence of ochre colour paint all over its body. The third leg of the sculpture is delineated very unrealistically, as if separately carved or fixed to the body. The figure stands erect in *sthānaka* pose with an additional right leg bent right above the knee and turned left. The image is four-armed but the symbols held in them are not clearly recognizable due to their damaged condition. A snake apparently serves as his head-dress which is coiled round his matted hair. The face shows the depiction of beard and moustaches which are raised up. The *tilaka* on his forehead is marked by incised horizontal lines. The upper two hands appear to carry *pāśa* (noose) and *ḍamaru* (drum) respectively while in the lower two hands the deity holds a trident or sword and skull-cup. The ornaments[19] worn by him include garlands, bangles, armlets, waist-band etc., all consisting of skulls and also *kuṇḍalas.* The *jaṭā* is not an ordinary one but indicates a snake in the form of a coil which seems to have been held by a band composed of skulls. The dress worn by the god is not clear but may be deer skin. His features, particularly the two protruding eyes, illustrate his wrath. The image looks vigilant, standing with one of the three legs folded at the knee, foot placed on the thigh.

The image certainly delineates a Śaivite deity as illustrated by his usual *jaṭā*, which on carefull examination revealed the traces of an animal figure at his back, probably a dog, his *vāhana*, which does not exist at present. The expression of the particular image is static and it is more likely that while fashioning the sculpture in relief the artist did not adhere to the descriptions prescribed by the *śilpa* texts which display little aesthetic quality and excellence.[20]

Notes and References

1. The names of other *Saṁhāra* Bhairavas are Kālāgni, Priyaṅkara, Ghoranāda, Viśālāksha, Yogīśa and Dakshasaṁsthita.
2. He has eight different aspects, viz., Asitāṅga, Ruru, Chaṇḍa, Krodha, Unmatta, Kapāla, Bhīshma and Saṁhāra-Bhairava which correspond respectively to Vishṇu, Brahmā, Sūrya, Rudra, Indra, Chandra, Yama and the supreme being. Each form is further divided into eight subordinate forms comprising sixty-four in all.
3. In his representation as Vaṭuka Bhairava, *Rūpamaṇḍana* ascribes eight arms with *khaṭvāṅga, pāśa, śūla, ḍamaru, kapāla, sarpa*, piece of flesh and *abhaya. Vaṭuka Bhairava kalpa* assigns him three eyes, a red body, *jaṭās* of red colour, carrying *śūla, pāśa, ḍamaru* and *kapāla.* In both these cases he should be represented with his *vāhana* dog, either standing by his side or seated on it respectively.
4. In the *Vāyupurāṇa* chapter 98, verses 71 ff., among the other celestial incarnations of Vishṇu, mention of Yajña also occurs which is also corroborated by the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*.
5. J. Burgess, *Report on the Elura Cave Temples and the Brahmanical and Jaina Caves in Western India* (London, 1883), pp. 38-40, pl. XXXIV. 2; also, J.N. Banerjea, 'Iconography', in *Age of Imperial Kanauj*, ed. R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalkar (Bombay 1955), p. 307.
6. "Though grotesque the sculptor has executed his work with great skill", T.A G. Rao *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II (Delhi 1971), pp. 181-182, pl. XLIII.
7. H.D. Sankalia, *The Archaeology of Gujarat* (Bombay 1941), p. 144.
8. It has been referred to by Burgess as Agni, *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, IX, p. 77.
9. The three legs of Agni denote his triple existence viz., as fire on earth, as lightning in the atmosphere and as sun in the sky, T.A.G. Rao, *op cit.*, Vol. II (1971), p. 521.

10. This image resembles the one from Kiradu which also carries a dagger but Sankalia thinks that it is close to the figure of Agni from Śiva temple at Kandiyur, Travancore which also has curved dagger in his left hand. On the evidence of this image the Modhera sculpture has been identified as Agni, H.D. Sankalia, *op. cit.* (Bombay 1941), p. 144; R. Sengupta considers the image as Atiriktāṅga Bhairava—a form of Īśāna (Śiva) which seems to be more justified (gathered from an informal discussion with him).
11. *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India*, 1905, p. 54.
12. B. Masthanaiah, *The Temples of Mukhalingam* (New Delhi, 1978), p. 92.
13. The image besides having a third leg is represented as an independent deity with attendants surrounding him, who also have emaciated body. On these very points the image should be taken to represent as Atiriktāṅga form of Bhairava because Bhṛiṅgī is rarely exhibited in this manner in visual representations.
14. The site was known as Kirātakūpa.
15. R.C. Agrawala, "An Interesting *Tripāda-mūrti*", *Journal of Indian Museums*, Vol. X (Bombay), pp. 23-24, fig. 6.
16. C. Sivaramamurti, "Geographical and Chronological Factors in Indian Iconography", *Ancient India*, no. 6 (New Delhi 1950), p. 59, pl. XXIV.
17. B. Sahay, *Iconography of some important Minor Hindu and Buddhist Deities* (Delhi 1975), pp. 128-129.
18. *Indian Archaeology 1969-70: A Review*, p. 59. It is reported from the area located between Hauz Khas Enclave and Moth-ki-Masjid.
19. The ornaments on close examination appear to have been consisted of human skulls as Bhairava is more commonly depicted with garland and ornaments of skulls.
20. Line drawing prepared by Shri D.K. Malik. *Photographs-courtesy*: Photo Archives, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi.

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Abu Raihan Ibn Ahmad Alberuni on Varahamihira

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

I. Alberuni

Alberuni,[1] as he is popularly known by the closing word of his name to modern students of Orientology, or, to give the full form of his name by which he was called by his compatriots, Abu al-Raihan Ibn Ahmad Alberuni (973-1048 A.D.), was born in the territory of Khwarizm or Chorasmia, modern Khiva. He distinguished himself early in science and literature and rose to the position of a councillor of the ruling chief of his country belonging to the Ma'muni family, who was defeated in 1017 A.D. by King Mahmud of Ghazna, who, placing one of his generals as provincial governor of the newly conquered territory, returned to his capital with rich booty and a large part of the defeated army and the leading men of the country as prisoners of war or hostages, the latter including Alberuni. At Ghazna, at first he did not receive proper treatment either from King Mahmud or from his chancellor, Ahmad Ibn Hasan Maimandi. Alberuni was probably known as a great *munajjim*, *viz.*, astrologer-astronomer, which fact possibly gradually ingratiated him to the king who raised him to the position of his court astrologer, if we were to give credence to a later tradition. But that he did not hold King Mahmud in much esteem is amply indicated by the way he speaks of him,[2] as against his drunkard son and successor, Mas'ud, whom he mentions in hyperbolic language and whom he immortalised by christening after him his most famous and greatest work, *Chronology of Ancient Nations* as *Canon Masudicus*.[3] Like the famous Firdausī, the author of the great poetic work, *Shāhnāmā*, Alberuni was a versatile scholar and prose-writer of his time. At the time when King Mahmud was engaged in raiding and looting India, Alberuni busied himself with all the energy at his command in studying, in India from Indian scholars, the Indian literature in original (Sanskrit) in which he excelled all other foreign visitors to India, either before or after him.

Alberuni was familiar with Indian literature to some extent prior to his Indian visit. Portions of Indian literature and sciences reached the Arabs at Baghdad either through direct translations from original Sanskrit texts with the help of Indian scholars or indirectly through Persia. When the province of Sindh came under the direct rule of Khalif Mansur (753-774 A.D.), there began, for a short duration, a direct intercourse between India and the Arabs, and embassies from Sindh paid regular visits to Baghdad; these included scholars who brought with them Sanskrit texts including the *Brāhma-sphuṭa-siddhānta* (Sindhind) and the *Khaṇḍa-khādyaka* (Arkand) of the famous Indian astronomer Brahmagupta which were translated into Arabic. These works for the first time introduced the Arabs to astronomy, even before Ptolemy's system. Under Harun (786-808 A.D.) another influx of Indian learning took place, and Sanskrit texts on medicine, pharmacology, toxicology, philosophy, astrology and other topics were translated into Arabic, while in later times these activities continued on a limited scale, and a few other texts were also made available in Arabic translations. These works included *inter alia*, the *Caraka-saṁhitā* and the *Karaṇa-sāra* of Vitteśvara.[4] Much of the Indian narrative literature including the *Pañcatantra* or *Kalila and Dimna* came to the Arabs through Iran. With this background, though somewhat defective on account of the fault on the part of translators and textual corruption not excluding proper names in course of copying, and with good linguistic grounding, Alberuni launched on his Indian mission which he had, it may be reasonably assumed, undertaken by himself purely as a matter of love of learning.[5]

Among all the ancient foreign travellers of India who have left the accounts of their sojourn Alberuni occupies a unique position. Before him, India was visited by a number of foreigners whose accounts are still available. A few of them like Megasthenes came on diplomatic assignments and some on commercial trips while some others like the Chinese travellers visited for fulfilling their self-imposed religious mission which was to acquire knowledge of certain aspects of Buddhism. Some of these travellers were ignorant of the rich cultural heritage and the Indian lifestyle, and to them practically everything they found in India was an enigma with its real meaning remaining unintelligible, with the result that to a certain extent their accounts on their personal observations or hearsay reports not properly understood by them, are superfluous. As against this, some of the Chinese pilgrims spent in India many more years than Alberuni for studying and copying certain Buddhist texts, but their narratives are highly coloured by religious prejudice. Viewing against this background, one cannot but notice a qualitative difference between these accounts and Alberuni's, known as *Kitāb-ul-Hind,*[6] which tries to look at India as an Indian would. This book was written with the object of acquainting those of the Muslims who lived in peaceable intercourse with the Hindus with their mode and world of thought.[7] And he achieved it by allowing the Indians to speak for themselves through their texts from which he quoted *in extenso*. In this task he faced a lot of difficulties such as the strong religious prejudices of the Hindus and the Muslims which separated them from one another and made mutual intercourse particularly difficult, the enormous range of language divided into a neglected vernacular and a classical one in use respectively only among the common people and the upper educated classes, difficulty of expressing an Indian word into the Arabic script and of pronunciation, carelessness of the Indian scribes resulting into defective copies including corrupt proper names, socio-religious prejudices of the Hindus, the aversion of the Buddhists towards the countries of the West whence they had been expelled, Muslim invasions resulting into Indian conquests, and self-conceit and depreciation of anything foreign on the part of the Indians (I. 17-26). But his spirit remained undaunted by them, and he relentlessly pursued his objective in various ways: he translated several Sanskrit texts into Arabic[8] and composed numerous treatises devoted to specific points of Indian astronomy[9] prior to undertaking the preparation of his *Indica*, which was a significant departure from the approach and methodology of other accounts, both earlier and later. He adopted the novel approach of quoting extensively from the classical Sanskrit texts in order to avoid the possibility of being accused of misrepresentation, and it is because of this method that Alberuni's account has assumed a unique importance as a source for the reconstruction of the cultural, especially literary, history of ancient India. The range of Alberuni's *Indica* is extraordinarily comprehensive and deals with such widely diverse topics as religion and philosophy, grammar and metrics, astronomy and astrology, weights and measures, iconometry and iconography, Veda and Dharmaśāstra, geography and chronology, etc. As a result, Alberuni's present work has turned into a virtual storehouse of information on India not only for his compatriots whom he had actually in mind but also for all serious students of Indology who are deeply indebted to him. Often it affords us information regarding writers and their works not known from any other source. Even as regards well-known authors whose works have come down to us, it affords valuable help in solving a few of the baffling questions. However, but for some sporadic attempts,[10] Alberunl's evidence has not so far been studied with this viewpoint.[11]

One of the reasons that imparted uniqueness to Alberuni's *Indica* was his awareness and use of the methods of textual criticism in which respect he was far ahead of his times. Like a modern critical editor, he is often critical of the manuscript tradition. Quite often he supposes the text to be corrupt and speculates the probable causes of textual corruption besides discussing different readings and suggesting emendations. He guesses lacunae in the text, analyses different renderings and complains of the copyists' carelessness and ignorance. Being aware that defects arise owing to the mistakes and carelessness of the translators and successive copyists, he complains that the Indian texts often degenerate to such an extent as not to be recognised even by the original author (I. 162-163; II. 76). Unfortunately, however, he was quite alone in his interest even in his own time (I. 24), and there has been no Arab Indologist of his kind either before or after him.

II. Varahamihira

Varāhamihira is one of the two astronomers-astrologers most frequently quoted by Alberuni, the other being Brahmagupta. He often contrasts the two and sometimes goes out of the way in praising Varāhamihira in preference to Brahmagupta,[12] in a few cases his criticism of Brahmagupta being based on misunderstanding of the latter's position.[13] He speaks of Varāhamihira as an 'excellent astronomer' who 'did not allow himself to follow the crowd regarding the *saṁdhi*' (I. 366), whose 'foot stands firmly on the truth' and who 'speaks out the truth'. He only wishes that 'all distinguished men followed his example' (II. 110). He contrasts him to Brahmagupta whom he accuses of supporting the imposture.[14] He refers to Varāhamihira as 'knowing only too well the character of his countrymen who like to mix up peas with wolf's beans, pearls with dung', (II. 113-114), and even when Alberuni was sure of the incorrectness of certain of his statements, he was so overwhelmingly convinced of his sincerity and truthfulness that he was not prepared to accept them as such and suspected some esoteric meaning behind them (II. 117).

Alberuni throws some welcome light on the controversial question of Varāhamihira's date. Varāhamihira has adopted the Śaka year 427 or 505 A.D. as the epoch of his *Pañca-siddhāntikā* (I. 8-10) and, as in most other cases, should ordinarily be treated as the date of its composition or very near it. However, there is much unwarranted controversy regarding its interpretation, and some scholars regard it as the date of Varāhamihira's birth[15] while others take it to be the date of the composition of the *Romaka-siddhānta* or an adaptation thereof or a gloss on it.[16] But the untenability of the latter view is clearly indicated by the statement of Alberuni, who, writing in 1030 A.D. or about the year 400 of Yazdajird, avers that it (Yazdajird year 400) corresponded to, *inter alia*, the year 526 of the era of the canon *Pañca-siddhāntikā* (II. 7). Had it been the era of the canon *Romaka-siddhānta*, and not of the *Pañca-siddhāntikā*, Alberuni, who was a discerning scholar, would not have confused it with that of the latter. Based as it is on the Śaka year 427 mentioned in connection with finding out the *ahargaṇa*, it should naturally be regarded as the epoch of the *Pañca-siddhāntikā*, and probably also the date of its composition. That this is the correct position is further vouched for by Alberuni's statement that Varāhamihira preceded his own time by 525 (I. 392) or about 526 (II. 86) years.

As for Varāhamihira's works, Alberuni gives us an idea of the notions obtaining in the first half of the eleventh century A.D. He includes among his writings the *Saṁhitā*,[17] *viz.*, the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* (I. 57), a couple of Jātakas, a small and a large one, *i.e.*, the *Laghu-Jātaka* and the *Bṛhaj-jātaka*, the *Ṣaṭ-pañcāśikā* said to contain fifty-six chapters on astrology, the *Horā-pañca-hotṛya* (?), also on astrology, the *Yoga-yātrā* and the *Tikani-yātrā* dealing with travelling, the *Vivāha-paṭala* treating of marriage and marrying, a book[18] on architecture (I. 158), and the *Pañca-siddhāntikā*, an astronomical treatise of small compass (I. 153). Of these texts, the *Laghu-jātaka* was rendered by Alberuni into Arabic,[18a] and the *Bṛhaj-jātaka* is said to have been commented upon by Balabhadra (I. 158). Alberuni also refers to Utpala's commentary on the *Saṁhitā* (I. 298) and quotes from it the following extract which is conspicuously absent from the present text of the commentary: "The names of countries change, and particularly in the *yugas*. So Multan was originally called Kāśyapapura, then Haṁsapura, then Bagapura, then Sāmbhapura, and then Mūlasthāna, *i.e., the original place*, for *mūla* means root, origin, and *tāna* means place". Either the statement has been erroneously attributed to Utpala, or, it is possible that, his gloss has not come down to us in its full form and in course of preparing its manuscripts some portions have been dropped; however, the former possibility is greater. Alberuni's description of the *Ṣaṭ-pañcāśikā* as consisting of fifty-six chapters and its attribution to Varāhamihira are definitely erroneous as the text, which is extant, is so called not because it comprises fifty-six chapters but of as many stanzas, and it was actually composed not by Varāhamihira, but by his son, Pṛthuyaśas.[19] Like Varāhamihira's works, this short text also was commented upon by Bhaṭṭotpala. The work bearing the title *Horā-pañcā-hotṛya* is not known from any other source, and its caption also appears to be defective. While no independent text on architecture by Varāhamihira is known to date,[20] in all likelihood Alberuni had in his mind Ch. LV of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* dealing with temple-architecture,[21] independent manuscripts of which, captioned *Prāsāda-lakṣaṇa*, have come down to us.[22] The *Yoga-yātrā* is still available,[23] while the *Tikani-yātrā* is definitely a mistake for the *Ṭikaṇika-yātrā* which is still extant and represents a shorter version of one of Varāhamihira's works dealing with the prognostics of travel.[24] Varāhamihira had to his credit a set of two *Vivāha-paṭalas*, the larger version entitled *Bṛhad-vivāha-paṭala* and the shorter version called *Laghu-vivāha-paṭala*. A certain *Vivāha-paṭala* is still extant, but which of the two versions it represents is difficult to determine in the present state of inadequate information. However, looking to its size, it appears to be the abridged version and has been recently edited by R.V. Pandit.[25] Alberuni had obviously no idea of the other version of the *Vivāha-paṭala* as well as about another work of Varāhamihira on the prognostics of journeys known as *Bṛhad-yātrā* or *Bṛhad-yoga-yātrā* or *Mahāyātrā*, also nicknamed *Yakṣyeśvamedhikā* or *Yakṣyeśvamedhīyā Yātrā* after the second stanza of the first chapter beginning with the words, *Yakṣyeśvamedhena*.[26] The same is rule of the *Samāsa-saṁhitā* or *Svalpa-saṁhitā*, the abridged version of the *Saṁhitā* as mentioned by Alberuni or the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* or *Vārāhī Saṁhitā* as known to us today, which is now known only from citations in Utpala's commentary on the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*. This silence probably indicates that it was lost sometime during the interval between Utpala (ninth century A.D.) and Alberuni (eleventh century A.D.). Although Alberuni refers to the *Pañca-siddhāntikā* thrice, he did not have a correct idea of its contents as is clearly evident from the following observations: They (Indians) have five Siddhāntas:

I. *Sūrya-siddhānta*, *i.e.* the Siddhānta of the sun, composed by Lāṭa.

II. *Vasiṣṭha-siddhānta*, so called from one of the stars of the Great Bear, composed by Viṣṇucandra.

III. *Pulisa-siddhānta*, so called from Paulisa, the Greek, from the city of Saintra, which I suppose to be Alexandria, composed by Pulisa.

IV. *Romaka-siddhānta*, so called from Rum, *i.e.*, the subjects of the Roman Empire, composed by Śrīṣeṇa.

V. *Brahma-siddhanta*, so called from Brahman, composed by Brahmagupta, the son of Jiṣṇu, from the town of Bhillamāla between Multan and Anhilwāra, 16 *yojanas* from the latter place (?).[27]

The authors of these books draw from one and the same source, the book *Paitāmaha*,[28] so called from *the first father*, *i.e.*, Brahman.

Varāhamihira has composed an astronomical handbook of small compass called *Pañca-siddhāntikā*, which name ought to mean that it contains the pith and marrow of the preceding five Siddhāntas. But this is not the case, nor is it so much better than they as to be called the most correct one of the five. So the name does not indicate anything but the fact that the number of Siddhāntas is five (I. 153). Besides some of the serious inaccuracies that have crept in this statement, the fact remains that the *Pañca-siddhāntikā* does not simply indicate that the number of the Siddhāntas is five as Alberuni would like us to believe, but it does epitomise and contain 'the pith and marrow' of the five Siddhāntas known to him and it is because of this reason that the name *Pañca-siddhāntikā* is given to this work which is an important source of our information about the history of Indian astronomical literature as the Siddhāntas epitomised by Varāhamihira were naturally different from their later recasts prepared long after Varāhamihira. If we know today about the original Siddhāntas of the names mentioned above, it is only from Varāhamihira's *Pañca-siddhāntikā*, and it is in this respect that the value of this text mainly lies.[29]

Thus, Alberuni was aware of Varāhamihira's writings on mathematical astronomy, horoscopy, travels, marriage and the *Saṁhitā*. But obviously he had not studied all these texts. He cites from the *Pañca-siddhāntikā*, the *Bṛhaj-jātaka*, the *Laghu-jātaka* and the *Saṁhitā* or the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*. We may now proceed to analyse, briefly of course, Alberuni's citations from these works. We may begin with the *Pañca-siddhāntikā*. However, as we have seen above, Alberuni probably did not consult this work by himself, and, therefore, his references to it are probably based on some secondary information. Naturally all the references cannot be traced to the extant text of the *Pañca-siddhāntikā* (*PS*) in the present state of our information. The citations from it are of two kinds : direct with the mention of the text, and indirect where certain views are quoted which perhaps belonged to it. Of the direct references numbering four, we have already referred to two : the year 400 or Yazdajird corresponding to the year 526 of the era of *PS* (II. 7) and about its nature (I. 153). The third reference pertains to the method of finding out the *ahargaṇa* or the number of civil days elapsed from a given date (II. 51) which corresponds to *PS* I. 8-10, which, as we have pointed out above, is very important for ascertaining Varāhamihira's date. The fourth reference pertains to the *ṣaḍaśītimukha* which is said to have been in the same degree propitious as the time of *saṁkrānti* for acquiring in it infinite heavenly reward (II. 190). This is, however, not traceable to the present text. We may next turn to indirect allusions. At I. 266 Varāhamihira is mentioned as one of the astronomers according to whom the earth is round. This is perhaps an allusion to *PS*, XIII. 1. There was bitter controversy on the question as to whether the earth moves or is at rest, and Varāhamihira, like most other Indian astronomers, held that the earth is stationary as against Āryabhaṭa who held a contrary and, of course, scientific view. Varāhamihira is quoted with approval by Brahmagupta (I. 276). This obviously refers to *PS* XIII. 6-7.[30]

Both the works on Jātaka, *Bṛhaj-jātaka* (*BJ*) and *Laghu-jātaka* (*LJ*) are cited. *BJ*, I. 5 on the representation of zodiacal signs (*rāśis*) is quoted at length correctly. We are told that 'the signs of the zodiac have names corresponding to the images which they represent, and which are the same among the Hindus as among all other nations' (I. 219), and this statement is sought to be illustrated by a detailed comparison (I. 219-220). At I. 220, we find certain peculiar names of eleven of the zodiacal signs including Kriya, Tāvuri, etc., some of which are mentioned in somewhat corrupt forms. These are actually Indianised forms of the names of Greek origin mentioned in *BJ*, I. 8, *BJ*, II. 14, giving names of the planets supposed to preside over different periods of time is cited at II. 118.

Alberuni was definitely more familiar with the *Laghu-jātaka* or the smaller book on nativity which he had translated into Arabic, and citations from it are naturally much more abundant than from the *Bṛhaj-jātaka*. He quotes from it without naming the text in connection with the nature of the planets vis-a-vis the zodiacal signs, *viz.*, the habitual force (*sthāna-bala*), the lateral force (*dṛṣṭi-bala* or *dṛg-bala*), the conquering force (*ceṣṭā-bala*), the temporal power (*kāla-bala*) and their natural forces (*naisargika-bala*). These citations are from *LJ*, II. 5-8 and 11 (II. 225-227). *LJ*, VI. 1-2, is quoted, again without naming, in connection with the three species of years of life bestowed by single planets (*āyurdāya*, II. 227-228). In connection with certain methods of the computation of the duration of human life in relation to the position of the planets at the time of one's birth peculiar to the Hindus, we find citations from *LJ*, III. 3-4 and IV. 5-6, again anonymously (II. 232-233). And lastly (II. 233-234), in the context of the coming of the spirit of life in a human being from the dominant of the *drekkāṇa* of the stronger planet of either sun or moon and the departure of the soul after the death, *LJ*, XII. 3-4, are quoted anonymously.

However, the most extensively quoted work is the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* which was the only *Saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira known to Alberuni and which he naturally refers to only as *Saṁhiiā*. The reason for this frequency of citations lies in its most varied contents and the wide variety of subjects covered by Alberuni in his *Kitab-ul-Hind* coupled with his familiarity with the work as he had rendered it into Arabic.

There is a citation attributed to the *Saṁhitā* in connection with pilgrimage which cannot be traced to the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* (*BS*). We are told that 'the *Saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira relates that in Tāneshar (*viz.*, Sthāṇvīśvara) there is a pond which the Hindus visit from afar to bathe in its water. Regarding the cause of this custom they relate the following: The waters of all other holy ponds visit this particular pond at the time of an eclipse. Therefore, if a man washes in it, it is as if he had washed in every single one of all of them. Then Varāhamihira continues: "People say, if it were not the head (apsis) which causes the eclipse of the sun and moon, the other ponds would not visit pond"' (II. 145). Its non-availability in the extant text of the *BS* would either mean that the work has not come down to us in full form[31] or that its attribution to the *Saṁhitā* was due to Alberuni's confusion, the latter being more likely.

At I. 23, Alberuni quotes *BS*, II. 4, without naming it explicitly, to illustrate the comparative broadmindedness of the ancient Indians as compared to the narrow-mindedness of the Indians during his own time. This stanza is quite appropriate an illustration as it extols the Greeks' proficiency in astronomy-astrology. *BS*, III. 13-15, regarding the evil effects of *tāmasa-kīlakas* or comets, without naming the text, are quoted (I. 54). At I. 117-121 certain verses of *BS*, chapters LVII and LIX are anonymously cited in connection with iconometry, iconography, materials for fabricating images and persons specially appropriate for installation of idols. Of the iconometric portion of Ch. LVII only verse 30 dealing with Dāśarathi Rāma and Bali is quoted. Of the rest of this chapter verses are quoted with an admixture of Utpala's commentary, and in certain cases the stanzas are erroneously translated. At I. 121, we find some reference to metallic images and the benefits they bestow on the donor, but it cannot be traced. Of Ch. LIX, only verse 19 describing people particularly suited for the installation of the images of various gods and goddesses has been quoted with slight difference (I. 121). On the linear measurements *BS*, LVII. 1-2, are quoted in a tabular form anonymously and with some difference (I. 162). The measures of dry substances given by him at I. 162 do not agree with anything in the *BS*, but the measurements of capacity tabulated by him (I. 162) are partially in agreement with *BS*.[32] Cubic measures given at I. 164 generally agree with *BS*, XXIII. 2, though they are slightly differently quoted. Table of measures of distance quoted at I. 166, though somewhat in agreement with *BS*, is again erroneous. The quotation at I. 167 about the *aṅgula* of the idol is in partial agreement with *BS*, LVII. 27-28. Alberuni (I. 296-297) has explained correctly in a tabular form Ch. XIV of the *BS* dealing with the allotment of various directions to various asterisms (*nakṣatra-kūrma-vibhāga* or *kūrma-cakra*), and I. 300-303 give the list of the various regions falling in various directions on the basis of this chapter, though somewhat differently. The account of creation in *BS*, I. 6-7, is cited in I. 320-321, with the difference that Kaṇabhuk (=Kaṇāda) has been corrupted into Kumbhaka. At I. 366, Alberuni speaks of Varāhamihira's view on *saṁdhi* (*sandhyā*) as different from 'the opinion of the crowd'. This is obviously an allusion to *BS*, XXX. 1-2. Alberuni's translation of *BS*, XIII. 1-6, on the constellation of the Great Bear (*saptarṣi-cāra*) is cited at I. 389-390, but verse 4 is wrongly quoted. This stanza actually states that the Great Bear remains in each lunar station (*nakṣatra*) for 100 years, whereas Alberuni has turned 100 into 600. At I. 391-393, this position is contrasted with the Kashmirian calendar and the opinion of Vitteśvara. *BS*, IV. 1-3 on the movement of the moon (*candra-cāra*) is cited at II. 66-67, and IV. 7 regarding the precession of equinoxes is quoted critically at II. 86. II. 88-89 quotes and criticises the position taken by Varāhamihira in *BS*, III. 1-3, regarding sun's being in the southern and northern solstices, to illustrate the scantiness of the knowledge of the Hindus regarding the motion of the fixed stars. At II. 92-95, we find *BS*, XII. 1-18, regarding the ceremonies performed on the heliacal rising of the various stars including the Canopus or Agastya. Similarly, at II. 96-100, *BS*, XXIV. 1-37, on Rohiṇī, XXV. 1, on Svāti and Śravaṇa, and XXVI. 1-12, on Āṣāḍhī-yoga are found quoted. The construction and measurements of the different parts of the *liṅga* as described in *BS*, LVII. 53-55, are cited almost correctly at II. 103-104. *BS*, V. 1-15 dealing with solar and lunar eclipses are critically quoted at II. 107-110. It is added that some of his statements are due to his siding with the Brahmins, to whom he belonged, and from whom he could not separate himself, this being obviously an allusion to some of the earlier views on the causes the eclipses and the ceremonies performed on their occurrence (II. 110). In fact, Varāhamihira, who was aware of the scientific reasons for the solar and lunar eclipses (*BS*, V. 8. *Cf.* also V. 4-7, 9-13), himself criticises earlier unscientific views in the following stanzas (V. 16ff.) as Alberuni also knew as can be inferred from II. 113-14. Alberuni (II. 115-117) quotes in a tabular form *BS*, V. 19-23, on *parvan* or the period of time at the beginning and end of which there occur lunar eclipses and, in further prose passages, he cites subsequent stanzas (23 b-25, also *cf.* V. 4-5; III. 6) and adds that 'what Varāhamihira says of the astrological portents of the *parvans* does not well suit his deep learning' (II. 116) and 'stranger still is the following remark of his' (with reference to *BS*, V. 24-25), and, with reference to *BS*, V. 4-5, 'similar to this (above) is what he says in another passage' (II. 117). In fact, all this criticism is unfounded as Varāhamihira is here referring to earlier authorities with whom he did not find himself in agreement. Ch. VIII of the *BS* forms one of the bases of the account of *Ṣaṣṭyabda* or sixty-year cycle of Jupiter found at II. 123-129. At II. 192, we seem to have a general reference to *BS*, XLV, elaborately listing *utpātas* or unnatural phenomena.[33] An account of the comets based on *BS*, III. 7-12 and XI. 1-7, 42 and 62, is found cited, fairly correctly, at II. 234-240.[34]

The foregoing discussion should suffice to show that Alberuni was fairly well acquainted with Varāhamihira's works on Jātaka and Saṁhitā, and that his knowledge of Indian astrology was primarily based on his study of these texts. However, as we have seen above, there are some defects and shortcomings in his citations from these works. These seem to be primarily due to his inadequate knowledge of Sanskrit, defective manuscript tradition often resulting into incorporation of some exogenous matter, communication gap between him and his Indian Pandits, incorporation of some commentarial material, and his anxiety to make the subject intelligible to his Arabic readers which compelled him to make use of some other matter and deviate from the original. All the same his account is of great value for any student of Varāhamihira.

Notes and References

1. The name should really be spelt as Al-Bīrūnī, but following the common practice we have adopted the more popular spelling in these pages. Diacritical marks have generally not been used with Arabic names.

2. I. 116: II. 2, 13, 103. The references are to the *Alberuni's India* translated with an introduction by E. Sachau, in two volumes, London, 1910. The Roman figures refer to vol. no. and the Arabic ones to page numbers. Thus, I. 116 = Volume I, p. 116.
3. Its Arabic name is *Alkānūm Almasūdī*. Translated into English by E. Sachau, London, 1987.
4. *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, translator's Perface, p. xxxv: II. 55.
5. Much of it is based on E. Sachau's Preface to his translation.
6. Translated into English under the title *Alberuni's India*, 2 vols., London, 1910.
7. *Ibid.*, Preface, p. xxiii; I. 7. In his own words the purpose was to equip 'any one (in Islam) who wants to converse with the Hindus, and to discuss with them questions of religion, science, or literature, on the very basis of their own civilisation' (II. 246).
8. The translated texts include a work on the Sāṅkhya system of Kapila and the *Book of Patañjali* (*Yoga-sūtra*) the *Khaṇḍa-Khādyaka* and the *Brāhma-sphuṭa-siddhānta* of Brahmagupta the *Pulisa-siddhānta*, the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* and the *Laghu-jātaka* of Varāhamihira and a Sanskrit treatise on loathsome diseases. Of these he had undertaken but not yet completed the translation of Brahmagupta's works before the composition of his *Indica*. See *ibid.*, Preface, p. xxxviii and I. 154, 158, 389; II. 208, 277.
9. These works included the following:
   (1) A treatise on various systems of numeration, as used by different nations, probably including those relating the Indian subjects. I. 174.
   (2) A book called *Key of Astronomy*, on the question whether the sun rotates round the earth or *vice versa*. I. 277. It may be reasonably supposed that the book also dealt with the Indian notions on the subject.
   (3) A treatise on the determination of the lunar stations or *nakṣatras*. II. 83.
   (4) A treatise containing an account of the *Karaṇas*, the title whereof is left unmentioned. II. 194.
   (5) A treatise known as *The Arabic Khaṇḍa-khādyaka* containing an account of the *Yoga* theory. II. 208.
   (6) *The Khayāl-alkusūfaini*, which contained an account of the *Yoga* theory besides other matters. *Ibid.*
   (7) Several publications on the different methods for the computation of geographical longitude, which must have included ancient Indian methods. I. 315.

   He also composed some treatise(s) for the Hindus of Kashmir (Preface to the edition of the text, by E. Sachau, p. xx) where the Muslims had no access (I. 206).
10. Alberuni's references to the Purāṇtc (B.N. Mukherjee, "A Critical examination of Alberuni's charges against the copyists of the Purāṇas", *IHQ*, xxxv, pp. 132-138) and Vedic (Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Alberūnī aura Veda", *Viśva-jyoti*, April-May, 1972, pp. 141-145) literature have received some attention. We have taken a cursory survey of "Sanskritic Sources of Alberuni" in a paper published in the *JIH*, LII, pp. 327-360).
11. Not to mention others, even E. Sachau, who has earned the gratitude of all students of Indology for his pioneering work on Alberuni, has listed only a few of the works consulted by Alberuni. *Vide* E. Sachau, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, Preface, pp. xxxix-xl.
12. He is accused of lending his support to imposture and shirking from the truth (II. 110).
13. Sometimes the passages in question do not represent Brahmagupta's own view but the opinions of earlier writers quoted by him (*pūrva-śāstr-ānusāreṇa*). See *ibid* , Vol. II, annotations, pp. 263 and 389.
14. II. 110. As stated in the previous note, this accusation was born of Alberuni's misunderstanding.
15. H. Kern's edition of the *BS*, Introduction, p. 4; B.N. Mukherji, "The Date of Varāhamihira's Birth", *JASB*, VIII (1912), pp. 275-278.

16 *Literary Remains of Dr. Bhau Daji*, pp. 240-241; G. Thibaut, *Pañca-siddhāntikā*, Introduction, p. xxxviii. This thing is based on the fact that this year is mentioned in connection with the *Romaka-siddhānta*.

17. Alberuni invariably refers to the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* by the name *Saṁhitā* which is quoted very frequently.

18. The title of this text is missing.

18a. Varāhamihira's both the texts on *jātaka*, *viz.*, the *Bṛhaj-jātaka* and *Laghu-jātaka*, were already available in Arabic translations from the days of early Abbasid rule (see E. Sachau, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, Preface, p. xxxvii), but either Alberuni was unaware of them or chose to translate the shorter version because he did not find the earlier translation satisfactory.

19. Strangely enough, a few manuscripts of this work are actually, though wrongly, attributed to Varāhamihira (V.W. Karambelkar, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Nagpur University Library*, No. 2335; W. Taylor, *Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts in the College Fort St. George*, p. 317) and described as a supplement to the *Bṛhaj-jātaka* (*ibid.*, p. 79, No. 2075) or the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* (R.L. Mitra, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the Maharaja of Bikaner*, Calcutta, 1880, p. 337), while others are attributed to Bhaṭṭotpala (Karambelkar, *op.cit.*. Nos. 2356-2339, 2341) or Dāmodara Daivajña (*ibid.*, No. 2340). It is also referred to as *Ṣaṭpañcaśatī* (Taylor, *op.cit.*, No. 2075), which is a misnomer. It was also known as *Praśna-mahodadhi* and ascribed to Pṛthuyaśas who, is, however, wrongly described as the son of Bhaṭṭotpala (*Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library*, Madras, No. 13954, 13957, 13959).

20. He is also not named as an authority Vāstuvidyā (architecture) by subsequent writers on the subject. Even Utpala does not refer to any work on architecture by Varāhamihira.

21. References are to Sudhakara Dvivedi's edition with Utpala's gloss.

22. For one such manuscript, see *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Private Libraries of South India*, p. 206, No. 2959. Independent manuscripts of Ch. LIII of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* dealing with water-divining have also been reported.

23. First nine chapters have been edited by H. Kern, while the entire text is published by J.L. Shastri.

24. Edited by V.R. Pandit, *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. XX, Part II (September, 1957), pp. 40-63. As pointed out by Pandit, it appears to be an abbreviated version of the *Bṛhad-yātrā*. The title of this text is variously given in the manuscripts, *viz.*, *Dikkini*, *Ṭikanika*, *Ṭikkaṇi*, *Ṭikani*, *Ṭikkanikā*, *Ḍhikanika*, etc., and Utpala's commentary on the *Yoga-yātrā* also spells it variously. Being most popularly found in the manuscript tradition and Utpala's commentary, *Ṭikanika* appears to be conjectured to have been derived from the root *Ṭika* or *Ṭīka*, to move, to run, to jump, etc. See *ibid.*, p. 41.

25. Consisting of 97 stanzas, the text still remains unpublished. See V.R. Pandit, *The Three Yātrā Works of Varāhamihira with their Critical Editions and a Brief History of the Development of Jyotishaśāstra from the Early Vedic Times to the Period of Varāhamihira*, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis submitted to the University of Bombay, 1952.

26. It has been recently edited by David Pingree in the *Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*, Madras, Vol. XX, 1972, pp. 1-130. V.R. Pandit's edition, which is much better and was submitted to the University of Bombay as early as 1952, still remains unpublished. We have consulted the latter edition.

27. Obviously Alberuni was not aware of the original *Brāhma* or *Paitāmaha Siddhānta* epitomised by Varāhamihira in his *Pañca-siddhāntikā* which was no longer extant in his time and had been replaced almost completely by Brahmagupta's *Brāhma-sphuṭa-siddhānta*.

28. This *Paitāmaha Siddhānta*, which was obviously different from the *Brāhma Siddhānta* or

Brāhma-sphuṭa-siddhānta of Brahmagupta, probably represented the original work of this name summarised by Varāhamihira.

29. For a discussion about the five Siddhāntas known to Varāhamihira, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, *India as seen in the Bṛhat-saṁhitā of Varāhamihira*, Delhi, 1969, Ch. VIII.

30. At I. 272, Varāhamihira's view regarding the law of gravitation is quoted, and we are told at the end that 'the earth attracts that which is upon her, for it is the *below* towards all directions, and heaven is the *above* towards all directions'. At II. 70, his opinion regarding sun's distance from the earth is cited. Both these could have belonged only to *PS* among Varāhamihira's writings. But we are unable to trace them.

31. It is not impossible in view of the very nature of the manuscript tradition in India which often resulted in the accretion and deletion of certain portions. In some cases quotations from other texts were inserted, and it is not unlikely that some copyist inserted some passages from a *sthala-māhātmya*.

32. See our *India as seen in the Bṛhat-saṁhitā of Varāhamihira*, p. 342.

33. Also *cf. BS*, III. 9-10, which also contain some allusions to *utpātas*.

34. Varāhamihira's opinion is also quoted regarding unlucky *yogas* (II. 208) and the duration of *gaṇḍānta* (II. 209), but without any mention of the work from which it was taken. Perhaps it may refer to his astronomical treatise as known to him.

30

Some Observations on the Social Content in the Art of Early Medieval Bengal

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ASOK K. BHATTACHARYA

Art is a major source of human history, and this can be said about all the civilizations irrespective of their time and place, though, of course, with varying emphasis. To a primitive man, as we know, art had a magic significance connected with his hunting feat ; and we find in it a graphic testimony to his hard struggle for existence in the face of opposing natural forces. In the higher stages of human civilization, as noted in pre-historic, ancient and medieval periods, the chief role of art was to provide icons for his religious practices mostly to tame the nature and in times to gain super-natural power to overcome the enemy. But the growth of civilization, mainly based on man's capacity to produce economic surplus, saw the emergence of a society which was no more egalitarian but divided into classes, some people having control over the means of production and the produced, while the other having almost no say on them. In a class-based society, thus evolved, standard of living varied amongst its members, and the art produced in such a society could not remain uniform any more. The real unity of man as witnessed in primitive life, was destroyed with the growth of material wealth, and consequently the single social approach to art, as found in the art of the primitives, was replaced by a pluralistic approach reflecting the economic means as well as the psychology of the people of different social strata. The early medieval art of Bengal, so far known from the archaeological discoveries of the last one hundred years, is no exception to the overall development of universal art; and when studied from a sociological viewpoint reveals certain facts which may serve in a great way in writing a social history of the Bengali people.

Though two succeeding periods in history usually overlap each other, and it is extremely hazardous to try to draw a border-line in between them, in the context of Indian history by early medieval the historians generally understand a period stretching from about the middle of the eighth to the end of the twelfth century A.D. It was a period of transition not only in political arena, but also in the social, religious and artistic spheres of life. But before entering into a discussion on the nature and extent of changes in the style and content of the art of the period, we must sort out certain problems that often baffle a scholar in the area.

For example, the geographical limit of Bengal was in those days of political turmoils anything but fixed. The changing fortunes of the Pāla and the Sena rulers, whose supremacy in the region was extremely significant both from political and cultural viewpoints, saw expansion and contraction of their kingdom known as Bengal. In her hey days Bengal's western border reached eastern Uttar Pradesh covering Varanasi. But usually her area was comprised of West Bengal, Bangladesh, major parts of Bihar and the lower segment of Assam of the present times. Notwithstanding the political reverses, Bengal as a cultural unit corresponded more or less with this area throughout the four hundred years of early medieval period.

In spite of meagre archaeological efforts so far made, the art objects discovered from the region and attributable to the period of discussion are quite impressive both in quantity and quality. Most significant among the discoveries are no doubt the remnants of Buddhist architectural complexes at Paharpur and Mainamati in Bangladesh, Bangarh, Berachampa and Rangamati in West Bengal, and Nalanda in Bihar. In recent times a number of Buddhist sites have come to light of which most important is the Vikramaśilā Mahāvihāra in the Bhagalpur district of Bihar, while a *stūpa*-base unearthed at Bharatpur in the Burdwan district of West Bengal is also noteworthy. Exciting reports are also coming from Vallaladipi, an ancient mound in the Nadia district of West Bengal, where a great Brahmanical shrine is expected to be uncovered. Although the study of early medieval art and architecture of Bengal depends much on the infrastructure provided by these archaeological sites yielding stone, stucco, metal and terracotta figures, besides the structure bases, there are also other stray spots wherefrom a large number of stone and metal images have come to surface. When taken together the stone and metal images of the Buddhist, Jaina and Brahmanical gods and goddesses form the main bulk of the art of early medieval Bengal. From aesthetic viewpoint, too, in them is witnessed the excellence attained by the artist of Bengal during the period. The manuscript paintings, mostly executed under the Pālas to illuminate Buddhist texts, are equally significant from the artistic consideration, conceptually being inseparable from the contemporary carved images. In comparison the stucco works, though sometimes delineated with a remarkable sensitivity, are of less significance. While all these objects of art are expressions in general of the community belonging to the higher order of the society, the most of the terracotta figures, coming chiefly from the above stated Buddhist sites, represent the psychology of the ordinary man.

From the above account it would be possible to have some idea about the vastness and variedness of the early medieval art of Bengal. But in actuality these findings only form a part of the archaeological materials most of which are still lying under the earth awaiting the archacologist's spade. It is understandable, therefore, that any study on the art of the period—aesthetic, iconographical or sociological—made on the basis of the available material would be inconclusive and subject to modification in a time when most of the art objects now hidden underground, would come to the surface. Even of the objects already discovered a considerable part of them is inaccessible to the scholars, because many of them are stored in the museums for years without being scientifically stratified and properly documented. A number of private collectors have also cornered some of the best specimens of the Bengal art of our period. It is, however, a matter of gratification that in spite of these limitations the scholars of earlier generations made significant contributions to the study of Bengal art, as available to them. Most of them, namely, A.K. Maitra, K.N. Dikshit, N.K. Bhattasali, R.P. Chanda, R.D. Banerjee, J.N. Banerjea and others, engaged their energy chiefly in identifying the stone and metal images as icons. J.C. French, Stella Kramrisch, S.K. Saraswati, K.K. Ganguli and Niharranjan Ray studied the art from the stylistic viewpoint.

Niharranjan Ray is possibly the first scholar to study the early medieval art as one of the sources of social history of the period. After a graphic description of the terracotta plaques found at Paharpur he remarks: "The essential nature of the terracotta art of Paharpur is wholly popular, and it derives its inspiration from the mind and imagination of the simple village folk. That it draws directly from the daily life of the people is evident from the intense human interest taken by the artists of these plaques in all created objects of nature, in all stages of rest and movement, in all expressions of emotion and in all possible and impossible situation. Their mind seems to roam from one to the other end of their daily world of emotional and intellectual experience.

"More than any other tradition or school in Indian art, these plaques give us a true insight into the real social life of the people of Bengal in those days. We can visualise through them how the common people lived their lives away from the courts and aristocratic environments, and we can catch a glimpse of the social and thought-content of the ordinary men."[1] The theme appears to have been further elaborated by Shahanena Hussain of Bangladesh in her *Everyday life in the Pāla Empire*,[2] drawing her material mainly from the terracottas belonging to Mahasthan, Mainamati and Nalanda sites. She describes with a meticulous care the dresses of men, women and children of different social groups. The ornaments adorned by the rich and the poor, the instruments played on by the musicians and the weapons wielded by the soldiers find equal importance in her work. In a sense. some progress has already been made in the direction of obtaining a clear picture of the everyday life of the early medieval people as lived in Bengal from the art evidence. But for a fuller story this evidence of art should be compared with the information found in the contemporary literature; and to have a grasp of the mental attitude of the rural folk a careful utilization of the folk art and literature still current in some remote corners of the region is imperative.

It is, however, undeniable that the best artistic expression of the period is found in the worshipable images carved in stone and cast in metal. They met in those days the religious need of the people of the higher socio-economic order. In them the socially aware art historians have so far failed to see any social content and therefore they have branded them as "heiratic religious art". But of late a section of Marxist-Leninist interpreters of art and aesthetics are attaching much importance to icons of the olden days, as because in them certain human ideas of the past, though subjective in nature but not totally divorced from the aspiration of the society at large, are found in crystallized symbolic forms. Hence, as says Y. Bassin, "Creation of a general theory of icon has acquired special significance in connection with the solution of the problem of recognizing icons by technical devices (perceptions) as well as of a whole range of problems in engineering psychology. Aesthetics, too, is conscious of the need for special examination of the concept of 'an icon'."[3]

With the help of Lenin's 'Theory of Reflection' and the gnosiological concept implied therein an advanced Marxist, working in the field of art and aesthetics, now moves ahead—with such modern apparatuses of scientific knowledge as ontology, semiotics, psycho-physiological bionics, and so on—to define icons and to analyse the metaphysical ideas of man of the past, and possibly also of the present, as recognized embedded in them. In view of such new direction of Marxist approach to art and iconography, it is hoped, the highly canonised Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina icons, so remarkable both for quantity and quality in the art of early medieval Bengal, would no more be left outside the purview of a socially conscious critic of art. For such a critic should not confine his study only to obvious, but he should also move to areas which would demand scientific speculations, too.

Notes and References

1. *History of Bengal* (Vol. I), ed. by R.C. Majumdar, Dacca, 1943, pp. 527-28.
2. Published by the Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca, 1968.
3. *Marxist-Leninist Aesthetics and Life*, ed. by I. Kulikov and A. Zis, Moscow, 1936, p. 120.

31

New Light on the dating of Mahisantosh Image of the Sun-God

GOURISWAR BHATTACHARYA

While editing the inscription on the image of the Sun-god from Mahisantosh, Dinajpur, West Bengal, Mukherji 1967: 44 comments, "The most important image inscription in the Collection of the State Archaeological Gallery, West Bengal, which throws a welcome light on the political history of the 9th century Bengal,[1] comes from Mahisantosh in the district of Dinajpur. This inscribed image was presented by the *Prāchya Bhāratī* of Balurghat to the State Archaeological Gallery, West Bengal in 1962. The inscription on the pedestal of of an image of Sūrya records the carving and subsequent dedication of the same to the Sun-god by a certain Loka Nandi in the 15th regnal year of King Mahendrapāla I of the Gurjjara-Pratihāras" (*Plate* 31.1).[2]

Mukherji further comments (p. 45), "The pedestal inscription is important for the study of foreign dominance over north Bengal in the 9th-10th century A.D.".

Mukherjee dates the Mahisantosh image inscription in 905 A.D.[3]

The late lamented renowned Epigraphist Dr. D.C. Sircar re-edited the same inscription in 1968.[4]

On the inscription and date of the image Sircar 1968: 205 comments, "The main inscription in two lines covers an area of about 14″×1½″ and an akshara is about ½″×½″ in size. The *characters* belong to the East Indian Alphabet of the ninth and tenth century A.D. and internal evidence would suggest that the record is dated in the year 15, the seventh tithi of the month of Mārga (Mārgaśirsha), during the victorious reign of the illustrious Mahendrapāladeva... King Mahendrapāla of the record is undoubtedly the Gurjara-Pratihāra monarch of that name, who ruled in *c.* 885-908 A.D."

On the presence of an image, dedicated during the rule of the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler in North Bengal where the Pālas were ruling at the time in question Sircar comments (p. 207), "And the great might of the Gurjara-Pratihāras was exhibited by Bhoja's son Mahendrapāla I (*c.* 885-908 A.D.) who occupied considerable parts of Bihar and Bengal from Nārāyaṇapāla (*c.* 885-910 A.D.), the grandson of Devapāla's brother, between the 17th and 54th year of the Pāla king's reign. As we have seen above, Mahendrapāla is now found to have been in occupation of wide regions of Bihar and Bengal at least from his 2nd to his 15th regnal year. The success of Mahendrapāla must have made Nārāyaṇapāla's position precarious as the lord of Bengal and Bihar. During the period in question, the Pāla king may have been ruling over a small part of Bengal or Bihar either as an independent monarch fighting with the Gurjara-Pratihāras or as a subordinate ally of Mahendrapāla. He seems to have succeeded in recovering his lost positions after Mahendrapāla's death when his sons, Bhoja II and Mahīpāla I, were probably involved in a civil war and fighting for the Gurjara-Pratihāra throne. It is not improbable that Nārāyaṇapāla utilised the opportunity by siding with one of the two rivals."

A list of image inscriptions dated in the reign of Mahendrapāla over Magadha (South Bihar) and Varendra (North Bengal) has been given by Sircar in the following way: "Till now, Mahendrapāla's occupation of South Bihar was known from his (1) British Museum inscription of year 2, (2) Biharsharif (Patna District) Buddha image inscription of year 4, (3) British Museum inscription of year 6 or 9, (4) Ramgaya (Gaya District) Daśāvatāra panel inscription of year 8, (5) Gunariya (Gaya District) inscription of year 9, (6) Biharsharif inscription of a doubtful date, while his rule over North Bengal was indicated by the Paharpur (Rajshahi District) inscription of year 5. The importance of the epigraph under studies lies in the fact that it definitely suggests the continued hold of the Gurjara-Pratihāra monarch over wide areas of Bihar and Bengal as late as the fifteenth year of his reign, i.e. down to about 900 A.D." (p. 205).[5]

But the invisible mighty goddess who dominates over the fate of the past Indian ruling houses surely was amused at this conclusion of the noted Indian historian and all others who contributed to this view.[6] It is very unfortunate that Dr. D.C. Sircar, the most competent and serious historian of the Pāla dynasty of Bihar-Bengal did not survive to witness the significant discovery of a new charter belonging to the *Pāla* ruler Mahendrapāla, who has been all these days wrongly identified as the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler Mahendrapāla (I). But before we go to discuss the importance of this new discovery we wish to describe the image of Sun-god from Mahisantosh itself.

There is no doubt that this is a unique image of the deity (see *Plate* 31.1). Hundreds of images of the Sun-God were produced in Bihar-Bengal[7] during the Pāla period (8th-12th century), but none of them is iconographically similar to this image. There were two types of the image of Sun-god: (1) in most of the cases the full figure of the deity is shown, but (2) in several cases he is shown only upto his knees. The Mahisantosh image belongs to the second type. This second type is a consequent development of the earlier Bodhgaya type where the Sun-god is shown driving a horse-chariot (Quadriga of Greek origin) and he is visible only upto his waist.[8]

The Mahisantosh image is shown upto the knees of the deity. This type of the Sun-God is not to be seen after the 10th century A.D.[9] Unfortunately as the upper right portion of the back-plate has been broken away we are not sure whether it was oval-shaped or not, but most probably it was. The central figure has been hollowed out on both sides below the elbows. The deity wears a *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* and a diadem, on both sides flutters the band of the diadem. He has two types of ear-rings, a fact which is a sign of earliness of the Pāla sculptures. He wears a scarf-like *varma*, a broad necklace and a sacred thread made of pearls (*muktāhāra-yajñopavīta*). A dolch is fixed at the proper right inside the girdle.[10] Most probably he wears a skirt and not a *dhotī*. In each of his hands he holds a full-blown lotus with buds. What is very special and interesting in this case is that each of the eight petals (*aṣṭa-dala*) of each lotus is engraved with a letter (*Plates* 31.2 and 31.3).[11] The significance of this engraving is not easy to explain here. The nose of the deity is damaged, the eyes are in meditative gesture. An ornamental element hangs down from the diadem on the forehead of the deity. This element does not appear in any image of the Sun-god from Bihar-Bengal. Behind the head of the deity there is a *śiraścakra* besides the *prabhāmaṇḍala* surrounding the back-plate. The charioteer Aruṇa sits on the *makara*-head of the *pañca-ratha* type chariot. The *makara*-head chariots were quite common in the pre-Pāla and Pāla time of Bengal, or even later. But Aruṇa is shown with full legs, which is against the convention. To the proper right of the Sun-god stands the pot-bellied Piṅgala with inkpot and pen and to the proper left Daṇḍa or Daṇḍin holding a club. The two female arrow-shooters, generally called Uṣā and Pratyuṣā,[12] squat on the ground holding bow and arrow. All these figures have a halo around them. But no wife of the Sun-god has been illustrated in this case. The most interesting no doubt, but at the same time puzzling, are the two figures on top, to the left and right of the deity. The proper right one, looking like a male figure, stands on a tortoise (*kūrma*), the figure holds an object which does not look like a *kalaśa*. The figure at the proper left is missing, only the *vāhana*, perhaps *makara*, can be seen and in that case the missing figure may be Gaṅgā. Hence the figure at the proper right may be Yamunā. It is not impossible that the two River-goddesses, Gaṅgā and Yamunā, accompany the Sun-god. But their position is changed here, actually Gaṅgā should be at the proper right of the deity and Yamunā at the proper left. As we are not sure of the identification of these two accompanying figures, we will be thankful to the scholar, who will identify them definitely.[13]

A seated figure with folded hands is shown on the pedestal. It may be the figure of Lokanandin himself, the donor of the image in question, although there is a halo behind his head. The seven horses are drawn with full vigour in the recess of the chariot, the central horse against the wheel and below the horses is engraved the inscription but in a very clumsy way. The modelling of the relief is not clear and sharp as in other cases and there is a some sort of heaviness all over the sculpture. Even the *makara*-head is very clumsy. Nevertheless, iconographically this is the most interesting image of the Pāla period. With this image one should compare the Deora (Bogra Dist., Bangladesh) image of the Sun-god which is preserved in the Varendra Research Museum of Rajshahi (*Plate* 31.4).[14] The Deora image is earlier and belongs to *c*. 8th century.[15]

Mukherji 1967: 44 reads and translates the text of the inscription in the following way:

1. *Oṁ* (/) Samvat 15 Mārgga-Śukla-Saptamyāḥ Śrī Mahendrapāladeva vījayarājye Vishṇu na-
2. ndi naptā Gañjja nandi Sunū Lokanandinā Ādityabhaṭṭārakaḥ kāritaḥ (/) Iti Khanaka Vidu (dyu) ta (//)

Tr. Hail (Ye Lord). On the seventh day of the bright half of the month of Mārgaśīrsha, i.e. Agrahāyaṇa, (appertaining to) the fifteenth victorious regnal year of (king) Śrī Mahendrapāladeva, (an) image of Lord Āditya (Sūrya) was carved or done by one Loka Nandi, grandson of Vishṇu Nandi, and son of Gañjja Nandi. Thus, (says) the engraver Vidyuta.[16]

Sircar 1968: 208 reads the text of the same inscription as:

1. Siddham // Sasvat 15 Mārgga-śukla-saptamyāṃ śrī-Mahendhra (ndra)-pāladeva-vī (vi) jaya-rājye Vishṇu-
2. nandi-naptā (ptrā) Gaṅganandi-sunū-Lokanandinā Āditya-bhaṭṭārakaḥ karita iti //* Gana(ṇa)ka-Vi sa jara.

Sircar comments (p. 205), "The inscription records that the Āditya-bhaṭṭāraka, i.e. the image of the Sun-god bearing the epigraph, was caused to be made by a person named Lokanandin who was the son (*sūnu*) of Gaṅganandin and the grandson (*naptṛi*) of Vishṇunandin. About seven *aksharas* at the end of line 2 appear to mention Gaṇaka (accountant or astrologer) whose name began with the *akshara vī* (probably Vīsajara=Vishajvarə). The traces of the *aksharas* about the middle of the pedestal are unfortunately not of any help to us. The said person was probably responsible for writing or engraving the document."[17]

According to both Mukherji and Sircar the Mahendrapāla of the Mahīsantosh image is the Gūrjara-Pratihāra ruler, Mahendrapāla (I), and while Mukherji dates the image in 905 A.D., Sircar had put the date in 900 A.D.

Sircar finalized the chronology of the Pāla dynasty upto Nārāyaṇapāla in the following way:

1. Gopāla (I)—*c.* 750-775
2. Dharmapāla—*c.* 775-810
3. Devapāla—*c.* 810-847
4. Śūrapāla (I)—847-860

Vākpāla
Jayapāla

5. Vigrahapāla (I)—*c.* 860-861
6. Nārāyaṇapāla—*c.* 861-917[18]

Because of the presence of several inscribed sculptures, both Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical, recording the regnal years of the ruler Mahendrapāla, the contemporary Gūrjara-Pratihāra ruler (885-908 A.D.) of Nārāyaṇapāla, and because of the absence of any document of Nārāyaṇapāla between his Bhagalpur copper-plate grant of his 17th regnal year and the Bihar Sharif metal Pārvatī image of his 54th regnal year, historians concluded that Nārāyaṇapāla was defeated and ousted from Magadha (South Bihar) and Varendra (North Bengal) by the Pratihāra Mahendrapāla (I). There was no evidence for the scholars to disagree with this conclusion. But in the early and medieval chronology of Indian History it is quite difficult to draw the final conclusion.

On March 13, 1987 a large copper-plate grant, 52.2×37.1 cm, was discovered by chance by a resident of the hamlet Jagajjibanpur of the Habibpur Police Station in the Malda District of West Bengal. The copper-plate grant is written in the *Siddhamātṛikā* script and the language is Sanskrit. It is written on both sides containing 73 lines. A circular seal measuring 19×21.8 cm, attached to the plate, has in the upper half the so-called Sarnath symbol, which was the royal insignia of the Pāla rulers, and the name of the issuing ruler given as *Śrī-Mahendrapāladevaḥ* is written in the lower half (*Plate* 31.5).[19] That the ruler belonged to a Buddhist dynasty is proved beyond doubt. This important plate is preserved now at the Malda Museum.[20]

The Jagajjibanpur copper-plate unambiguously declares for the first time in the medieval history of Bihar-Bengal that Mahendrapāla was a Pāla ruler, being the son of famous Devapāla and his queen, Māhaṭā, the daughter of Durlabharāja. He followed his father Devapāla to the throne. The record is dated in the 7th regnal year of the monarch. The text of the grant portion of the record runs like this: *Kuddālakhātaka-śrīmaj-jayaskandhāvārāt Paramasaugata-Parameśvara-Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Devapāla-pādānudhyātaḥ Paramasaugataḥ Parameśvaraḥ Paramabhaṭṭārako Mahārājādhirājaḥ śrīmān Mahendrapāladevaḥ kuśalī* (lines 28-30).

King Śūrapāla (I) was his younger brother (I. 54). Śūrapāla was also born of Devapāla and his queen Māhaṭā. See the Mirzapur copper-plate grant of the 3rd regnal year of Śūrapāla (I), verse 17.[21] Now for the first time, in the chronology of the Pāla dynasty we have to make a great change. *The Jagajjibanpur copper-plate grant finally discards the myth of the presence of Pratihāra Mahendrapāla (I) in South Bihar and North Bengal* and *saves the unfortunate Pāla ruler Nārāyaṇa pāla from an inglorious situation.* Nārāyaṇapāla ruled at least for 54 years without any break, although the period is unusually long for an Indian monarch. Anyway, we have to modify now the genealogy of the early Pāla rulers in the following order:

1. Gopāla (I)
2. Dharmapāla — Vākpāla
3. Devapāla — Jayapāla
4. Mahendrapāla — 5. Śūrapāla (I) — 6. Vigrahapāla (I)
7. Nārāyaṇapāla[22]

Now the problem is when did actually Mahendrapāla rule? If Devapāla had ruled from *c.* 810-847 A.D. as Sircar has formulated, then in that case Mahendrapāla must have ruled at least from 847 to 862 A.D. and consequently Śūrapāla (I) ruled from 862 to 875 A.D. If Vigrahapāla (I) had ruled for an insignificant period of 1 or 2 years then Nārāyaṇapāla, who had a very long ruling period, i.e. at least for 54 years, must have ruled from 876 to 930 A.D., and in that case king Mahendrapāla (I) of the Gūrjara-Pratihāra dynasty was an early contemporary of the Pāla ruler Nārāyaṇapāla, Nārāyaṇapāla's son, Rājyapāla and grandson, Gopāla (II), both ruled for a considerable long period. Rājyapāla ruled at least 37 years[23] and Gopāla (II) ruled at least for 17 years.[24] Therefore, perhaps Rājyapāla ruled from 930 to 967 A.D. and Gopāla (II) from 967 to 984 at the least. It appears that both Rājyapāla and Gopāla (II) were contemporaries of Śrīchandra (*c.* 925-75) of the Chandra dynasty of East Bengal. But as all these dates are speculative it is very difficult to make an exact chronology of the Pāla dynasty. Only this fact is certain now by the discovery of the Jagajjibanpur grant that the Mahisantosh image of the Sun-god is at least 40 years earlier than it was supposed so far by the historians. The Pāla ruler Mahendrapāla lived before three other Pāla rulers, the last of whom was contemporary of the Gūrjara-Pratihāra Mahendrapāla (I). Hence instead of 900 A.D. (after D.C. Sircar) the image of the Mahīsantosh Sun-god should be dated approximately 862 A.D.

Notes and References

1. Underlining ours.
2. Photo: Bhattacharya, courtesy: State Directorate of Archaeology of West Bengal.
3. Mukherji 1967: 45.
4. Sircar 1968: 204. Sircar is wrong, the village of Mahīsantosh is not in East Pakistan (Bangladesh), it is in the Dinajpur District of West Bengal.
5. For the list of records dated in the reign of Mahendrapāla, see also Sinha 1977: 193-94 and Huntington 1984: 240-42 for the dated images.
6. Only to mention a few, R.D. Banerji, R.C. Majumdar, B.P. Sinha etc.
7. Enamul Haque gives a list of 210 images of the Sun-god only from Bengal, see Haque 1973: 281.
8. For the Bodhgaya image of the Sun-god, see Barua 1975: Fig. 42; also Pandey 1971: 211, pl. 5, fig. 1.
9. Compare, for example, the Kashipur (24 Parganas, West Bengal) and a few other images from the National Museum of Bangladesh (formerly Dacca Museum) and the Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi.

   It will be interesting to mention here that several images of the Sun-god of this type are to be found in the modern Sun temple at Bargaon, near Nalanda.
10. Generally a long sword is tied to the proper left of the deity. The Sun-god from Sukhabaspur has two dolches and no sword, see Bhattasali 1929: pl. LVIII.
11. Copyright: State Directorate of Archaeology of West Bengal. I am extremely thankful to Dr. (Mrs.) Debala Mitra, the retired Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India, for taking trouble to send me these important photos.

    Both the lotuses contain the same eight letters which are difficult to be read and interpreted easily. I am sorry for my inability. Neither Mukherji, nor Sircar did notice the letters on the lotuses. This is the only instance, so far known to us, where the lotuses of the Sun-god are inscribed. The letters may be the *bīja-mantra* of the deity.
12. Banerjea 1985: 432 is wrong in spelling Uṣā and Pratyuṣā as Uṣā and Pratyūṣā, probably due to the influence of wrong, modern Bengali spelling.
13. Mukherji 1967: 45 is absolutely wrong when he says, "The softly modelled figure of the Vidhātā-Purusha or Brahmā almost gliding over the floating clouds shows the suggestivity of the Sino-Tibetan art, which was greatly influenced by the Pāla artists." Huntington 1984: 50 comments on the same image in the following way, "A stone figure of Sūrya from Mahīsantosh, West Dinajpur, Bengal, is dated in the 15th year of the reign of Mahendrapāla (Fig, 42), and thus belongs to the early 10th century. Still rather freely executed, with the use of thick incised lines to depict the details, the sculpture is, however, more refined than the Buddhas of Mahendrpāla's reign and belongs with the Itkhauri Tārā in style...", and in note 96, "In an earlier writing (as stated on p. 45 of his article), Mukherji had ascribed the piece to the reign of Devapāla; he was followed in his belief by Paresh Chandra Das Gupta (*A Bulletin of the Directorate of Archaeology*, West Bengal, Alipore, no. 1, 1963, p. 12)."

14. This is Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi, no. 693. The image has already been published in *VRS. AR.*, 1929-30, pp. 9-10, pl. 2; also see Haque 1973: 392, pl. 110, List no. 956, and Asher 1980: 61, pl. 106. I am thankful to the authorities of the V.R. Museum, Rajshahi to be able to publish it.

    Better compare the Mahīsantosh image with the image of the Sun-god, c. 9th century, now preserved at the State Archaeological Gallery, West Bengal, see Mukherji 1979: pl. XLVIII, fig. 4. Mukherji (p. 57) also compares this image with the image from Mahīsantosh.
15. Banerjea 1985: 435-36 dates the image in the late Gupta period together with the Kashipur (24 Parganas) image, now preserved at the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta.
16. Mukherji's knowledge of Sanskrit is not adequate to translate the inscription.
17. Mukherji's reading *khanaka* seems to be better than *ganaka*. *Khanaka* (*-khanita*) is a technical term in the sense of engraving, see Bhattasali 1914: 88-89 and 1915: 17-18.
18. See Sircar 1982: 179.
19. Already published by Bhattaeharya 1988: 72, fig. 1.
20. The author of this article is thankful to the authorities of the Malda Museum to permit him to take photographs of the seal and the plate and to publish them. Special mention may be made of Prof. Satya Chowdhury, Shri Sadhan Deb (Asstt. Curator), Shri Gautam Ganguli (D.P.O.) and Shri Gopal Laha.
21. Sircar 1986: 8.
22. Bhattacharya 1988: 73. As Mahendrapāla was the elder brother of Śūrapāla (I) their names have been placed side by side in this article to avoid confusion.

    While editing the Mahīsantosh image inscription Sircar 1968: 207 commented, "As we have seen above, Mahendrapāla is now found to have been in occupation of wide regions of Bihar and Bengal at least from his 2nd to his 15th regnal year."

    But now we know definitely that it was not the Gūrjara-Pratihāra ruler Mahendrapāla but the Pāla ruler Mahendrapāla, the son and successor of Devapāla, to whose ruling period those dated objects from the year 2 to 15 belonged and this very Pāla king ruled at least for 15 years after his illustrious father Devapāla.
23. See Gorakshkar 1979: 29. Sircar personally doubted the correct reading of the date.
24. See Banerji 1928: 490-91.

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32

Provenance and present location of some images from the Broadley collection

CLAUDINE BAUTZE-PICRON

Some eighteen years ago, in 1970, Frederick M. Asher published an important article concerning "The former Broadley Collection, Bihar Sharif".[1] He identified the provenance of forty-six sculptures preserved mainly in the Indian Museum but also at the Patna Museum. And we can only regret that the authorities of these institutions have not yet taken into account the proposed provenances for correcting or precising the lables of the images. Using a series of photographs which were made either by Joseph Beglar or by a certain Dr. Simpson,[2] and under which Alexander Meyrick Broadley himself wrote long captions which precised the provenance of some of the illustrated sculptures, Asher precised the origin of some thirty-six sculptures.[3] Asher mentioned that the photographic album includes eighteen plates[4] while in the album which we have used, nineteen plates are contained.[5] He published nine plates[6] while James Burgess already in 1897, reproduced a choice of seven photographs.[7] These photographs are, moreover, listed by Theodor Bloch and are given, each of them, a number (from 191 to 209).[8] The photographs listed under the numbers 192, 194, 196, 199 to 207 have been published by Burgess or/and by Asher; of the remaining ones, the photograph 191 is in some way a blow-up of the photograph 200, corner lower right where the slab bearing the Islamic inscription has been replaced by an image of Viṣṇu. 193 and 195 are here reproduced as *Plates* 31.2 and 32.2. 197 reproduces the doorway from Dāphtū also reproduced on the photograph 200;[9] and on the extreme right, one of the pillars from Nālandā illustrated on photographs 199 and 205.[10] 198 shows a view from the tank where images reproduced on photographs 200 and 202 illustrated. Finally 208 reproduces a series of Islamic inscriptions and 209 illustrates a group of drawings by Broadley whose signature can be seen on the lower right corner (*Plate* 32.3). In his article, Asher made use of the captions written most probably by Broadley himself below the photographs of one of the albums; Broadley precised there the findspots of various illustrated sculptures. On the same photographs, a large number of images are thus not mentioned in the respective captions although they may be preserved today in different collections. The findspot of most of them remains unknown but it can be precised when Broadley himself described the images in his writings. For every considered image, the same pieces of information are given, i.e. the iconographic identification, the present location, the findspot and the source precising this findspot, the places of publication of the image.

1. Bhairava (*Plate* 32.4); Indian Museum inv. 3915; found at Tetrāwāṅ, it is described by Broadley (1872-1, p. 280-281 under the number CCCXLV); catalogued by Bloch (1911, p. 93); reproduced on photograph 193, at the right of the seated goddess.
2. Narasiṃha; Indian Museum inv. 3901; found at Dāpthū where it was seen by Buchanan Hamilton on the 30th January 1812 (1925, p. 151; n.d., p. 239) and drawn under his authority[11] (drawing published by Martin 1838, I, pl. XVI-6); catalogued by Bloch (1911, p. 84); reproduced on photograph 200 (fourth image from left) and by Banerji 1933, pl. XLVI-(c) (the lower part of the image is not mentioned by Bloch and is not published by Banerji though it appears on the photograph 200).
3. Trivikrama; Indian Museum inv. A25179/3897; found at Dāpthū where it was observed by Buchanan (see remark above) and drawn under his supervision (drawing published by Martin 1838, I, pl. XVI-5); catalogued by Bloch (1911, p. 84-85); reproduced on photographs 191 and 200 (first image from right) and by Banerji 1933, pl. XLVII-(d).
4. Brahmā and Viṣṇu standing side by side (*Plate* 32.5); Patna Museum (where we did not see any inventory number; only an old incised number '138' is visible);[12] collected at Rājgır according to the caption to photograph 203 where the panel is second on the left; it is probably quoted by Broadley (1872-1, p. 237).
5. Two standing nāgas (*Plate* 32.6); Indian Museum inv. 4215; collected together with the previous slab at Rājgir (Broadley 1872-1, p. 237), it is

illustrated on the left side of the photograph 203; catalogued by Bloch (1911, p. 93).

6. Slab carved on both sides showing the Devī and Viṣṇu (*Plates* 32.7 and 32.8); Varendra Research Museum inv. I(b)8/451; catalogued by Basak and Bhattacharya (1919, p. 36); mentioned by Broadley (1872-2, p. 16 under the number 'XXIX') who found it at Nālandā.
7. Slab showing a standing Gaṇeśa (*Plate* 32.9); Indian Museum inv. A25162; discovered at Nālandā and described by Broadley (1872-2, p. 16 under the number 'XXX').
8. Sūrya (*Plate* 32.10); Indian Museum inv. 3927; found at Telhāra by Broadley who describes it at length (1872-1, p. 252-253 under 'LXII'); catalogued by Bloch (1911, p. 77).
9. Crowned Buddha showing the *dharmacakramudrā*; Indian Museum inv. 4283 and 4284; discovered at Nālandā and described by Broadley (1872-2, p. 15 under the number 'XIX'); catalogued by Bloch (1911, p. 71); published by Kramrisch (1929, fig. 14: who gives, without further reference, the name of Kurkihār for the provenance) and by Bénisti (1981, fig. 94; who follows Kramrisch for the provenance).[13]
10. Buddha displaying the *dharmacakramudrā* (Sārnāth Miracle) (*Plate* 32.11); Indian Museum inv. 3745; it was collected at Tetrāwāṅ as reported by the caption to photograph 204 where the image appears on the right: it is there still complete while the upper part is now missing; catalogued by Bloch (1911, p. 51) who, very rightly, observes the closeness of this image with another one of the same collection illustrating the Buddha during the Śrāvastī Miracle (Indian Museum inv. A25152/3751; catalogued by Bloch (1911, p. 50), published by Banerji (1933, pl. XXVIII-(c)). A second stela can be compared to it, it shows the Buddha displaying the *bhūmisparśamudrā* and it is preserved at the Cleveland Museum of Art (published by Eastman (1934, p. 29), Heeramaneck (1979, cat. 113) and by Boger-DeOreo (1985, fig. 24). These three images probably belonged to a single group of sculptures produced by the same atelier.[14]
11. Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha; Indian Museum inv. 3773; discovered at Tetrāwāṅ (Broadley 1872-1, p. 281-282 under the number 'CCCXL'); catalogued by Bloch (1911, p. 53-54) and reproduced by Banerji (1933, pl. XIV-(d)).
12. Buddha's head (*Plate* 32.12); Museum für Indische Kunst Berlin IC 33664 (lost in 1945); found at Telhāra according to the legend of photograph 207, it is probably a fragment of the large broken image mentioned by Broadley (1872-1, p. 252).

13. Vajrapāṇi; Indian Museum inv. A25139.3805; collected at Nālandā and described by Broadley (1872-2, p. 13 under the number 'V'); catalogued by Bloch (1911, p. 60: to be corrected, it is of course the left leg which is hanging down; it is one of the rare cases where the exact provenance is mentioned); published by Bhattacharyya 1958, fig. 26 and in *The Way of the Buddha*, δ V, fig. 20.
14. Vasudharā (?); Indian Museum inv. A25138/3822; collected at Nālandā where it was seen in winter 1811-1812 by Buchanan Hamilton and drawn under his supervision (with the legend 'At the small temple called Kapteswari at the S. end of Baragang'[15]); reproduced on photograph 201, 7th image from the left; published by Saraswati 1977, ill. 108 and in *Tantrische Kunst des Buddhismus*, cat. 23.
15. Mārīcī; Indian Museum inv. A25131/3827; collected at Nālandā, it is described by Broadley (1872-2, p. 18-19 under the number 'LVI'); catalogued by Bloch (1911, p. 68); published by Bhattacharyya 1958; fig. 153, Saraswati 1977, ill. 120, in *Tantrische Kunst des Buddhismus*, cat. 24 and reproduced on photograph 201 (first image on the right side).
16. Female deity; Indian Museum inv. 3943; collected at Nālandā by Broadley (1872-2, p. 17 under the number 'XLIX'), it appears on the photograph 201, third image from right; published by Kramrisch (1929, fig. 1); catalogued by Bloch (1911, p. 88).
17. Ṣaḍakṣarī Lokeśvara; Indian Museum inv. 3813; found at Nālandā, it is mentioned by Broadley (1872-2, p. 19 under the number 'LIX'); catalogued by Bloch (1911, p. 60-61); published by Banerji (1933, pl. XVII-(a)) and by Bhattacharyya (1958, fig. 95).
18. Mañjuśrī displaying the *dharmacakramudrā* (*Plate* 32.13); Indian Museum inv. 3801; found at Nālandā, it is described by Broadley (1872-2, p. 17 under the number 'XLV'); catalogued by Bloch (1911, p. 59).
19. Architectural fragment showing an elephant trampled by a leogryph (upper part broken away) (*Plate* 32.14); Patna Museum inv. 1587; from the doorway excavated at Nālandā by Broadley (1872-2, p. 9), it is reproduced on photograph 206 (at the right side of the Buddha image in the background); catalogued by Gupta (1965, p. 80).
20. Lower part of two slabs which were part of a doorway (*Plates* 32.15 and 32.16); Indian Museum; recovered at Nālandā by Broadley (1872-2, p. 8), they are reproduced on photograph 206 and mentioned in the legend to the photograph.[16]

It has thus been possible to identify in the collections of the Indian Museum (Calcutta), the Patna Museum, the Varendra Research Museum (Rājshahi) and the

Museum für Indische Kunst Berlin (West) images or fragments which were collected by A. Broadley; with the help of Broadley's own publications, of contemporary photographs made by the Archaeological Survey of India and of drawings made in the early part of the 19th century of images still in situ, material could be attributed to the sites of Telhāra (images 8 and 12), Dāpthụ (2 and 3), Rājgir (4 and 5), Tetrāwāṅ (1, 10 and 11) and Nālandā (6, 7, 9, 13 to 19).

The question of provenance is doubtless fundamental when one wants to study carefully the artistic production of ancient Magadha. It is only when local groups have been constituted that a serious stylistic and iconographic analysis can start. This allows also to propose for images, the origin of which is unknown and which are not traceable in old documents, a possible provenance, as e.g. the two Buddha images preserved in Calcutta and Cleveland and which can be mentioned in comparison to the Buddha-image 10. Other images or fragments could be considered which can be recognized on the photographs and which are today kept at the Indian Museum but their provenance is still unprecised. Moreover, images from the Broadley collection are also kept at the Bharat Kalā Bhavan (Varanasi), at the National Museum (New Delhi), at the Madras Government Museum.

Appendix—Concordance of the photographs as listed by Theodor Bloch (1900) with the plates reproducing them which were published by James Burgess and Frederick M. Asher

Bloch	*Burgess*	*Asher*	*here*
191			
192	235		
193			1
194	234		
195			2
196	233		
197			
198			
199		I	
200		II	
201	230	VII	
202		VIII	
203	229	III	
204		VI	
205		IV	
206	232	V	
207	231	IX	
208			
209			

Notes and References

1. *Artibus Asiae*, XXXII, 1970, p. 105-124.
2. The two names are inscribed below the photographs of the album which we have consulted at the Indian Office Library and Records, London ('Indian Antiquities from Indian Museum Negatives., Bengal'). They are also mentioned by Bloch (1900).
3. *Art. cit.*, p. 110.
4. *Ibidem*, p. 106.
5. It is possible that the nineteenth photograph is the one reproducing the drawings made by A. Broadley (photograph 209: see *infra*).
6. *Art. cit.*, pl. I to IX. See footnote 8.
7. *The Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculptures...*, vol. II, pl. 229 to 235. See footnote 8.
8. *A List of Photographic Negatives ....* photographs serial 191 to 209. A concordance of these photographs numbers with the numbers of the plates in Burgess's book and Asher's article is given in the appendix (*supra*).
9. Asher, *art. cit.*, p. 106.
10. *Ibidem*, p. 107.
11. Drawings made under the supervision of Francis Buchanan Hamilton are published together with the original images in our article 'Dessins de la collection Buchanan Hamilton...'.
12. The sculptures from the Broadley collection have been catalogued at different times. They bear an incised number in Arabic characters but they were also given a number by Broadley in a catalogue which he wrote of his collection, this number being in Roman characters. The two systems donot coincide (e.g. the image which would be incised '1' is not the image numbered 'I' by Broadley). The Arabic numbers might have been given when the collection was transferred to Calcutta where the images receive, once more, new numbers (Asher, *art. cit.*, p. 106 footnote 8):
13. Bloch, *Supplementary Catalogue ...*, p. 71 lists under the number 4285 a fragment which he supposes to have topped this slab. This fragment appears on the photograph 209 (drnwing VI) and on the photograph 203 (below the *caturmukhaliṅga* from Dāpthū). We did not see the piece in the reserve of the Museum.
14. It is possible that these images were part of a series depicting the eight main events of the Buddha's life. They are discussed in detail in our *La statuaire...*, p. 479-480.
15. See 'Dessins de la collection Buchanan Hamilton...'.
16. The large doorway from Nālandā was excavated by Broadley and destroyed shortly after (Broadley, 1872-2, p. 8). Parts of it are kept at the Indian Museum: inv. A22386/3959, inv. A24201/Ur. 56, inv. Ur. 57, inv. Ur. 58 (Banerji, *Eastern Indian...*, pl. LXXIX-(c), Huntington, "*Pāla-Sena*"..., fig. 55-57, photographs 203 and 206).

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33

Deulbadi Sarvani : A Reconsideration

GAUTAM SENGUPTA

Among the very few inscribed sculptures of the pre-9th century Eastern India, Sarvānī image, discovered at Deulbadi, Comilla district, Bangladesh, is worth a detailed discussion. Noticed for the first time by N.K. Bhattasali, the sculpture in question has found place in all subsequent studies on Eastern Indian art. As early as 1928, J.C. French commented at some length on the significance of the piece: "The figure of the Goddess Chaṇḍī is an example of the art of the beginning of the Pāla dynasty. It bears an inscription which gives its date as the eighth century. …… The simplicity, dignity, and a certain immanent sense of life and vitality need no emphasis. The archaic smile recalls the art of Greece of thirteen centuries earlier."[1]

The inscription, to which reference is made, was edited by N.K. Bhattasali. The text, as read by Bhattasali, runs thus:[2]

L. 1 *Siddhi Svasti Khaḍgodyamo nāma nṛpādhirājastat-sunu āsid bhuvi Jātakhaḍgaḥ* [/] *tadātmajodānapa-*

L. 2 *tiḥ pratāpo Śrī Devakhaḍgo vijitāri Khaḍgaḥ* [/] *Rājñastasya Mahādedvī mahiṣī Śrī Prabhāvatī* [/] *Sa* [*sa*] *rvvānī-pratimām bhaktyā hemaliptāṁ kārayat.*

Bhattasali observed that the characters (of the alphabets) belong to the Eastern variety of Gupta script current in Bengal towards the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 8th century A.D. The record begins by referring to Khaḍgodyama, an overlord of kings, then it alludes to his son Jāta-Khaḍga. His son Devakhaḍga is described a sword and a conqueror of all foes. Prabhāvatī, the queen-consort of the king, out of reverence for Sarvānī, covered her image with gold. Here is thus, a clear case for dynastic patronage to a religious object.

The Khaḍga dynasty, associated with the image, probably belonged to the Vaṅga area, and spread its power over a part of south-eastern Bengal after the disintegration of the Gauḍa authority. Although, the findspot of their two copper-plate charters is to be placed in the Dacca district (Ashrafpur), the grant is issued from Jayakarmānta, which Bhatlasali identified with Badkamta village in the Comilla district. Incidentally both the plates, dating from the time of Devakhaḍga, were issued in his 13th (alternatively 7th) regnal year.[3] Since Devakhaḍga's reign period is placed around 665/670-685 A.D. the image under discussion can be assigned to the closing decades of the 7th century A.D. This in fact, had been the reasoning which prompted art-historians to observe: "For the second half of the seventh century, unlike the first half, we have dated sculptures that are important touchstones for determining the dates of other works. Most securely dated is the image of Sarvānī inscribed in Devakhaḍga's time".[4] There had been more categorical assertions: "It is now fairly well-established on historical, palaeographical, and other grounds that the image may be dated towards the end of the seventh century and, in any case not later than the early eighth century".[5] Almost immediately after its discovery, R.D. Banerji grouped the image together with other Eastern Indian sculptures for which 'the name of the reigning monarch, the year of his reign and the name of the donor or donors' are available. He further observed that it was dedicated during the reign of a king named Devakhaḍga of Eastern Bengal.[6]

Admittedly, the community of art-historians have resorted to the epigraphic evidence in dating a somewhat enigmatic piece. But does the evidence lead us to such a specific dating? A careful analysis of its content rules out such a clear-cut formulation.

The votive inscription alludes to a specific event—a religious act of some significance. Leaving aside the genealogical portions the text goes on to state that the queen Prabhāvatī, out of reverence, coated (arranged for the coating of) the Sarvānī image with gold. Certainly, the operative part in the record is *hemaliptāṁkārayat*. This expression stands in sharp contrast to the usual phrases employed in other votive records. The standard formula is to describe the donated image as a *deya-dharma*; irrespective of the religious affiliation.[7] There are certainly exceptions to this, but the act of donating an image is specified by such terms as *Pratishṭhitam*[8] as in the Shahpur Sūrya image inscription of the time of Ādityasena, where the term *deyadharmmoyam* precedes *pratishṭhitam*. Elsewhere in the much earlier

Bodhisattva image of Bodh Gaya of the time of Mahārāja Trikamala, the term used is *pratishṭhāpayati*.[9] The word *dānapati* does occur in conjunction with *pratāpa* to designate Devakhaḍga, but the intended meaning is most certainly, what Bhattasali rendered as 'benevolent and powerful'.[10] There is, thus, sufficient reason to assume that the image was not dedicated by Prabhāvatī. The text rather implies that the image was in existence prior to the reign period of Devakhaḍga, and Prabhāvatī expressed her reverence in the goddess by performing a sacred act by covering it 'with leaves of gold'. Probably, Sarvāṇī enjoyed a special position in the local traditions. Prabhāvatī's gift might be a demonstration of faith on a powerful local goddess. F.A. Khan has reported about the discovery of a Sarvāṇī image from the monastic complex of Salban Vihāra.[11]

The practice of offering gold-leaves to an already existing image appears to be somewhat unusual, but historical analogies are not altogether unknown in India. In the Eastern Indian context this is one of the earliest gilted image. N.G. Majumdar noticed another gilted piece from Mahasthan in the Bogra district, Bangladesh, datable to *c*. 7th century A.D.[12] A number of Pāla period bronzes and, on occasion, even stone sculptures are provided with gold coating. Reference should be made, in this connection, to the Nālandā Vāgīśvarī image inscription of the time of Gopāla II. Here the image is described as being tinged with gold streaks: *Śrī Vāgīśvarī-Bhaṭṭārikā Suvarnavrīhi-saktā* (Line 2).[13] More important, however, is the evidence provided by the Sanokhar inscription of the time of Ballāla Sena Regnal year 9 (1168 A.D.). It refers to the gift of a copper-cover in favour of the god Damacāditya by Cihoka, the chief priest of the said deity's temple; *tāmara-kholi data. Bhaṭṭāraka Śrī Damacāditadevapadānā. Maṭhapati cihokasya*.[14] A clean allusion to a gift made towards an earlier image. One can reasonably question any straightway co-relation between the reign-period of Devakhaḍga and the actual date of the Sarvāṇī image. What the inscription gives us is the *terminus ad quem* for the particular sculpture—it cannot be under any circumstances later than the period of Devakhaḍga and Prabhāvatī.

In this connection, one has to take into consideration the contextual evidence. The location of Deulbadi, within the axis of Jaya-Karmānta vāsaka, the most important political centre of the Khaḍga dynasty, is probably not without significance. Situated on the south-west extremity of the Lalmai Hills, it is close to Mainamati, the celebrated monastic establishment of south-eastern Bengal.[15] Gunaighar, the find-spot of the copper-plate charter of Vainyagupta,[16] is also located on its neighbourhood. There is enough evidence to suggest that the organised art-activities in the region had its beginning in this area. The Gunaighar record not only refers to a royal grant in favour of a monastery dedicated to Ārya-Avalokiteśvara in A.D. 508, it further alludes to a temple of Pradyumneśvara, probably a syncretic form of Viṣṇu and Śiva, which was already in existence.

Similarly, the evidence of Ashrafpur plates[17] indicates Devakhaḍga's patronage to a Buddhist monastery which must have existed from an earlier time.

Barrie M. Morrison's incisive study[18] of the Lalmai-Mainamati complex clearly brings out the unbroken sequence of royal support to a monastic centre. Vainyagupta's association with Mainamati is fairly well established. It has also been suggested that "the three inscriptions of the Khaḍgas further attest to the early use and occupation of Salban Vihara".[19] Clearly, Deulbadi image is a beneficiary of a continuous tradition of dynastic support to the religious establishments.

In spite of N.K. Bhattasali's attempt,[20] the identity of Sarvāṇī remains inconclusive. Bhattasali argued that the image corresponds in every detail to a dhyāna found in *Śāradātilaka Tantra*, a digest of Tantric texts, which most certainly post-dates the image of Sarvāṇī[21]. The goddess stands in a strict frontal position on the back of a couchant lion. She holds discus, sword, arrow and conchshell in her right hands, beginning from the top, and shield, bow, trident and bell in the left in the same order. She is accompanied by a fly-whisk bearing female attendant on either side. In compositional terms, the most important element is an oval-shaped rim linking the main and the subsidiary figures. Three lotuses along the crown, as well as multiple arms projected like struts, link up the goddess with the rim. In sharp contrast to the rigid frontality of the goddess, her attendants are distinguished by abrupt break of body-axis. The hardened surface treatment as well as elongated facial-built with a weird smile convey a kind of mood, which is difficult to explain in terms of standardised canonical formulations. The iconographic programme certainly draws upon the Śākta traditions, but the visual elements are by and large independent of the eastern Indian tradition. Thus, any attempt at stylistic dating must take into consideration the distinctive historical-cultural developments of south-eastern Bengal and comparisons in terms of artistic developments in other regions might lead to errors of judgment.[22]

Notes and References

1. French, *The Art of The Pal Empire of Bengal*, London, 1928, p. 2, Fig. 2. French further observes: 'now this image has disappeared, stolen by thieves. It was a gold-plated metal image, and doubtless it has been melted down for the fragment of gold on it'.
2. N.K. Bhattasali, Some Image Inscriptions from East Bengal, *Epigraphia Indica*, XVII, 1923-24, pp. 357-59.
3. G.M. Laskar Ashrafpur Copper-Plate Grant of Devakhaḍga. *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1, 1905-07, pp. 85-91. See also R.C. Majumdar The Date of the Khaḍga Dynasty of Bengal. *Journal of The Asiatic Society of Bengal* (New Series) XIX, 1923, pp. 375-379.
4. Frederick M. Asher, *The Art of Eastern India*, 300.800, Delhi, 1989, p. 67.
5. Chandra, Some Remarks on Bihar Sculpture From the Fourth to the Ninth Century *in* P. Pal (ed.) *Aspects of Indian Art*, Leiden, 1972, p. 63.

6. R.D. Banerji *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, Delhi, 1933. p. 21.
7. Gautam Sengupta, Donors of Images In Eastern India, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Kurukshetra Session, 1982, p. 160.
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9. B.M. Barua, A Bodh-Gaya Image Inscription, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol IX. 1933, pp. 417-419.
10. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, p. 358.
11. Khan, *Mainamati: A Preliminary Report on Recent Excavations in East Pakistan*, Karachi, 1963,. p. 23.
12. Majumdar, A Gold-Plated Bronze From Mahasthan, *Modern Review*, 1926, 426-428.
13. Akshay Kumar Maitreya, *Gau.alekhamālā*, Rajshahi, 1912, p. 86.
14. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, vol. II, New Delhi, 1983, p. 125.
15. Khan, *op. cit.* For an earlier account of Mainamati see T.N. Ramachandran, Recent Archaeological Discoveries Along The Mainamati and Lalami Ranges Tippera District, East Bengal, in D.R. Bhandarkar (ed.) *B.C. Law Volume*, Part II, Poona, 1946, pp. 213-231 and D.C. Bhattacharya, Harikela and the Ruins at Mainamati, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, IX, 1933, pp. 282-89.
16. D.C. Bhattacharya, A Newly Discovered Copper-Plate From Tipperah, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, VI, 1930, pp. 45-60
17. Laskar, *op. cit.*
18. Morrison, *Lalmai: A Cultural Centre of Early Bengal*, Seattle, 1974, p. 98.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
20. N.K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures In The Dacca Museum*, Dacca, 1929, pl. LIX, p. 172.
21. N.N. Bhattacharya, *History of Sakta Religion*, Delhi, 1974, pp. 134-135.
22. Some of the points raised in the paper were discussed in the Gauhati Conference of The Epigraphical Society of India, held in December 1987.

34

Temples, Tirthas, and Pilgrimage : The Case of Osian[1]

MICHAEL W. MEISTER

We tend to think of the temple first as an institution filled with people, interacting with its economic and even political environment in significant ways—which indeed it is, and perhaps increasingly has become in Indian history; but the temple starts in the heart—in the perception and transformation of the worshipper for whom the temple first is intended. His heart is the altar; his body the sacrifice. By building a temple, the patron follows the ritual of sacrifice and benefits from it, as will the worshipper. The temple is a place, first, of private approach. The edifice stands as a "house" for the divinity—his "palace" or *prāsāda*—but for man it acts as a gate, through which his passage can be consecrated.

This may seem metaphysical fogginess—the romantic view of a Westerner—yet categories of portal, passage, palace, and the worshipper's perception effect how monuments are conserved. I might point to D.R. Bhandarkar's report on a visit to Amber in 1910, during which he found a small image set up in a shed in the compound of the temple of Ambikeśvara and worshipped as Śītalāmātā, the goddess of smallpox. This shrine survives to this day, with its image well cared for, though—to eyes not seeking Śītalā—it represents an attendant male, with wings or the crescent moon behind (*Plate* 34.1) The archaic meaning of "idol" (given in the *American Heritage Dictionary*) is "something visible but without substance"—in this case, visible in spite of its substance. In the third *khaṇḍa* of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, a dialogue between the king Vajra and the sage Mārkaṇḍeya records that in this age worship of divinity is to be made within the sacred ground in the form of prayer and outside of the sacrificial ground in the form of fasting and vows. "In the present age, a divine-house is to be made, while in previous ages man saw divinity directly... Making a temple is auspicious, as is making a divine image."

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[1] This paper was presented at the International Conference on Rajasthan, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur, December 1987, the theme of which was the "conservation of Culture and the environment in Rajasthan." It is presented here in honor of R.C. Agrawala, who has contributed so much to our knowledge of Rajasthan's cultural environment.

The iconic value of an image, as also of a temple, is the "identity" it establishes with what it represents; *what* it represents, however—its symbolism or iconography—is subject to changing interpretation or attribution. Iconicity in a society that values it, however, guarantees a survival of sorts.

A *tīrtha* is defined by Monier-Williams as "a passage, way, road, ford, stair for landing or for descent into a river, bathing-place, place of pilgrimage on the bank of a sacred stream...; the path to the altar...; a channel;... an object of veneration..." *Tīrthayātra* and *tīrthacaryā* he defines as "a visit to any *tīrtha*, pilgrimage." Any temple is, in itself, a *tīrtha*, both as it marks a sacred place and as it ritually acts as a passage. Pilgrimage is a chain of *tīrthas*.

Tīrthas, however, in many instances preceded their temples, as spots on the outskirts of habitation that were perceived as natural places of passage, marked by trees, water, rocks, mountains—that is, by a landscape that seems itself naturally sacred. Early texts specify that temples should be built in such spots, as the natural abode of divinity, as in the *Bṛhat Samhitā* (56. 3-8). Varāhamihira's Chapter on temples, in fact, is separated from that "On Architecture" by two chapters "on the exploration of water-springs" and the "culture of trees." Such a site is Arna, some distance outside of Jodhpur, Kansuān outside of Kota (its temple dated A.D. 732), or the site of the Śītaleśvara temple on the Candrabhāgā stream outside of Jhalawar, dated A.D. 689. Kusumā, in Sirohi District, preserves a marble temple of the second quarter of the seventh century (a foundation inscription now in the museum at Maṇḍor is dated A.D. 636) that Sukthankar visited for the Archaeological Survey of Western India in 1917. He learned of it only because villagers in Varman, where a ruined Sūrya temple Sukthankar had come to document stands, told him that there was (to them) an even more important *tīrtha* at Kusumā (Kutsāśrama) several miles away. Sukthankar took a day to investigate, as well as several photographs, but then returned to the Āditya temple at Varman, which he published in the Western Circle reports and which also was published by Sukthankar's immediate superior, D.R. Bhandarkar, in the *Annual*

Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1916-17. Kusumā he left to be rediscovered and analysed by other scholars over half a century later.

Kusumā is an interesting example of temple as *tīrtha* in several respects. First, the now much ruined main temple at the site enshrines an image of Sadāśiva, though the current name given to the compound is "Rāmachandrajī" (a second, small, now ruined, Viṣṇu temple was inserted into the compound in the late ninth century).

The site does not appear on modern maps of whatever scale, I speculate because it is not a village (a late 19th-century map of the British period—when administrators were compiling gazetteers were more interested in sacred places—does show it). The temple stands in a grove near the base of an outcropping of the Arāvalli mountains and has a small marble step-well making natural groundwater or a spring in front of it. Its inscription refers to the temple—using traditional language—as this "palace of the Conquerer of the (three) Cities" (i.e. Śiva); to its "broad tower" as like the peak of a mountain "standing in the open sky"; and to its surroundings in "this hermitage-ground, [as] like the peak of Mt. Meru, its slopes waving with their thick covering of forest-shrubs, and saints dwelling in its caves"—a description we might well currently give to nearby Mount Abu.

That the temple could so long be lost to archaeology, yet for so long have survived in the hearts of the villagers from villages around it is much the result of its iconicity as a *tīrtha*. flexible as that could be cultically. (Even those who transformed the site, however, inserting a Viṣṇu shrine and re-naming the site "Rāmacandrajī," left the sanctifying old temple and its image intact).

Sukthankar's documented Āditya temple at Varman—no longer alive cultically—long ago became a "protected monument" by the Archaeological Survey of India. While the neglect of Kusumā by archaeologists over the last seventy years has possibly helped to conserve the quality of sacredness in Kusumā's grove—its *tīrtha*-ness—the priests who gather paisa from the rare outside visitor are slowly paying for a rebuilding and recarving of the temple that may alter the temple's archaeological worth forever.

This unsteady balance between archaeology and the life of a temple can be seen elsewhere in Rajasthan. *Tīrthas* have often become the *loci* for temples connected to ruling families. The site of the Śītaleśvara temple on the Candrabhāgā, for example, which is dateable to *c.* 689 A.D. by an inscription now in the museum in Jhalrapatan, is held sacred by the family of the Maharaja of Jhalawar, to whose attention to the site it in part owes its survival and entirely its present reconstruction. Eklingji (which should be understood as a *tīrtha*, on the other side of a small mountain pass from the once-capital city of Nagda) is held sacred by the Guhilot family of Mewar. As a more recent phenomenon, the former Chief

Minister of Rajasthan, Shri Mohanlal Sukhadia, took the Kālikāmātā temple at Chittorgarh as his family temple and lavished patronage on it.

At **Eklingji,** the small tenth-century Viṣṇu temple tucked under the pass, with its **elegant tank** to its south, architecturally, perhaps, best represents the natural *tīrtha*; but the separate complex containing a plain but important Lakulīśa temple dated A.D. 972 has become the centre of a very active Paśupata cult, a focus for contemporary pilgrimage (including tourists), and centuries of additional construction have shifted the centre of worship from the archaeologically most ancient temple in the compound to other structures.

Temples also can become the focus of communities caught up in an economic or social diaspora. The Ranchhodji temple at Khed, near Balotra on the way to Barmer (*Plate* 34.2), looks barely active much of the year, but represents a powerful clan, the Maheśvarīs. The Oswāl Jains still send their children for traditional training, from Calcutta and elsewhere, to the Jain school at Osiān, next to their family temple, that of Mahāvīra, first built in the time of Pratīhāra Vatsarāja in the late eighth century A.D.

Osiān is a particularly focused case of the tenuous nature of the conservation of monuments in Rajasthan and the preservation of sacredness as a cultural resource. When D.R. Bhandarkar crossed Rajasthan's desert in search of temples in 1903-04, he came to the crossroads village of Tivrī where a ramshackle pent-roof temple of perhaps the late eighth or early ninth century survived in worship. It survives to this day—lonely in its distant field--surrounded by a new compound wall and guarded over by a single *sādhu* who has taken a vow of silence. Asking after other, more archaeologically interesting, temple-sites, Bhandarkar was directed toward Osiān, less than thirteen miles away. He wrote: "Here I was informed by the people that there were only two *temples* at Osiā [my emphasis] that would be archaeologically interesting, *vis* the temple of Mahāvīra and the temple of Saciyā Mātā, which have been referred to in both the Hindu and Jaina accounts. But on my visit, I found that the place was studded with ruins of many old fanes. On the outskirts of the village there are no less than eleven large temples including the Jaina one, and on the hill, to the east of it, is situated the temple of Sachiyā Mātā surrounded by five other fanes."

If you ask at Osiān now, you will be told there are *three* temples, people adding a whitewashed temple to Śiva of which Bhandarkar took no notice. These three are active temples, of regional reputation and importance. The Saciyāmātā temple, set on a hill as the "center" of Osiān, is increasingly a major pilgrimage temple; the Mahāvīra temple is the mother temple for Oswāl Jains; the Śiva temple is a whitewashed ruin, partly rebuilt but used for local worship. The other temples Bhandarkar found—which were built in the eighth to twelfth centuries and are of great archaeological importance—were used then, as now, sometimes as urinals, latrines, or to house grain or livestock. (A nearby site—Buchkalā—has temples also used for grain storage although one temple has an inscription that refers to the Pratihāra king Nāgabhaṭa II's reign and to the region as the Pratihāra's "homeland" or "*svaviṣaya*".) The now architecturally well-known Sun temple at Osiān was then, and still is, a matter of property dispute between the local thakur and archaeological authorities (he still stables his cattle in the precincts). None of these structures is recognized by local inhabitants as *temples*, but rather as "*bhūtagṛhas*"—that is, "ghost-houses".

I had the same response at the village of Mākanganj (a village founded for a small colony of Mīnās in 1844 by one Colonal Macintosh) near Bichor, where two small shrines of the seventh century stood, when I visited, completely hidden in lush fields. These were completely unrecognized as "temples" by local villagers, who had difficulty knowing what I was asking to see. Both "*bhūtagṛhas*," in fact, had sapplings growing rapidly up through their *cella*-roofs threatening the future of the structures, but which could not be cut without fear of offending the *bhūtas* of each temple. Such is the nature of conservation!

Tīrthas are sacred places. Pilgrimage links them; temples mark them. Conserving temples as artifacts conserves artifacts, but maintaining the sacredness of centers from the institutional demands of patronage and pilgrimage is a difficult task. Sukhadia at Chittorgarh encircled the fort and threatened not to allow food or water to the archaeological attendants if they interfered with his construction of pilgrims' cells and re-flooring at the Kālikāmātā temple (a protected monument). Sardar Patel helped restore a nationally important pilgrimage temple at Somnath, but in order to maintain the sanctum at the ancient spot the archaeological remains had to be dismantled, and a number of stones were used as ballast for the new shrine.

At Osiāñ, an opposite phenomenon occurs, in that important structures for the architectural evolution of the site have been sometimes overlooked—as in the case of the Śiva shrine—because they are whitewashed and in worship, or, as in the case of the Śri Satya Narain temple set on the Saciyāmātā hill, they have been renovated, are in worship, and have been seen as subordinate to major structures.

The Saciyamātā temple itself is an enormous complex, of several phases and numerous revisions and renovations. Its earliest subshrine, Bhandarkar's temple no. 11, a Sūrya temple on the southwest, had its superstructure in ruins when Bhandarkar photographed it early in this century, though its current restoration has fooled a number of colleague art-historians. M.A. Dhaky informs me that when he first visited Osiāñ in the late 1950s/early 60s there were local craftsmen who reported to him that their grandfathers had "built" the temple (which at the time he discounted, the rebuilding is sufficiently good).

The pastiche of parts is what makes the complex a whole, its sacredness renewed by each generation through acts that the archaeologist may consider desecration. The phenomenon of the resurgence of patronage of the Saciyāmātā shrine and the increase in the number of pilgrims who have come there over the last thirty years is worth an anthropologist's study. The famed Sūrya temple (no. 7) on the flat desert soil of Osiān has been published often, yet barely analysed, in that its superstructure was built at least 150 years later than its walls, a completion, or restoration, by later patrons and craftsmen that has so successfully melded discernibly different styles that few have noticed it over the years.

Sometimes archaeologists think that if we only could educate we could conserve—yet freezing a monument in the manner of Khajuraho's archaeological park is entombment. Indeed, what of an ancient fabric can be preserved should be respected by all, yet the task to be faced at a living monument is indeed a "monumental" one. I give as an example at Osiāñ the Mahāvīra temple, which consists of an eighth-century shrine surrounded by tenth-twelfth century subshrines; its entry pavilion was also eighth century, but with an eleventh-century dome inserted. The main temple itself has a superstructure most likely of the 14th-15th century. What are the responsibilities of the present "curators"? Twenty-five years ago the entry-porch of the main temple had a tin awning and its pillars were covered with polychrome, and M.A. Dhaky had to use a ladder and knife to scrape off the white plaster on the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa's* Phāṁsanā roof to see if it was original or rebuilt.

An enlightened headmaster at the school at the time began the restoration of the temple to its archaeologically "purest" state by meticulously cleaning off plaster and polychrome, revealing a remarkable polychrome of red and buff sandstone created by the original construction. On a visit in 1972, I found the temple restored to much what its original form must have been, the tin roof gone, the inscribed *toraṇa* added in the tenth-century standing free in front.

As renovation continued, however, patronage identified, and the specific needs of the present Jain school for congregation and performance-space addressed, renovations were introduced that expanded the front entry-space, added new pillars, renovated the eighth-century *valānaka* gateway-pavilion by removing its old pillars for use in the expanded temple-platform. What we have now is a new pastiche, regretably obscuring some of the archaeological evidence available before, yet still a living pastiche, and perhaps no more a pastiche than what had stood before.

Conservation must consider present use, and the life of a monument must balance with historical evidence. Where culture has discarded the past—where monuments, for example, have become latrines—preservation that subjects monuments to bureaucratic order may be justified (though bureaucracies have built walls out of sculpted fragments around ruins at Kiradu and, since I photographed it in

1971, added a white-washed ambulatory barrier around the sanctum at Buchkalā blocking its elegant walls from view). Where life continues to feed and to form the substance of a monument, however, its presence preserves while it also destroys.

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35

Karttikeya in the Art of Khajuraho

MARUTI NANDAN TIWARI & KAMAL GIRI

Kārttikeya, also known as Shaṇamukha, Jayanta, Viśākha, Subramaṇya and Mahāsena, was a popular deity of Indian tradition from a fairly early period.[1] As compared to north India, the popularity of Kārttikeya was more in south India after the post Gupta period. Although some early works contain references to Kārttikeya with different appellations but it was in the epics only that the deity attained an exalted position as a son of Śiva and Pārvatī who subsequently during the Gupta period became a national deity.[2] There are various legends narrating the birth of Kārttikeya and his different epithets such as Skanda, Senānī, Shaṇmukha, Shaḍānana, Devasenāpati, Tārakāri, Krauñchabhettā, Guhya etc. in literature.[3] The different iconographic texts enunciate the iconographic forms of Kārttikeya, the earliest of which is found in *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihir (sixth century A.D.). The text merely mentions that Kārttikeya, youthful in appearance, bears a spear (*śakti*) in hand and rides a peacock.[4] The first text referring to the detailed iconography of Kārttikeya is the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (*c.* A.D. 600) which visualizes the six-faced, four-armed Kumāra as riding a peacock and holding bell and *Kukkuṭa* (cock) in his right hands and *vaijayantī patākā* (victory flag) and spear in the left ones.[5] His hair is arranged in the *śikhaṇḍaka* style. The *Vishṇudharmottara* further alludes to three more forms of the deity with different names as Skanda, Viśākha and Guha but the attributes and the mount remain the same as described with Kumāra.

The *Aparājitaprichchhā* of Bhuvanadeva (*c.* A.D. 1250) conceives six-faced, twelve-armed Kārttikeya with three eyes and *śivya* (peacock ?) as his conveyance.[6] The deity bears arrow, spear, sword, goad (*aṅkuśa*), staff (*daṇḍa*), *akshasūtra* in his left hands and *śṛiṅga* bow, noose (*pāśa*), shield *varadamudrā* and water-vessel in the right ones. The *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra*, however, describes the images of Kārttikeya either with one or six faces and as possessing two, six and twelve arms.[7]

The earliest representations of Kārttikeya are found on some of the tribal coins of the Mitras, Audumbaras, Ujjayinī and the Yaudheyas.[8] The deity on Audumbara and Yaudheya coins is represented as standing and as possessing two arms with a spear in left hand while the right hand shows the *varadamudrā*. The identical representation of deity is found on the Kushāṇa coins and sculptures. The peacock mount was, however, introduced only during the Gupta period, the best example of which is preserved in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi.

In medieval art Kārttikeya makes his appearance on the temples both as an independent deity and as the *parivāra devatā* of Śiva, the instances of which are known from Osiāṅ, Bhubaneśwar, Khajurāho, Aihoḷe (*Plate* 35.1) Badami, Moḍherā and several other places. Khajurāho (Chhatarpur, M.P.) alone has yielded 14 figures of Kārttikeya in different temples, the most important of which are in the Lakshmaṇa and the Kandariyā Mahādeva temples. Excepting two figures from Jardin Museum, Khajurāho, which represent Kārttikeya as ten-and eight-armed, all other independent examples represent him as three-faced and four-armed along with his peacock mount.

The first niched figure of Kārttikeya is carved on the south facade of the *garbhagṛiha* of the Brahmā temple (A.D. 900) wherein the three-faced, four-armed deity rides a peacock but all his hands are mutilated. His hair are arranged in *kākapaksha* style.

The Lakshaṇa temple has three figures of Kārttikeya, one in the *Mahāmaṇḍapa* and the remaining two on the facade of the two *devakulikās*. The first niched figure is carved on the inner wall of the *Mahāmaṇḍapa* on the east while the second and the third figures are on the west facade of the north-western *devakulikā* and the north facade of the north-east *devakulikā* respectively. In the first two examples the three-faced and four-armed deity is provided with peacock as conveyance. The god standing in *tribhaṅga* with his hair done in *kākapaksha* fashion, bears fruit, spear, manuscript and water-vessel.[9] Kārttikeya in the first example is accompanied by his Śakti standing on left and also the figures of four-armed Brahmā and Vishṇu in the *parikara* (*Plate* 35.2). The figure adorned with *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* and *vanamālā* has only two surviving arms, one of which shows manuscript while the other is kept on the shoulder of the small figure of his consort. The third figure, though one-faced, has four-arms and carries fruit, trident (*triśūla*), lotus and water-vessel, the trident being suggestive of his association with Śiva.

The niched figure of Kārttikeya on the Devī Jagadambī temple (1000-1025 A.D.) is carved on the south *śikhara* of the *Mahāmaṇḍapa*. The three-faced, four-armed deity holds fruit, *śūla*, indistinct object and water-vessel and rides a peacock.

There are three figures of Kārttikeya on the Kandariyā Mahādeva temple (1025-50 A.D.) as well. The first figure is carved on the inner eastern wall of the *Mahāmaṇḍapa* just as found in the Lakshmaṇa temple (*Plate* 35.3). The three-faced, four-armed deity accompanied by Śakti sits in *lalita* pose and carries spear and manuscript in two hands while one hand is in *āliṅganamudrā*. The consort Kaumārī also shows *āliṅganamudrā* with one of her hands. Kārttikeya with his hair done in long tufts is joined by the worshippers at feet and female attendants on two flanks. However, the *vāhana* peacock is conspicuous by its absence. The second figure, carved on the north facade of *Mahāmaṇḍapa*, shows one-faced and four-armed Kārttikeya without his peacock mount. The deity standing and wearing *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* holds *abhayāksha*, *śūla* and water-vessel in his surviving hands. The third figure is carved on the *Maṇḍapa śikhara* wherein the three-faced, four-armed deity bears fruit, lotus, manuscript-cum-lotus and spear.

Another figure, carved on the south *jagatī* of the Viśvanātha temple (1100 A.D.), likewise shows the three-faced, four-armed Kārttikeya as holding *varada-mudrā*, spear, manuscript-cum-lotus and fruit (*Plate* 35.4). The deity stands in *samabhaṅga* and his hair is done in *kākapaksha* style. His conveyance peacock carved on the left is trying to take the fruit from the hand of the deity.

The last example of the Kārttikeya figure on the temple could be seen on the south facade of the Javārī temple (1075-1100 A.D.). Here also the three-faced, four-armed deity, riding as usual a peacock, has his hairs arranged in long tufts. However, all the hands of the deity are broken but the two worshippers standing on his sides are extant.

Besides, four figures of Kārttikeya are preserved in two museums of Khajurāho namely, the Jardin Museum and the Archaeological Museum. The Jardin Museum, Khajurāho preserves two figures, the first of which (Acc. No. 722) is badly mutilated and belongs to 10th century A.D. The three-faced and ten-armed deity with long hair tufts rides on a peacock. However, all his hands are damaged. The pair of devotees and female attendants standing with *chāmara* on two sides reveal the importance of the deity. A number of hovering *mālādhara* couples are also shown in the *parikara*. Another example of *c.* 11th century A.D. in the Jardin Museum (Acc. No. 1096) depicts the three-faced, eight-armed Kārttikeya as riding a peacock and holding fruit, lotus, manuscript and long spear in the surviving hands.

The Archaeological Museum, Khajurāho too has two figures of Kārttikeya belonging to 10th and 11th century A.D. The first figure (Acc. No. 1099) standing in *tribhaṅga* is one-faced and four-armed. He bears *abhayamudrā*, *śūla*, manuscript and fruit. The peacock is shown behind the figure. The second figure is a diminutive figure carved in the *parikara* of a Harihara image (10th century A.D.). The two-armed deity holds *abhayamudrā* and sword.

From the foregoing, it is apparent that Kārttikeya enjoyed a venerated position at Khajurāho during the time of the Chandellas which is evident not only by the number of his figures but also by the fact that they are carved not only on the Śaiva temples but also on the Vaishṇava and the Śākta temples namely, Lakshmaṇa, Javārī and Devī Jagadambī temples. He has been represented both as one and three-faced, the latter being suggestive of his six faces (Śhaṇmukha). Barring one example where Kārttikeya has been carved in the *parikara* of the Harihara image (Archaeological Museum, Khajurāho) with two hands, in all other examples he is shown with four hands. However, in two examples in the Jardin Museum he possesses eight and ten hands.

The rendering of Kārttikeya with three faces and four arms is in concurrence with the tradition of the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa* but the concurrence in respect of the attributes could only be noticed in the rendering of *śūla* and water-vessel. It is surprising that as against the injunctions of the *Aparājitapṛichchhā* and *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* Kārttikeya has never been represented with six or twelve arms corresponding to the number of his faces (Shaṇmukha); instead he is shown with eight and ten arms in two instances. As envisaged by the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa* and represented in the art of Osiāṅ, Kārttikeya ought to have been endowed with *kukkuṭa* as one of his principal attributes in addition to his spear (*śakti*) but surprisingly the *kukkuṭa*, is not shown with Kārttikeya in Khajurāho. It may be underlined here that the Pratihāra site Osiāṅ (Jodhpur, Rajasthan) had a close and distinct bearing on the art and iconography of Khajurāho but the figures of Kārttikeya, however, do not reveal much of this bearing. Besides *kukkuṭa*, sword and shield as found both in the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa* and in Osiāṅ sculptures also play a truant in case of Khajurāho sculptures. It may be noted that the rendering of the *kukkuṭa* was an invariable feature of Kārttikeya figures at a number of other sites, the main of them being Moḍherā (Mehsana, Gujarat *Plate* 35.5) and Bhubaneśwar (Puri, Orissa). The rendering of manuscript and lotus is the peculiar feature of Kārttikeya figures at Khajurāho. In one example of the north-eastern *devakulikā* of the Lakshmaṇa temple, he is also provided with *triśūla* in place of *śūla* which reminds us of his association with Śiva. In Bhubaneśwar, yielding about 58 figures of Kārttikeya, he is mostly carved on one of the facades of Śiva temples. The figures of Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya and Pārvatī in Bhubaneśvara temples are invariably carved on three sides of the facade of the Śiva temples.[10] Owing to this apparent affiliation of Kārttikeya with Śiva, Kārttikeya in examples from Bhubneśvara, besides usual *kukkuṭa* and *śakti*, also invariably carries *triśūla* and *ḍamarū*, the distinct attributes of Śiva. The rendering of Kārttikeya in Harihara, Ardhanārīśvara, Pārvatī, Umā-Maheśvara and Kalyāṇasundara figures from different places are also well known. Thus it appears that some local tradition was prevalent for the rendering of Kārttikeya at Khajurāho which, however, is now lost to us.

Table-I

Karttikeya-Khajuraho

Temple	*Location*	*Detail*
Brahmā temple (900 A.D.): One figure	*Garbhagṛiha* (south facade): niched figure.	3-faced, seated, 4-armed (all broken), hair in *kākapaksha* style, rides on peacock.
Lakshmaṇa temple (900-50 A.D.): Three figures	i. Inner wall of *Mahā-maṇḍapa* on east: niched figure. (*Plate* 35.2)	3-faced, in *tribhaṅga* with Śakti (standing on left), 4-armed — broken, manuscript, kept on the shoulder of Śakti) wears *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* with hanging hair locks in *kākapaksha* style, *vanamālā*, peacock on right. In the *parikara* figures of four-armed Brahmā and Vishṇu in *tribhaṅga*. On the pedestal 7 figures of dancers and musicians.
	ii. *Devakulikā* (north-west corner), west facade-central niche figure.	3-faced, *tribhaṅga*, 4-armed (fruit, *śakti*, manuscript, water-vessel), peacock on right, hair in *kākapaksha* style.
	iii. *Devakulikā* (north-east corner), north facade-central niched figure.	1-faced, *tribhaṅga*, 4-armed (fruit, *triśūla*, lotus, water-vessel), peacock on right, hair in *kākapaksha*.
Devī Jagadambī temple (1000-1025 A.D.): One figure	*Śikhara* of *Mahāmaṇḍapa* (south).	3-faced, seated, 4-armed (fruit, *śūla*, indistinct, water-vessel), rides peacock, nearby figure of Brahmā.

Temple	*Location*	*Detail*
Kandariyā Mahādeva temple (1025-1050 A.D.): Three figures (*Plate* 35.3)	i. Inner wall of *Mahāmaṇḍapa* on east-niched figure.	3-faced, seated with Śakti in *āliṅgana mudrā*, 4-armed (broken *Śakti*, manuscript, *āliṅgana mudrā*). 2-armed Śakti (*āliṅgana mudrā*, broken).
	ii. *Mahāmaṇḍapa*—north facade	1-faced, standing, 4-armed (*abhayāksha-śakti*, water-vessel), no *vāhana*, *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*.
	iii. *Śikhara* of *Maṇḍapa*	3-faced seated, 4-armed (fruit, lotus, manuscript-cum lotus, *śūla*).
Viśvanātha temple (early 11th century A.D.): One figure (*Plate* 35.4)	*Jagatī*—south	3-faced, *samabhaṅga*, 4-armed (*varada-mudrā*, *śūla*, manuscript, fruit), peacock on left, hair in *kākapaksha*.
Javārī temple (1075-1100 A.D.): One figure	South facade	3-faced, seated on peacock, 4-armed (all hands being damaged), hair in long tufts.
Museum		
Jardin Museum, Khajurāho: Two figures	1. Acc. No. 722, *c.* 10th century A.D., badly mutilated	3-faced, seated, 10-armed (? all being damaged), rides *Mayūra*, slightly in profile to suggest movement, long hair tufts.
	2. Acc. No. 1096: *c.* 11th century A.D.	3-faced, seated, 8-armed (fruit, lotus, manuscript, long spear in surviving hands), rides on peacock.
Archaeological Museum, Khajurāho: Two examples	1. Acc. No. 1099: late 11th century A.D.	1-faced, *tribhaṅga*, 4-armed (*abhaya-mudrā*, *śūla*, manuscript, fruit), *ūrdhvakeśī*, peacock behind.
	2. Diminutive figure carved in *parikara* of Harihara image: 10th century A.D.	2-armed, (*abhaya-mudrā*, *śūla*), hair in *kākapaksha* style.

Table-II

Karttikeya-Osian

(8 figures)

Temple	*Location*	*Detail*
Harihara temple I and II (750-800 A.D.: Two figures-identical	Both on south *jagatī*	3-faced, *tribhaṅga*, 4-armed (fruit, shield, sword, *śūla*).
Harihara temple III Sūrya temple II (775-800 A.D.) Two figures	North *kaṇṭhā* Door-lintel	3-faced, seated on peacock, 4-armed (fruit, shield, cock—sword alongside). Sūrya temple figure being 2-armed (objects indistinct), seated on peacock.
Small shrine between Harihara temple III and Vishṇu temple I (800-825 A.D.)	Southern central niche	2-armed (spear, cock), 3-faced, seated in *lalita* pose, peacock on left.
Vishṇu temple V (1050-1100)	West *kapili*	As *parivāra devatā* in Umā-Maheśvara image, with Gaṇeśa: 3-faced, *tribhaṅga*, 2-armed (*śakti*; *kukkuṭa*), wears *mukuṭa*, *vanamālā* etc.
Sachiyāmātā temple old depiction (775-800 A.D.)	Door-lintel	3-faced, seated on peacock, 2-armed (attributes indistinct).
Sachiyāmātā temple enclosure wall-loose image of *tapasvinī* Pārvatī (800-825 A.D.)		only *śūla* is discernible.

Table-III

Karttikeya-Modhera (Mehsana, Gujarat)

Temple	*Location*	*Detail*
Sun temple (1026 A.D.): Three figures	i. Facade of the *Guḍha-maṇḍapa* (*Plate* 35.5)	3-faced, *samabhaṅga*, 4-armed (*varada-mudrā*, *śakti*, fruit), Mayūra on left, joined by fly-whisk bearers.

Temple	*Location*	*Detail*
	ii. Sūrya kuṇḍa-*devakulikā* (north wall of Śiva temple	3-faced, seated, 4-armed (*varada-mudrā*, *patākā* and *kukkuṭa*)
	iii. Sūrya kuṇḍa *devakulikā*	3-faced, seated 4-armed (*śūla* and *pustaka* in surviving hands).

Notes and References

1. *Dharmasūtra* (of Baudhāyana) 2, 5, 8.
2. *Rāmāyaṇa* I, 37; *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparva 229.
3. See for details, J.N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1956, pp. 362-67, T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Varanasi, 1971, Vol. II, Pt. II pp. 416-18, Bhagwant Sahai, *Iconography of Minor Hindu and Buddhist Deities*, Delhi, 1975, pp. 100-117.
4. स्कन्दः कुमाररूपः शक्तिधरो वर्हिकेतुश्च ।।

   Bṛihatsaṁhitā 57.41
5. चतुमूर्तेः कुमारस्य रूपं ते वच्मि यादव ।
   कुमारश्च तथा स्कन्दो विशारवश्च गुहस्तथा ।।
   कुमारः षण्मुखः कार्यः शिखण्डकवि भूषणः ।
   रक्ताम्बरधरः कार्यो मयूरवाहनः ।।
   कुक्कुटश्च तथा घण्टा तस्य दक्षिणहस्तयोः ।
   पताका वैजयन्ती च शक्तिः कार्या च वामयोः ।।

   Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa 77, 3-5.
6. षडवक्त्रं द्वादशभुजं लोचनत्रयसंयुतम् ।
   शिव्यारूढं मांसलं च कुमारं कुमाराकृतिम् ।।
   शरं शक्तिं च खड्गं च अङ्कुशं दण्डमेवच ।
   अक्षसूत्रं षडेतानि वामकेषु भुजेषु च ।।
   शृङ्गं धनुः पाशखेटं वरदां च कमण्डलुम् ।
   दक्षिणेषु भुजेष्वेवमस्त्राणां षट्कमेव च ।।

   Aparājitapṛichchhā 212. 40-42.
7. See for detail Bhagwant Sahai, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
8. Allan, *CCAI*, pp. 138-39, 151, pls. XVII, 22 and XVIII, 1-3; XIX, 18, pp. LXXXVI, 125-29 pls. XV. 13-20 and XLIII. 1-2; pp. CXLII-CXLIII, pp. XXXVIII, XXXXVII. 19-21.
9. The attributes here and elsewhere are reckoned clockwise starting from the lower right hand.
10. Rekha Pandey, *Bubaneswara kī Deva* Mūrtiyān : *Ek Pratimāśāstrīya Adhyayana*, Delhi, 1987 pp. 248-55.

36

Semi-Cave Shrines of Orissa

D.R. DAS

In Orissa, most of the temples are structural. Examples of cave temples are also not totally absent. However, there are only a couple of instances showing a natural cave turned into a shrine by masonry work. One of them is on the Argarh hill in the Puri District and the other at Paikapara in the Koraput District. The temple on the Argarh hill seems to have been a Buddhist shrine while that at Paikapara is dedicated to Śiva.

ARGARH HILL TEMPLE

(Figs. 1 & 2 and Pls. 36.I-IV)

I

The temple is situated in a valley near the summit of the hill. It is double storeyed and facing north (*Plate* 36.1). Its first storey consists of a sanctuary with a porch in front. The sanctuary is a natural cave fashioned into a square chamber. Its roof, made of flat masonry slabs, has a very small aperture obviously for communication with the upper storey. As there is no staircase, a ladder was apparently used for the purpose of communication between the two storeys. The cave chamber opens on the north through a door which instead of being in the middle of the wall is near its western end.

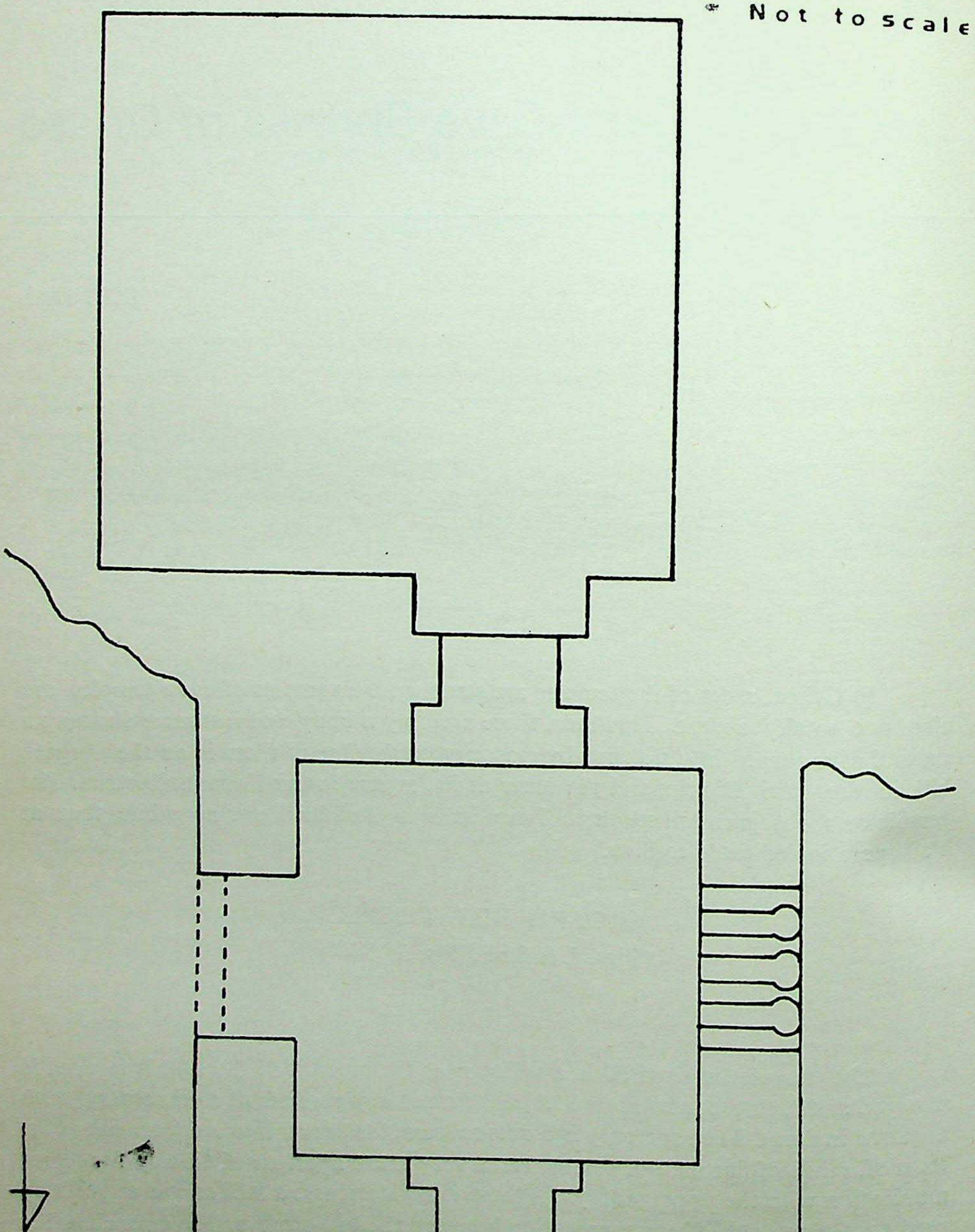
* Not to scale
N

Fig. 36.1. Argarh Hill Temple: Lower Storey (ground plan)

From the door of the sanctuary a narrow vestibule leads to the porch. Unlike the sanctuary, the porch is a masonry construction. It has a window on its either side. The window on the west is provided with three lithic bars whose outer faces are fashioned like balusters. On the east, the window is screened by a lithic grill. The door on the north is enclosed by a frame devoid of any decorative embellishment. The exterior of the porch also bears no decoration. A shallow fillet-like moulding represents the entablature just below the flat roof with sloping sides.

The upper storey is a masonry work and built on a *triratha* plan (*Plates* 36.2 & 36.3). Of the three *rathas*, the *rāhā* on the south is segmented. In elevation, the wall is divided into *pābhāga jāṅgha*, and *baraṇḍa*. Of these three sections the

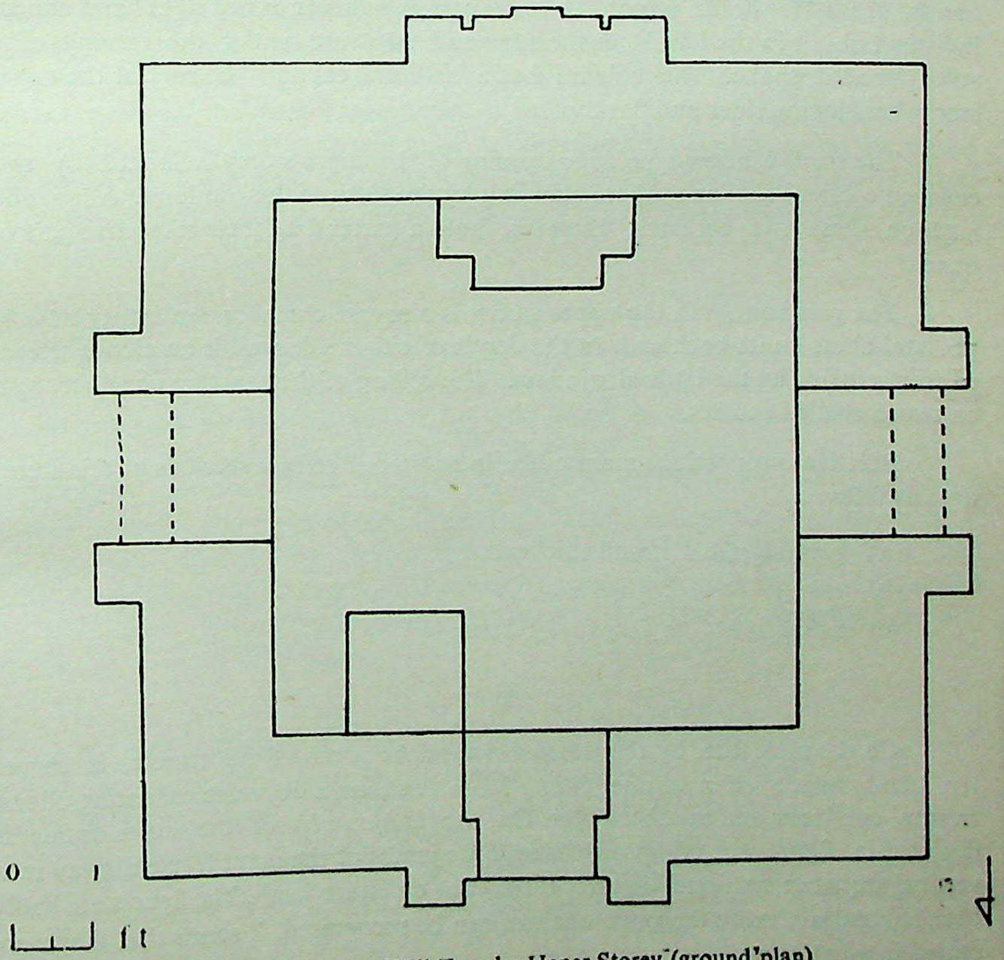

Fig. 36.2. Argarh Hill Temple: Upper Storey (ground plan)

pābhāga is a right-angled dado, the *jāṅgha* a bare wall excepting some relieving elements on the *rāhā* and the *baraṇḍa* a not so prominent *khurā* moulding. The *rāhā* on the southern wall is treated like a shrine of the *khākharā* type. It contains presently an empty niche. The side jambs of the niche are divided into base, shaft and capital. The base consists of two *khurā* mouldings placed back to back. The upper end of the otherwise plain shaft shows the *kīrtimukha* motif gorging bell on a chain between two pearl strings. The capital is an inconspicuous square block. On the west and east, the *rāhā* accommodates a latticed window flanked by two engaged columns. At the base of the column are two *khurā* mouldings placed in opposite directions. Upon the base is a pair of *gajasiṁhas*. A circular moulding surmounts the *gajasiṁhas*. The shaft is entwined by the tail of a human bodied snake. On the right of the window, it is a *nāga* and on the left a *nāgī*. In his two hands, the *nāga* holds a pot. The *nāgī* carries a flower in her right hand and an indistinct object in the left. Both the *nāga* and *nāgī* are under the canopy of a seven hooded snake. The column has a *khākharā* capital. The roof of the upper storey has sloping sides and flat top.

The small window-type door opening of the upper storey is flanked by two engaged columns similar to those standing by the sides of the windows. *Nāga* and *nāgī* on these two columns, however, hold a garland by their respective pair of hands.

The *garbhagṛiha* in the upper storey is a square chamber. An empty *triratha* pedestal abuts on its back end. In the depth of either side wall is an alcove screened from outside by the latticed window. The ceiling of the sanctum chamber rests on two corbelled courses.

Relative proportions maintained in respect of certain sections of this storey were as follows:

(a) *garbhagṛiha* 4 : wall thickness 1
(b) *rāhā* 1 : *kaṇika* 1
(c) *pābhāga* 2 : *jāṅgha* 4 : *baraṇḍa* 1

II

On the rock face, by the western side of the porch of the temple, is carved the blind facade of a shrine (*Plate* 36.4). It shows a doorcase consisting of two frames, one inner and another outer. On the *lalāṭavimba* of the outer frame is depicted a figure seated in *yogāsana*. Side jambs of the inner frame display in a vertical sequence six seated figures, three each on either jamb. The figures are badly abraded and not more than two of them can be recognised. It seems that they were seated in *yogāsana*.

III

Though unique, the temple on the Argarh hill remains a little known monument of Orissa.[1] As a double storeyed temple with flat roof, it does not belong to any regular temple type recognised by Orissan śilpa texts.[2] The provision of window openings in the sanctum chamber was also not in conformity with the common practice of temple building in this region. However, in certain respects, e.g. plan of the upper storey, relative proportions of different parts of the structure, *nāgastambhas* and the grilled windows, it follows the contemporary tradition of Orissa.

As the temple is empty, the deity to whom it was dedicated cannot be ascertained. It also does not bear anything to suggest its cult affiliation. Interestingly, however, several votive *stūpas*, railing pillars with lens-shaped holes at the sides, cross bars and copings are strewn around the temple. These relics are evidence of the existence of a Buddhist establishment at this site. The images on the rock cut facade by the side of this temple also appear to depict Buddha. The discovery of four Buddhist images from its neighbourhood is again indicative of the influence of Buddhism on this locality.[3] Not far from the temple on the Argarh hill are lying a few images which may be Buddhist in character. Circumstantial evidence, therefore, is in favour of identifying the temple on the Argarh hill as a Buddhist shrine.

IV

The *triratha* plan and 2 : 4 : 1 ratio of *pābhāga*, *jāṅgha* and *baraṇḍa* of the upper storey are characteristics which were discontinued in Orissa sometime during the 10th century. Grilled windows of the type found in this temple are not noticed before the 9th and after the 10th century. Placing of *nāga-stambhas* at the flanks of windows and doors began towards the close of the 9th century. The 1 : 4 ratio of wall thickness and length/width of *garbhagṛiha* is a comparatively less common characteristic sporadically found in temples dating from late 9th/early 10th century.[4] All these facts suggest that the temple on the Argarh hill was built about the 10th century when the *Somavaṁśīs*, whose patronage to Buddhism is well known, were ruling over Orissa.

PĀTĀLEŚVARA TEMPLE AT PAIKAPARA

I

At the outskirt of Paikapara is a rocky outcrop emerging from a lake. It nestles a partly subterranean cave which constitutes the sanctum sanctorum of a *pañchāyatana* temple of *Śiva*, locally known as *Pātāleśvara* (*Plate* 36.5). Masonry work was added to the cave to give it the shape of a *deula*. It is not known whether the *deula* retains its original form after undergoing a recent renovation. As it stands today, the *deula* belongs to the *bhadra* order.

The cave shrine has an oblong *mukhaśālā* and four sub-shrines at its four corners. A *Nandī* pavilion is situated in front of the *mukhaśālā*. The temple complex is contained within an enclosed court. As the temple is facing west, the principal entrance, in the shape of a gate pavilion, occurs in the western side of the enclosure wall. A subsidiary door-opening is made in the southern side of this

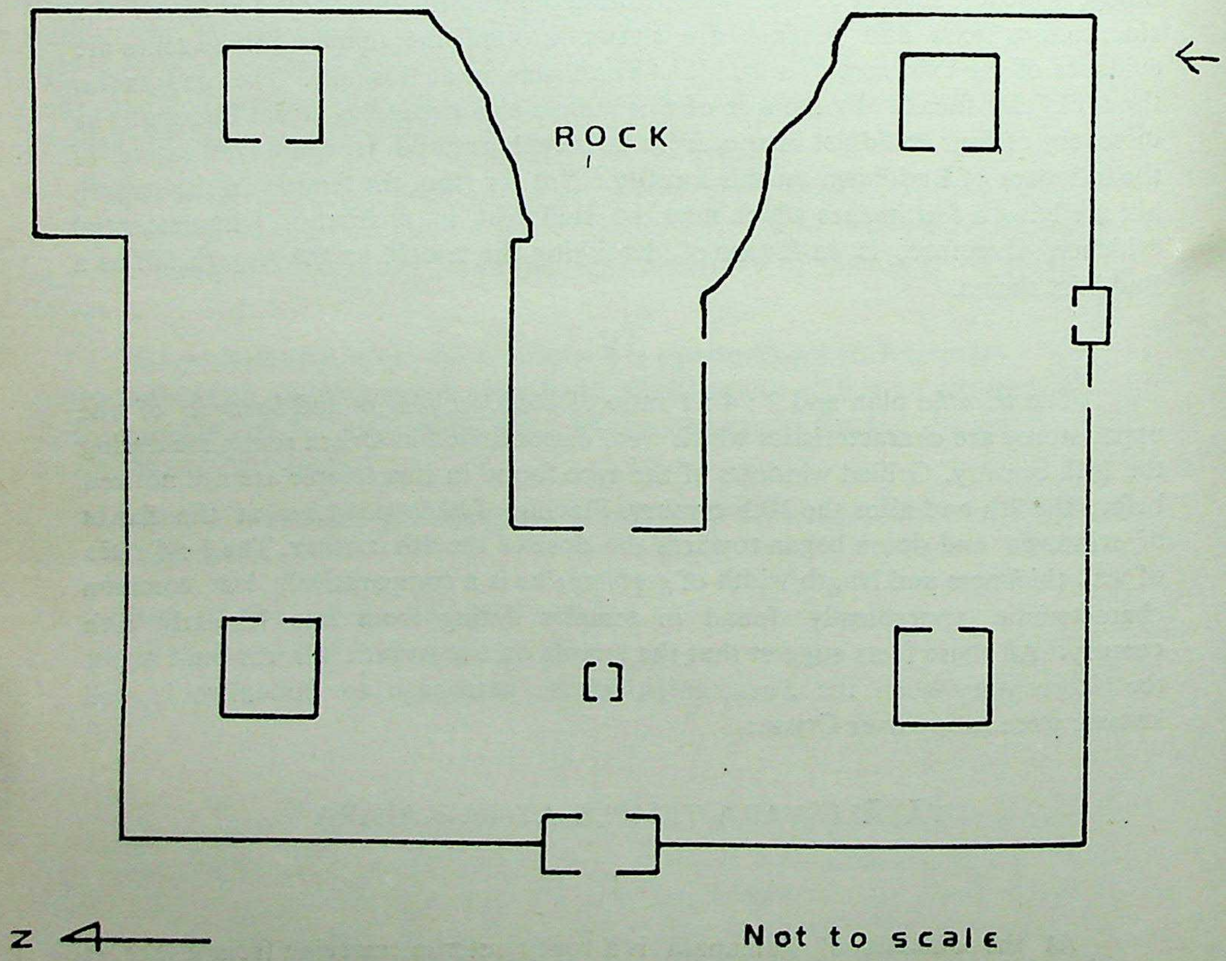

Fig. 36.3. Pātāleśvara Temple (layout scheme)

wall. Near the southern door, the wall is pierced by an oblong temple of the *khākharā* order.

II

Excepting the *gaṇḍi*, which is a recent construction, only a portion of the northern side of the *baḍa deula* of the *Pātāleśvara* is structural. In this structural section, a little of the *pābhāga* could be shown. It consists of three boldly executed mouldings which from below are *khurā*, *noli* and *khurā*. The wall also carries a large niche. The shallow depth of the niche indicates that it was not meant for housing any image. The *mukhaśālā* preceding the *baḍa deula* has its main door on the west and another on the south. On its northern wall is a grilled window. The roof, rising in stepped out courses, rests on two rows of pillars. On the exterior, the stepped out courses are treated like *pīḍhā* stages. Every *pīḍhā* is relieved by regularly spaced *ṭāṅkus*.[5] The wall of the *mukhaśālā* has a *pābhāga* divided into four mouldings viz. *pāda* (*khurā* type), *kumbha*, *paṭā* and *basanta* (inverted *khurā*). Above the moulded segment, the wall carries a series of fifteen niches of which four are on the facade, five on the south and six on the north. The niches, beginning from the one at the eastern end of the southern wall, are occupied by images of deities in the following order: empty, *Umā-Maheśvara*, *Gajaha-Andhakavadha-mūrti*, *Naṭarāja*, *Devī*, *Kārttika*, *Gaṅgā*, *Yamunā*, *Hari-Hara*, *Mahishāsuramardinī*, *Aja*, *Ekapāda*, *Gaṅgādhara*, unidentified form of *Śiva*, unidentified form of *Śiva* and empty.

Four sub-shrines at four corners of the *Pātāleśvara* are, like the *baḍa deula*, dedicated to *Śiva*. All of them are of the *rekha* order (*Plate* 36.6). The north-western and south-western corner shrines are facing east and the north-eastern and south-eastern corner shrines are facing west. On plan they are *triratha*, the *rathas* being segmented into projected and recessed sections. The *garbhagṛiha* is a square chamber with double ceilings. Along the vertical axis, every shrine has three major parts, viz. *bāḍa*, *gaṇḍi* and *mastaka*. The *baḍa* is subdivided into *pābhāga*, *jāṅgha* and *baraṇḍa*. The *pābhāga* has four mouldings which repeat in the same way the *pābhāga* mouldings of the *mukhaśālā*. These mouldings are connected by vertical bands. In the *jāṅgha* section, the *rāhā* and the flanking *kaṇikas* are occupied by a niche each in the likeness of a miniature shrine. Most of the images once occupying these niches have disappeared. A mutilated image of *Gaṇeśa* somehow remains *in situ* in the southern *rāhā* niche of the north-western corner shrine. The *baraṇḍa* has a recessed frieze between two *khurā* mouldings. The *gaṇḍi* is curvilinear and rising in five *bhūmi* stages. Each *bhūmi* consists of three *bhūmi-baraṇḍikas* and a rightangled *bhūmi-āmalaka*. The decoration of the *gaṇḍi* consists of a *chandraśālā* at the base of the *rāhā* and the succession of *chaitya* window motif in a vertical sequence on the *kaṇikas*. Upon the *gaṇḍi* is placed the *bisama* which has indented

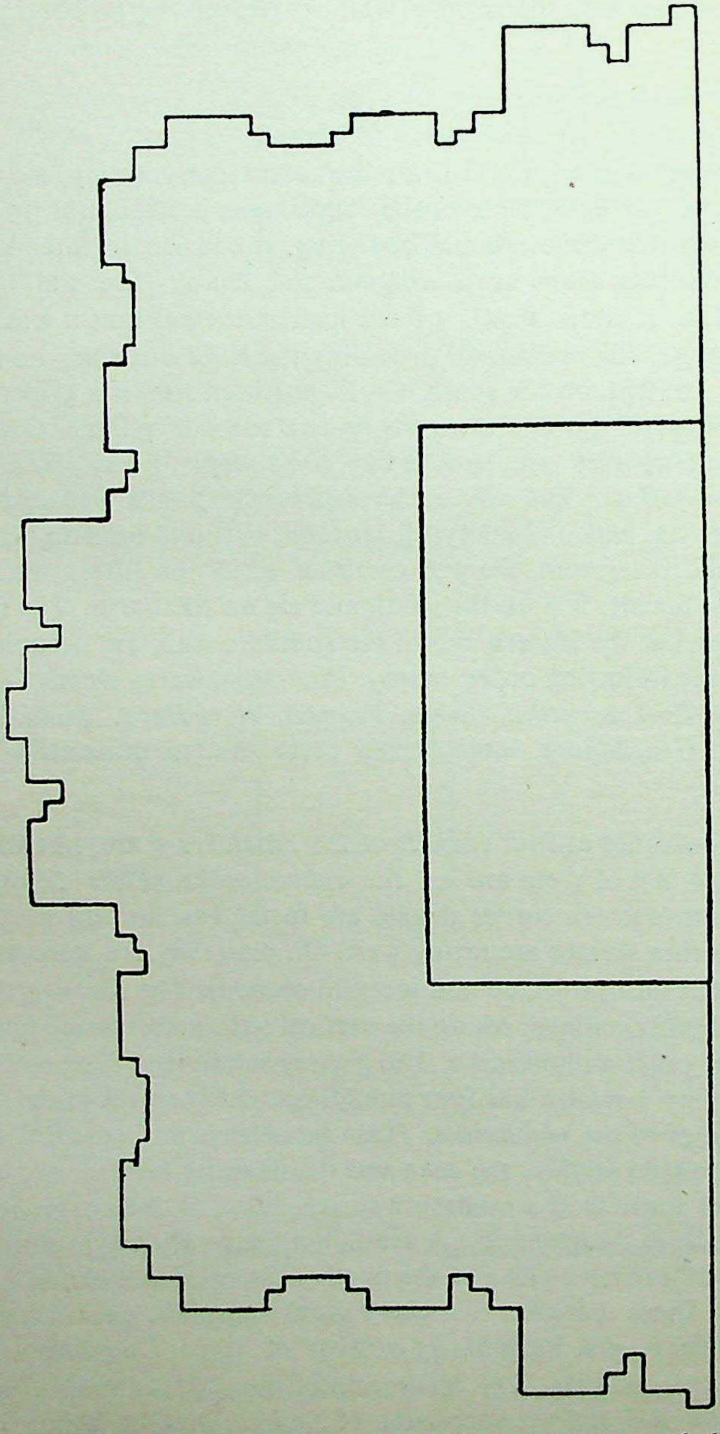

Fig. 36.4. Pātāleśvara Temple: Corner Shrine (part of ground plan)

sides. The *bisama* is surmounted by the *mastaka* which has *āmalaka*, *khapuri* and *kalaśa* as its four component elements.

Relative proportions of some parts of the corner shrines were maintained at the following rates:

(a) *rāhā* 1 : 25 : *kaṇika* 1
(b) wall thickness 1 : width/length of *garbhagṛiha* 3;
(c) *pābhāga* 2 : *jāṅgha* 4 : *baraṇḍa* 1.

At a distance from the *mukhaśālā* stands a small *Nandī* shrine of the *bhadra* order.[6] Built on a square plan, it has an entrance on the west and another on the east and two windows, one each on north and south. The pyramidal roof, going up in receding *pīḍha* tiers, is crowned by a *mastaka* composed of *beki*, *āmalaka*, *khapūri* and *kalaśa*.

Facing the *Nandī* shrine and punctuating the southern side of the enclosure wall rises the gate pavilion (*Plate* 36.7). It is rectangular on plan with sides broken into three *rathas*. Like a *deula*, it has three divisions, viz. *bāḍa*, *gaṇḍi* and *mastaka*. The *bāḍa* is subdivided into *pābhāga*, *jāṅgha* and *baraṇḍa*. The *pābhāga* has four mouldings similar to those found in the same section of the corner shrines and *mukhaśālā*. The *jāṅgha* shows shrine-like niches in the *kaṇika* segments. The *baraṇḍa* is made of a recessed frieze between two *khurā* mouldings. The *gaṇḍi* is divided into two stages rising one above another. In the lower stage, the body of the *gaṇḍi* is serrated by *bhūmi-baraṇḍikas* though no *bhūmi-āmalaka* is shown. The upper stage represents a *khākharā* vault relieved by two horizontally aligned recesses. The *mastaka* once consisted of a row of finials. Of these finials, only one on the northern end is preserved. It shows an *āmalaka* on a *beki*.

On the south, the enclosure wall is pierced by a shrine of *Saptamātṛika*.[7] It is oblong, *triratha* and of the *khākharā* type. The face of the shrine is turned to the north.

III

Iconographic features of images on the *mukhaśālā* were found to be as follows:

Name	*Posture*	*No of Hands*	*Attributes (described clockwise from the lower right hand)*
Umā-Maheśvara:			
(a) Maheśvara	sitting	four	*abhaya*, rosary trident, embracing Uma.
(b) Umā	sitting	two	embracing Śiva, flower.
Gajaha-Andhaka-			

Name	*Posture*	*No. of Hands*	*Attributes (described clockwise from the lower right hand)*
vadhamūrti	standing	eight	dagger, *ḍamaru*, lower end of the shaft of trident lifting the body of Andhaka, upholding elephant hide, upholding elephant hide, upper end of the shaft of trident, *chinmudrā* cup.
Naṭarāja	dancing	eight	varada with lotus mark on palm, *chinmudrā*, *ḍamaru*, stretching a snake above head holding its neck, holding the tail of the same snake, *gajahasta*, trident, touching chin of a female attendant.
Devī (*Plate* 36.9)	sitting on lion	eight	*varada*, discus, sword, arrow, shield, trident, bow, pot.
Kārttika (*Plate* 36.10)	standing	four	spear, arrow, snake, resting on peacock.
Gaṅgā (*Plate* 36.11)	standing	two	pot, akimbo.
Yamunā (*Plate* 36.12)	standing	two	pot, akimbo.
Hari-Hara (*Plate* 36.13)	standing	four	*varada* with lotus mark on palm, trident, conch, club.
Mahishāsura mardinī (demon coming out of the decapitated buffalo)	standing	eight	discus, trident, arrow, sword, shield(?), bow(?), tail of snake, axe.
Aja Ekapāda	standing	four	rosary, trident (abraded), snake, pot.
Gaṅgādhara (Gaṅgā shown twice, once as being released from the matted	standing	four	damaged, in the act of releasing Gaṅgā from the matted locks, trident, pot.

Name	*Posture*	*No. of Hands*	*Attributes (described clockwise from the lower right hand)*
locks of the god and again as standing on *makara* near his left leg) (*Plate* 36.14)			
Śiva	sitting	four	*varada*, trident, damaged, pitcher (? citron?).
Śiva (*Plate* 36.15)	sitting	four	*varada*, rosary, trident, axe.

A common characteristic of these images is their haloed nature. Among the attributes, the trident has invariably a short handle. The *jaṭāmukuṭa* is arranged in a conical shape. The images of Śiva are generally ithyphallic.

IV

The enclosed court of the Pātāleśvara is crowded by several minor shrines belonging to different periods of construction. Of these shrines, two on the north are significant. Both the shrines are square with faceted sides. One of them, facing south, is *pañcharatha* (*Plate* 36.8). The other is *triratha* and facing north. The *gaṇḍi*, in each case, is rising in two storeys. The lower storey is serrated while the upper storey is like a *khākharā* structure. In Orissa, *khākharā* temples on a square plan are unknown. These two temples, therefore, occupy a place of significance in the history of Orissan temple architecture. However, imperfect execution and poor finish rob much of their importance.

V

Two pillars inside the *mukhaśālā* of the Pātāleśvara are inscribed. The inscriptions are badly damaged and not yet deciphered. The bearing of these inscriptions, if any, on the dating of the Pātāleśvara, therefore, remains unknown.

As it stands today, the *pañchāyatana* scheme of the Pātāleśvara does not appear to belong to a single period of construction. It is very likely that the Pātāleśvara emerged at first as a cave shrine to which masonry work was added to give it the shape of a temple. Its *pābhāga* with *noli* as one of its three mouldings cannot be dated later than the 8th century. Indeed, the bold and heavy mouldings, noticed on this *pābhāga*, are characteristic of the 7th century temples of Orissa. Apparently, the elaboration of the Pātāleśvara into a *pañchāyatana* scheme took place at a later date when the *mukhaśālā* was also added to the *baḍa deula*. In fact, the *pābhāga* section of the *mukhaśālā*, corner shrines and gate pavilion consisting of four mouldings with *kumbha* in place of *noli* exhibits features which did not emerge before the 9th century. During the same period was developed the 1 : 3 ratio of wall thickness and length/width of *garbhagṛiha*. Several iconographic features noticed in the images on the *mukhaśālā* cannot be seen till about the 10th century. Some such features include anthropomorphic representation of the buffalo demon in the composition of the Mahishāsuramardinī image, four hands of Kārttika, conical *jaṭāmukuṭa* and pot as an attribute of the river goddesses. However, the *triratha* plan of the corner shrines, grilled windows of the *mukhaśālā* and Nandī shrine, halo behind divine images and absence of cock from the attributes of Kārttika are early characteristics disappearing during the first half of the 10th century.

VI

The door pavilion of the Pātāleśvara, simulating a *khākharā* shrine, is very near in form and appearance to a *gopuram* of south India. The inspiration of this pavilion may, therefore, have come from the south but a south Indian replica of its antiquity has not yet been discovered.

Nandī shrine is another element of the Pātāleśvara which seems to owe its origin to south India. In Orissa, placing of Nandī in a shrine is a rare phenomenon.

The arrangement of images in a row on the *mukhaśālā* of the Pātāleśvara is a practice of which an earlier example is present at Mukhalingam in the Srikakulam District (Andhra Pradesh).[10] This practice, almost unknown in Orissa,[11] was of wide prevalence in the south.

The depiction of Gaṅgā and Yamunā in separate niches flanking the doorcase affiliates the Pātāleśvara with the Someśvara at Mukhalingam (Srikakulam District) and the Divyeśvara at Sarapalli (Vizianagaram District) in Andhra Pradesh. Incidentally, the river goddesses were also found to occupy niches on either flank of the doorcases of the Svapneśvara at Kualo and Bhṛiṅgeśvara at Bajrakot in the Dhenkanal District, Liṅgarāja at Bhabanipur and Siṁhanātha at Gopinathpur in the Cuttack District and Nrusiṁhanātha at Boroagram in the Ganjam District in Orissa.

Notes and References

1. The solitary reference to this temple is contained in a very brief notice by R.P. Mahapatra, *Archaeology of Orissa*, Vol. 1, Delhi, 1986, p. 30.
2. The *Bhuvanapradīpa* classifies Orissan temples into *rekha, bhadra, khākharā* and *gauḍī* (see N.K. Bose, *Canons of Orissan Architecture*, Calcutta, 1932 p. 78).
3. Mahapatra, *op. cit.* p. 31. See also B.K. Rath, *Cultural History of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1983, Pls. 57-59.

4. The Mallikeśvara at Padampur in the Koraput District is one of the earliest temples of Orissa showing 1 : 4 ratio of wall thickness and length/width of *garbhagṛiha.*
5. The roof appears to have been rebuilt at a subsequent date to give it its present shape.
6. For a description of this shrine see D.R. Das, 'Early Bhadra Deuls of Orissa', *S.K. Saraswati Commemoration Volume*, ed., J. Chakrabarty and D.C. Bhattacharya, Calcutta, 1983, p. 189, fig
7. For details of the temple see D.R. Das and S.S. Biswas, 'Early Somavaṁśī Temples of Orissa' to be published in the *K.V. Soundararajan Felicitation Volume.*
8. Some of the images have been described in D.R. Das, 'Śaiva Images on Orissan Temple Walls', *Journal of Ancient Indian History* (abv. *JAIH*), Vol. XII, pp. 89 ff.
9. See *idem*, 'Some Observations on Orissa Temples', *JAIH*, Vol. XV, pp. 127f.
10. Images arranged in a row are placed on three sides of the mukhaśālā of the Madhukeśvara at Mukhalingam. The temple is datable during the 7th century (see *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1973-74, B 23).
11. The Siṁhanātha at Gopinathpur is a rare exception in displaying on its mukhaśālā a row of niches containing images.

Glossary

abhaya:	hand posture in which the palm is turned to the front with fingers raised upward.
āmalaka:	fluted disc, resembling an *āmalaka* fruit (*phyllanthus emblica*).
bāḍa:	wall.
baḍa deula:	s.v. *deula.*
baraṇḍa:	set of mouldings corresponding to the topmost section of *bāḍa*; in early temples it consisted of a recessed frieze underlined by one moulding or placed between two mouldings.
basanta:	uppermost moulding of *pābhāga*.
beki:	neck.
bisama:	capstone.
bhadra deula:	temple with a pyramidal roof.
bhūmi āmalaka:	sectional *āmalaka* at the edge of *gaṇḍi* to demarcate one *bhūmi* from the other.
bhūmi baraṇḍika:	moulding in a *bhūmi.*
chandraśālā:	blind half-moon shaped gable.
chinmudrā:	hand posture in which tips of thumb and forefinger are made to touch each other, so as to form a circle.
ḍamaru:	kettle drum.
deula:	temple; *baḍa-*, principal shrine.
gajahasta:	hand pose showing the arm thrown forward, generally across the body, like the trunk of an elephant.
gajasiṁha:	lion rampant on elephant.

gaṇḍi:	roof.
garbhagṛiha:	sanctum chamber.
gauḍī:	order of temple resembling a village hut of Bengal.
gopuram:	gate pavilion.
jāṅgha:	section between *pābhāga* and *baraṇḍa*.
jaṭāmuku‘a:	crown made of matted hair.
kalaśa:	pitcher.
kaṇika:	corner segment of a temple.
kāṇṭi:	recess between mouldings.
khākarā:	rectangular parrallelelopiped structure with vertical sides replaced by an open *S* form.
khapuri:	flattened umbrella-shaped member on *āmalaka*.
khurā:	hoof shaped moulding.
kīrtimukha:	lion face.
kumbha:	moulding having the profile of a water pot.
lalāṭavimba:	rectangular boss in the centre of the door lintel.
makara:	dolphin.
mastaka:	set of crowning members above the *gaṇḍi*.
mukhaśālā:	forward hall.
nāga:	male snake.
nāgastambha:	pillar entwined by human bodied snake.
nāgī:	female snake.
noli:	torus.
pābhāga:	lowermost part of the *bāḍa*, usually demarcated by a set of mouldings.
pāda:	lowermost moulding of *pābhāga*.
pañcharatha:	s.v. *ratha*.
pañchāyatana:	five shrined temple complex.
paṭā:	square moulding.
pīḍha:	tier of roof of a *bhadra deula*.
rāhā:	projected central segment of a temple.
ratha:	segment produced upon the face of a temple by subjecting part of it to one or more projections: tri-, temple having three *rathas*; *pañcha*-, temple having five *rathas*.
rekha deula:	temple with a curvilinear roof.
ṭāṇku:	heart shaped element.
triratha:	s.v. *ratha*.
varada:	hand posture showing the palm turned to front and fingers extended downwards.
yogāsana:	sitting posture in which two legs are kept crossed.

37

A Dated and Illustrated MS. of the Prajnaparamita

D.C. BHATTACHARYYA

As a grantee of the John D. Rockefeller 3rd Foundation Fellowship in 1974-75, I had the privilege to study the materials of Buddhist art and iconography lying in the major collections in the U.K., U.S.A., Thailand and Nepal. In this connection, when I was in the United Kingdom, I came across a unique manuscript of the *Prajñāpāramitā* text which not only contained some paintings, but also had a colophon statement disclosing the possible date of the painted manuscript. The manuscript belonged to the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of London, and it bore the Accession No. Hodgson 1, which perhaps was indicative of the fact that it formed part of Brian Hodgson's collection of manuscripts in the holding of the Royal Asiatic Society of London. I could, however, consult the concerned manuscript, through the courtesy of Dr. Robert Skelton, at the Victoria and Albert Museum of London where it had temporarily been sent by the Asiatic Society for technical evaluation.[1]

On my careful study of the manuscript I was convinced of the fact that it was a valuable document not only of the Eastern Indian miniature painting, but also of the history of the Pāla dynasty. Its importance in the study of Buddhist iconography was also realized by me. However, on my request for the supply of the photographs of the paintings and also of the last leaf of the manuscript bearing the colophon with date, I was advised to take whatever notes I intended to and approach the Royal Asiatic Society of London for the permission to take the photographs. I decided to take the notes immediately, and resolved to wait for a timely opportunity to collect the required photographs. Unfortunately, that sought-after opportunity eluded me ever thereafter. I am, however, happy that I had taken comprehensive notes to go by. This notice of this important document of the Eastern Indian painting, the iconography of Buddhism, and of the history of the Pāla dynasty is primarily based on the comprehensive notes that I could take at that time.[2]

It is a palm-leaf manuscript, measuring 22½″×2½″, of the well-known Buddhist text, the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*. It consists of 204 leaves placed between two wooden covers. In each page, there is the text of six lines written in the Kuṭila script of Eastern India. The colophon on the folio marked 204 has the following statement:

> *Parameśvara paramabhaṭṭāraka paramasaugata mahārājādhirāja*
> *śrīmadgovindapālasya vijayarājye samvat* 9.

From the above colophon statement it is clear that the manuscript concerned was executed in the year 9 of the glorious reign of Govindapāla. The name of this ruler is well-known in the history of Eastern India. A few manuscripts and inscriptions bearing dates related to this ruler are known to us.[3] But almost everywhere the expressions like *atīta*, *hata*, *gata*, *vinaṣṭa*—meaning elapsed or past—are prefixed with the date. Only in an inscription there is the mention of his glorious reign (*vijayarājye*) in the year 4. In view of this, scholars were of the opinion that Govindapāla might have ruled only for 4 years, and thereafter the dates were given with reference to his reign having already passed or elapsed (*atīta*, *hata*, *gata*, *vinaṣṭa*).[4] The discovery of the colophon-statement in the manuscript of our discussion is, thus, of importance in the reconstruction of the history of the Pāla rule. It is now possible to think that Govindapāla had at least ruled with glory for nine years, if not more.

The manuscript is also an important document of Eastern Indian painting and also of Buddhist iconography.[5] It is well-known, however, that the paintings in such manuscripts are not usually the illustrations to the text. They are there primarily for decorative purposes. It is possible that by way of decorating or beautifying the manuscripts the purpose of the documentation of iconographic types was also served. It is a fact that from the paintings of the like many otherwise unknown iconographic types have been brought to the notice by the scholars of Buddhist iconography.[6] In this manuscript too, there are several rare iconic types. It is possible that the notice of them will help in some respects the researches on Buddhist iconography. It is thus necessary to take a descriptive note of the painted forms contained in the manuscript.

There are altogether nine painted forms in three leaves—three paintings being distributed on each of these three leaves. In addition, there are nine forms shown on the inner side of the first wooden cover, and, similarly, there are eight forms represented on the inside of the last wooden cover. Although all these figures show simple features of iconography, it is not difficult to recognize their Buddhistic nature. But the identification of each figure is not possible in view of the fact that the iconographic characteristics shown by them are shared by a number of Buddhist deities. Sometimes, however, the placement of the figures, or what we may call as the "iconographic context", gives us the clue to the possible identification. But these possibilities are mostly speculative. It is not possible to cite textual support for each of the identifications. Intensive research may someday legitimize them.

The First Wooden Cover

As has already been mentioned above, the inside of the first wooden cover bears the representation of nine figures. All the figures are seated and nimbate. But they seem to constitute two distinct categories of divinities. The second, fifth, and the eighth figures (starting from the viewer's left) seem to be the representations of the Buddha in his various presences. Their simplistic monkish dress and distinctive hair-do lead to this possibility. The right hands of the second, fifth and eighth figures are disposed in the *varada*, *bhūmisparśa*, and *abhaya* poses respectively, their left hands being placed on the lap. The remaining six figures, namely, the first, third, fourth, sixth, seventh, and the ninth, are also seated in the *vajraparyaṅkāsana*, similar to the three Buddha-like figures. But these six figures are heavily bejewelled and they also wear crowns. In fact, they seem to be attending on the three Buddha-like figures. Although seated in a rigid pose, they considerably twist their bodies as if to face the Buddha-like figure to their respective immediate right or left. Thus the first and the third figures seem to flank the second figure having Buddha-like appearance. Similarly, the fourth and the sixth figure flank the fifth figure (of the Buddha), and the seventh and the ninth figures flank the eighth figure (of the Buddha). It is possible that the flanking figures are those of the Bodhisattvas, a pair of whom attended on the Buddha in each of his triple presences. The three Buddhas can be tentatively identified as Dīpaṅkara (Buddha of the immediate past), Gautama (Buddha of the present *kalpa*), and Maitreya (the future Buddha), starting from the left.[7]

Most of the figures, tentatively identified as the Bodhisattvas, are partially or fully wiped off. The first and the third figures, flanking the second (figure of Buddha), and the sixth figure to the right of the fifth (of the Buddha) are in the better state of preservation. The principal iconographic features of these two are as follows:

Figure 1 : The hands in the *dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā* with a lotus being held by the stalk.

Figure 3 : The *varada-mudrā* in the right hand, and a lotus in the left.

Figure 6 : A sword in the right hand, and the left is placed on the lap. (It is not clear whether there is a book in this left hand which is placed on the lap).

The above-mentioned three figures cannot be identified right away in view of the fact that the iconographic features they bear are shared by quite a number of Buddhistic deities. These figures having been given a somewhat subsidiary status, it is likely that they represent the Bodhisattvas. But the total number of the figures in this wooden cover being nine, it is tempting to read in them the representation of a group of deities like the Navagrahas of India or Navadevas of some South-east Asian countries.[8] But this should be ruled out. We have already pointed out that the panel consists of two distinct categories of divinities—one represented by the second, fifth, and the eighth figures, while the remaining others form the other category. The former category seems to represent the principal figures, and the other category constitutes, in that way, the attendant figures. In a panel of the Navagrahas such two-tier categorization is not seen anywhere. Moreover, the interpretation of the panel as of the Navagrahas will necessitate the acceptance of the inconceivable possibility that Soma, Bṛhaspati, and Rāhu, who usually occupy the second, fifth, and the eighth positions in a Navagraha panel, have been represented here in the Buddha-like appearance.

In view of the above, the nine divinities represented here do not constitute, to our mind, a group of nine in a linear order. They probably represent a triptych of the Buddha of the past, present, and the future. Another example of the representation of the triptych of the triple Buddha, although shown in a somewhat different way, from an Eastern Indian manuscript illumination can be referred to here. It is from the manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* of the year 4 of the reign of Gomīndrapāla (c. end of the 12th century A.D.). The manuscript concerned is preserved in the collection of the Bharat Kala Bhavan of the Banaras Hindu University.[9]

The last Wooden Cover

The inside of the last wooden cover has the representation of eight male figures. The first one from the left (viewer's left) shows a bearded and moustached person with his hands folded to express devotion to the remaining seven figures whom the former faces. All these seven figures being represented with a halo, and the bearded figure being without any, it seems that it is a panel showing seven divinities being venerated by an individual, may be the donor or the king.

The salient iconographic features of the seven divine figures are as follows:

Starting from the viewer's left—

1. Seated in the cross-legged position—the legs cross at the ankles. Thus the sitting posture can be referred to as the *svastikāsana*, as per the definition of the *Vajrāvalī*. The figure has two hands of which the right one is disposed in the *vyākhyāna-mudrā*, and the left holds a lotus by the stalk.
2. Seated in the *vajraparyaṅkāsana*. Two-handed. The right hand shows the *varada-mudrā*, while the left is placed on the lap.
3. *Vajraparyaṅkāsana*. Right hand is in the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*. The left is placed on the lap.
4. *Vajraparyaṅkāsana*. In each of the two hands there is a *vajra* placed near the chest. However, the hands are not disposed in the *vajrahuṁkāra* pose.
5. *Vajraparyaṅkāsana*. The two hands are disposed in the *dhyāna-mudrā*. The placement of the hands of the *dhyāna-mudrā* is on the lap, and not near the navel or the chest.
6. *Vajraparyaṅkāsana*. The *abhaya-mudrā* in the right hand, and the left hand is placed on the lap.
7. *Vajraparyaṅkāsana*. The right hand shows the *vyākhyāna-mudrā*, and the left hand holds the lotus by the stalk.

The above-mentioned seven divinities cannot be negotiated to any known set of collective deities. We do not know of any set of Buddhist male deities the number of which is seven. One can, however, think of the seven Mortal Buddhas or the so-called Mānuṣī-Buddhas like Vipaśyī, Śikhī, Viśvabhū, Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa, and Śākyasiṁha, or even of the Bodhisattvas like Mahāmatī, Ratnadhara, Ākāśagañja, Śakamaṅgala, Kaṅkarāja, Dharmadhara, and Ānanda, related respectively to the seven Mortal Buddhas. But the present panel of seven deities cannot be identified as the representation of the seven Mortal Buddhas. None of the figures show Buddha like features. Moreover, the seven Mortal Buddhas, when represented as a distinct group, show the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* in the right hand,[10] whereas the figures in our panel exhibit various *mudrās* and attributes. The identification of these figures as the seven Mortal Bodhisattvas is also indefinite. The iconographical specifications of them in the collective presence are not given in the texts to enable us to ascertain such an identification. Moreover, their presence in a panel for special veneration is also unlikely in view of their secondary stature in the pantheon.

The first and the seventh of the above-mentioned figures show the same attributes in the hands—the difference is only in their sitting postures. The identification of these seven figures will remain inconclusive in view of the fact that the iconographic features shown by them can be shared by a number of Buddhist deities. However, we can suggest the following tentative identifications:[11]

1. The Vāgīśvara form of Mañjuśrī.
2. Siddhaikavīra-Mañjuśrī. Alternatively, the Lokanātha or Khasarpaṇa form of Avalokiteśvara.
3. Vajrāsana.
4. Trailokyavaśaṁkara-Lokeśvara or Vajranātha-Lokeśvara.
5. Vajrarāga form of Mañjuśrī.
6. Trilokasandarśana-, Gaganagañja-, or Acalaketu-Lokeśvara.
7. Mañjughoṣa form of Mañjuśrī.

Although the above identifications are highly conjectural, the presence of some forms of Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara, the two celebrated Bodhisattvas, in a panel for special veneration is not unlikely. The selection of a few, and these forms only, can only be explained as a matter of the personal preference of the patron or of the artist.

The Paintings in the Folios

There are nine paintings in three leaves. Each of these three leaves contains three paintings each. The description of the painting is as follows:

Leaf marked 1 has the following three paintings—

1. The scene of the birth of the Buddha. Māyādevī, the mother of the Buddha, is shown as standing in the *tribhaṅga* pose. She holds the branch of the Śāla tree, while her sister gives her the support from the left. The infant Buddha is shown as issuing out of her right side. Indra is represented in the act of receiving the child. No other details like the Bath (*abhiṣeka*) or the Seven Steps (*saptapadagamana*) are represented.
2. A two-handed goddess with yellow complexion. She is seated in a posture analogous to the *lalitāsana*. An attendant female figure tends her foot. Two other female deities seem to attend on her in the front. The principal goddess shows the *dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā* with her hands. This goddess can be identified as Mahāśrī Tārā.
3. The seated figure of the Buddha flanked by a standing female figure to his left and a standing male figure to his right. The flanking figures can be identified as Dharma and Saṅgha respectively. Thus it seems to be

the representation of the Buddhist Trinity (*Triratna*): Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha. The convention of representing Saṅgha by a female form was well established in Vajrayāna Buddhism.[12]

Leaf marked 96 has the following three paintings—

1. Six-handed goddess standing in the *prātyalīḍha* posture. She is stunted in her body and shows the pot-bellied nature. She is in the midst of an effulgent aureole. The attributes of the hands are not discernible. She has been identified by S.K. Saraswati as Mahāsāhasrapramardinī, and he has identified the attributes as follows: right—sword, arrow, spear or goad; left—bow, lasso, hand held near the chest.[13] But the identification is doubtful. Mahāsāhasrapramardinī being a goddess of the Pañcarakṣā (Five Protectresses) group, her representation in isolation of the other four of the group seems to be unlikely. Moreover, his identification of the attributes in the hands is but too conjectural. In fact, the left hand held near the chest is disposed in the *tarjanī-mudrā*, as will be evident from a very attentive examination. On such a scrutiny, another thing is also revealed. A number of white lines seem to disperse from her hands. These are probably the reins or cords descending downwards. On a careful observation, it is found that there are faint traces of some animal figures at the bottom. One of the animals can be faintly seen at the right side below. It seems to be a pig. Taking this into consideration, the goddess in the painting can be identified as Mārīcī.

2. Two-handed male figure seated in the *vajraparyaṅkāsana*, but his body is gracefully twisted towards his right. The right hand placed near the chest has the *vajra*, while left hand placed on the lap holds the *ghaṇṭā*. This bejewelled and fair-complexioned god can be identified as Vajrasattva.

3. Four-handed goddess of red complexion seated in the *vajraparyaṅkāsana*. Her principal pair of hands is disposed in the act of shooting the arrow —the bow in the left hand, and the arrow in the right. Of the remaining two hands, the right holds a lotus, while the left seems to dangle down the sides. This goddess can be identified as Kurukullā on the basis of a similar form of the goddess with an identificatory label found in a Nepalese manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*.[14] In this connection it should be mentioned that the representation of this form of the goddess Kurukullā, although known from Nepalese sources quite frequently, is very rare in Eastern Indian art. Only one metal image of this form of the goddess is known from Bihar.[15] The present painting is the second example of the form known from Eastern Indian sources.

The last leaf marked 204 has the following three paintings—

1. Two-handed male figure seated gracefully. The figure is, however, bulky and pot-bellied. The right hand is held near the chest. This hand has a round-shaped object, probably the jewel. In the left hand there is a flappy and elongated object, probably a purse or a money-bag. In view of the grotesque mien of the figure, and considering the possible attributes, the deity may be identified as Jambhala or Kubera.

2. The conjoint representation of a male and a female figures. They are standing in embrace. The garland of human skulls and the garment of the tiger-skin are the attributes discernible. Obviously, the representation is that of the combined form of Prajñā and Upāya. It can be identified as Hevajra—the composite form of Heruka and Mahāvārāhī.[16]

3. Two-handed figure of a goddess seated gracefully in the *vajraparyaṅka* posture. Her right hand is in the *varada-mudrā*, while she exhibits the *abhaya* pose, in the left hand. The image should be identified as the representation of the goddess Tārā. But it is difficult to suggest the exact name of the particular form of the goddess. In almost all her well-known two-armed forms, she usually exhibits the *varada* pose in the right hand, and a lotus in the left. In the present form, the left-hand attribute being the *abhaya* pose, in place of the usual lotus, the characterization of the form with the normal designations like the Khadiravanī Tārā or Āryā Tārā is not possible. But in view of the *abhaya* pose, by implication of the concept thus represented, the form of the goddess may tentatively be referred to as the Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā.[17] Of course, it should be remembered that Tārā is a goddess of benefaction and protection at the same time. Thus it is not surprising that the artist has given expression to these two concurrent aspects of the goddess in the present form.

It will be evident from the above descriptive survey of the paintings of the manuscript that it is a very important document of Buddhist iconography. At the same time, it is a valuable evidence for the reconstruction of the style of miniature painting in Eastern India in the twelfth century A.D. It has already been stated that our manuscript is dated in the 9th year of the reign of Govindapāla. From an inscription with the name of Govindapāla attached to it, and with a date given in the Vikrama era, it has been possible to arrive at A.D. 1161-62 as the probable date of the beginning of the reign of Govindapāla.[18] In that reckoning, the date of our manuscript should be placed to A.D. 1170-71.

Notes and References

1. I express my gratitude to JDR 3rd Fund of the U.S.A. for the help I received for the study of this manuscript and many others during my travels as a grantee of the fellowship. I also thank Dr. Robert Skelton of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London for his kind gesture of allowing me to consult the manuscript concerned.
2. I shared the information with Professor S.K. Saraswati and supplied him the text of the colophon which he utilized, with due acknowledgements to me, in his *Pāl Yuger Citrakalā* (in Bengali), published from Calcutta in 1978.
3. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
4. The manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* No. G 9989A of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta bears a date 18 referable to Govindapāla. H.P. Sastri (see his *A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.* Vol. I, p. 6) reads the colophon as follows: *Śrīmadgovindapālasyābhi* ... *saṁvat* 18. But on a careful scrutiny, it has been found that the reading actually should have been *Govindapālasyātītābde*. Thus the probability of this manuscript referring to Govindapāla's victorious reign (*abhivardhamāne*) should be ruled out.
5. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, has discussed the painterly qualities of the miniatures in this manuscript, and he has briefly described the iconic features of five of the paintings. His descriptions are given only in the Contents of the book, and he does not say anything about the rest of the illustrations.
6. Bhattcharyya, D.C., *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, New Delhi, 1974; *Studies in Buddhist Iconography*, New Delhi, 1978; Saraswati, S.K., *Tantrayana Art: An Album*, Calcutta, 1977.
7. The triple presence of a Buddha-like figure can be explained this way only. We have not tried to interpret the three Buddha-like figures as the Buddhist Trinity, because separate veneration of the three members of the Trinity, is not known to be a convention.
8. See P. Pal and D.C. Bhattacharyya, *The Astral Divinities of Nepal*, Varanasi, 1967.
9. Another possible illustration of the same theme, although in a different way, is seen in the Cambridge University Library Ms. No. Add. 1464, which bears a date, year 5 of the reign of Mahīpāla (II). But Saraswati, in his *Tantrayana Art*, pp. LXXVII, XCIII identifies the illustrations both of the Gomīndrapāla manuscript and of the Mahīpāla (II) manuscript as the representations of the Great Miracle at Śrāvastī. But we beg to differ from him for a number of reasons the most important of them being the consideration that in neither of these two illustrations there is the suggestion of the emergence of subsidiary forms out of the principal form— a *sine qua non* for the Great Miracle Scene.
10. Bhattacharyya, B., *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Calcutta, 1958, p. 77. Also see Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples of India*, p. 383 for the colossal images of the seven Mortal Buddhas in the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* in one of the caves of Ellora.
11. For the textual support of the near approximation in most of the cases, see the relevant portions in Bhattacharyya's *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, mentioned above.
12. See Bhattacharyya, *Studies in Buddhist Iconography*, p. 30.
13. See Saraswati, *Pāl Yuger Citrakalā* (in Bengali), p. 16.
14. The relevant representation can be seen in the Ms. of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* from Nepal, dated A.D. 1015 and A.D. 1071, preserved respectively in the Cambridge University Library and the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. The identificatory label reads: *Lāṭadeśe kurukullāśikhare kurukullā*. For the discussions, see Saraswati, *Tantrayana Art*, pp. LXXVIII-LXXIX, LXXXVII-LXXXVIII.

15. Saraswati, *Tantrayana Art*, p. LXXIX.
16. Heruka and Mahāvārāhī combine to form the imagery of Hevajra. The Prajñā is often referred to as Nairātmā. Numerous descriptions of the conjoint form—the *Yab-Yum* Form—are known from various Buddhist texts, published and in manuscript form.
17. The Aṣṭamahābhaya form, however, envisages many other accessory representations—the depiction of the eight perils or *bhayas*. But the abstraction of the concept of the goddess' deliverance of the devotees from the *bhayas* might have found expression through the incorporation of the *abhaya-mudrā*, symbolising 'no-fear' for the devotees, to the goddess Tārā here in the present image.
18. See Saraswati, *Pāl Yuger Citrakalā* (in Bengali), p. 72.

38

Buddhism in Kannada Inscriptions

SHRINIVAS RITTI

The *Bauddha dharma* has indeed certain unique features. It is one of the few religions which spread from the land of its birth, with unusual speed, much beyond the borders of the country and lost its ground also, equally speedily, and it found permanent asylum more outside the country than inside. In a lighter way Buddhism can be compared with a sandal stick which though burns itself, leaves an aroma around. There is hardly any religion in the country which has not imbibed the humane aspects of this religion. Born in the foot-hills of the Himalayas, the message of the Buddha spread far and wide and reached the nook and corner of the country and went beyond, and has left for posterity its footprints through the monuments and writings reminding the world of its affluence, during some period in history.

Buddhism spread to Karnataka also and continued to flourish here, perhaps for a longer period than in other parts of the country. We have more prominent evidences of the rise and growth of other religions in Karnataka but those for the spread of Buddhism are not wanting. I draw here the attention of the scholars to more conspicuous references to this religion in the inscriptions of Karnataka.

Buddhism rose in our country in the sixth century B.C., and in the next two to three centuries it had reached further down in the Deccan and Karnataka. The first major impetus for the spread of the religion into the South seems to have been received through the great Maurya king Aśoka, if we are to believe the traditions recorded in Buddhist works. The Buddhist works indeed depict this king as the champion of the cause of Buddhism who zealously propagated this religion through his messengers who travelled to far off lands with this mission. But it is indeed wrong to believe (as is done in some quarters) that his edicts in different parts of the country have anything to do with this mission. These edicts exhibit his zeal in propagating the good behaviour and inculcating human values among the people and not in propagating this religion or the other, though his devotion to Buddha and his interest in the growth of that religion are exhibited beyond doubt.

In Karnataka, about ten minor edicts have been discovered but the one from Maski may be mentioned here to show his affiliation to Buddha and His teachings. Unlike in similar edicts elsewhere where he calls himself an *upāsaka*, i.e., a devotee in a vague way, in this Maski edict he declares himself to be a devotee of the Buddha. (*Aṁ sumi budha sake*). This in itself does not indeed prove the existence of Buddhism in this region. But that Buddhist centres flourished a couple of centuries later, i.e., around the first century of the pre-Christian and the Christian era is vouchsafed by epigraphical records.

Banavāsi in North Kanara District figures in this period as a Buddhist centre. Apart from legends and traditions, such as a visit of a Buddhist monk deputed by Aśoka, or the possible remains of Buddhist structures in this place, there is an epigraphical reference to the effect that the monks of Ceylon brought Buddhism to Vanavāsi. This is the well-known Ikshvāku inscription[1] from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. It states that Taṁbapannika Theriyas favoured with a visit[2] to Kaśmīra, Gāndhāra and many other countries and regions including Vanavāsi (*Kasmīra-Gandhāra-Chīna-Chilata-Tosali - Avanta - Vaṅga - Vanavāsi-Yavana-Damiḷa-Palura-Taṁbapanni dupapasadakanaṁ Theriyānaṁ Thaṁbapanakanaṁ Supari gahe*). The famous Nāga inscription of this place belonging to the Chuṭu king Viṇhukaḍachuṭukulānanda Sātakaṇi is, of course, a standing testimony to the flourishing condition of Buddhism in Banavāsi. It speaks of the constructions of a *vihāra* by the king's daughter Sivaskada Nāgasiri. This was long back published by Fleet in *Indian Antiquary* and its revised version and reinterpretation has been published in *Epigraphia Indica* by Dr. G.S. Gai.[3] Another inscription from this place speaks of Kodabalasiri, the queen of a Vanavāsaka-mahārāja excavating (*Khariyam*) a *vihāra* at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.[4] Banavāsi was obviously a flourishing city in those days. A merchant (*śrēshṭhī*) called Bhutapala of this place is stated to have installed i.e., constructed a *śilāgṛiha* at Karla, which was considered the best in Jambūdvīpa: *Vejayantito Sethina Bhutapalena silagharam parinithapitam Jambudipāsi Utamam.*[5]

Another important centre in the contemporary days was located on the banks of the Bhīmā river around the present day Sannati in the Gulbarga District.

The inscriptions found here do not directly refer to the Buddha or Buddhism as such but the large number of antiquities including remnants of a *stūpa* and inscriptions strewn over the area testify to this fact. A beautiful sculpture found here, of a horse and its attendant in relief appears to depict the return of the horse of the Buddha and his servant after his master's famous *parinishkramṇa*. There is also a slab depicting the scene of Saṁbodhi containing the carvings, of the seat *vajrāsana* under the Bodhi tree and the *Buddha-pādas*.[6] There are more than fifty inscriptions found here engraved on pillars and slabs which were obviously parts of the *stūpa* complex which existed here. Most of them record donations by members of the royal families, merchants and the laity. These inscriptions mention known names as Sātavāhana, and mahāraṭhi, the officers like *Rājāmātya*, the *gṛihiṇis* and the *grahapatis* and the *Vaṇijas* who all contributed to the growth of the complex.[7]

A fragmentary slab belonging to this very period was salvaged in clearing operations at Hampi, comparable in most respects to the epigraphs of Sannati. Like the Sannati inscriptions this also appears to have a Buddhist affiliation. The extant portion reads *Tarasa pulasa dānaṁ* referring to the donation of an individual. The inscription coupled with a small number of fragments of pillars and similar objects with Buddhist association do indicate the existence of a Buddhist monument here. But one wonders how in as vast an area as the Vijayanagara complex no more Buddhist vestiges have been unearthed. Nevertheless, the extant inscription not only takes back the antiquity of Hampi region to the early centuries of the Christian era but also indicates the prevalence of Buddhism in this region in that period.

Coming back to Banavāsi, there is yet another inscription of Buddhist orientation in this place. It refers to Śivaśrīpuḷumāvi and mentions a *chhāyāthaba* or *chhāyāstaṁbha* probably set up in memory of a Sātavāhana queen. Engraved on an *āyaka* pillar-like slab, the inscription exhibits a Buddhist bias.[9]

Perhaps this was the peak period of Buddhism in Karnataka. The dominance of the Vedic religion in the Gupta period in the subsequent 4th-5th centuries A.D. had its repercussions in the Deccan also. The Kadaṁbas who were the successors of the Sātavāhanas in Karnataka patronised the Vedic Śaiva and Vaishṇava religions; and Jainism also received considerable prominence. There is hardly any indication of the flourishing of Buddhism in the Kadaṁba regime between 4th-6th century A.D. Dr. D.C. Sircar, however, held that the Ḍāvaṇgere copper-plate inscription of Ravivarma has a reference to Buddhism. These plates were first published in 1933 by M.H. Krishna in the *Mysore Archaeological Report* of that year. Dr. Sircar published it again in Vol. XXXIII of *Epigraphia Indica*. The Inscription begins with an invocation to Sarvajña Sarvatokaṇṭha which expression according to Sircar, refers to the Buddha. But M.H. Krishna appears to be correct in holding that it is a Jaina inscription recording a grant for worship in a *Siddhāyatana* and the growth of the *Saṅgha*. The *Saṅgha* here refers to a Jaina *Saṅgha*. The Halsi plates of the same king refer clearly to the *Śramaṇa Saṅgha*.

However, Buddhism did not disappear altogether. At Hiregutti in the Kumta Taluk of North-Kanara District, Dr. P.B. Desai discovered a set of copper-plates, belonging to the Bhoja king Aśaṅkita, of about the sixth century, A.D.[10] It is now known that this was a small family of rulers holding sway over the coastal region of Goa and North-Kanara district, during the 4th and 6th centuries A.D. This is a unique inscription in the sense, it is a rare copper-plate grant mentioning the Buddha, and making grants to the Buddhist monastery. It opens with a beautiful invocation to Buddha wherein he is described as *aparimita-guṇa-gaṇa-nidhi* and *nishkāraṇa-vatsala*.[11] A village named Sundarikā in Dīpaka *vishaya* was granted for the benefit of the Buddhist *vihāra*. This Dīpaka was the present Anjdiv island near Goa. In the contemporary Gaṅga kingdom also, Buddhism had made its entry. A copper-plate grant of Mādhavasarma of doubtful date, speaks of a grant of land to a Buddha *vihāra*. It is interesting to note that a boundary stone marking the boundary of the grant-land is called *śākya-śilā*, very much comparable with *liṅga-mudreya kallu* and *Vāmana-mudreya kallu* figuring in Śaiva and Vaishṇava inscriptions with reference to the boundary stones.[12]

In the subsequent period of the Chālukyas of Bādāmī Buddhism does not seem to have made much headway amidst the powerful Śaiva, Vaishṇava and Jaina religions. The three religions vied with one another in popularity and succeeded in getting liberal patronage from the ruling monarchs and the common people. I do not know of any inscription of Buddhist affiliation in this period.

In the succeeding period of the Rāshṭrakūṭas also there are hardly any traces of this religion in Karnataka. I might only draw here the attention of scholars to a sculpture of Buddha at Kandhār in Nanded District of the Marathawada region of the Maharashtra state. This place is not in Karnataka of today. But, it was a part of the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire and the whole area abounds in Kannaḍa inscriptions of different periods. This rare figure of the Buddha has an inscription on the pedestal which is the usual Buddhist verse *Ye Dharmā hetu-prabhavā* etc. The sculpture can be assigned to about 8th century A.D.[13]

In the subsequent period of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, however, we notice this religion gaining popularity and patronage. Consequently we get more epigraphical references to this religion in this period, in Karnataka. One interesting feature of the Buddhist religion in Karnataka in this period is the worship of the deity Tārā Bhagavatī. There were atleast three prominent centres of this deity in Karnataka during this period, viz. 11th-12th centuries A.D. They were Baḷḷigāve in Shimoga District and Ḍambaḷ and Koḷiwāḍ in Dharwad District. Inscriptions from these places speak of the construction of *vihāras*, installation of this deity and the provisions made for the worship and other services. What is interesting to note here is the local influence on this religion. Those were the hey days of Śaiva and Jaina religions, which witnessed remarkable building activity and the elaborate mode of worship and offerings of various types of services in the temples. Though Buddhism was basically opposed to the practices, it could not escape the local influence. These inscriptions referring to Tārā Bhagavatī are not much different from the Śaiva or the Jaina inscriptions of the period. In fact, an inscription calls the grant to Tārā Bhagavatī as *Parameśvara-Datti.*

There are two inscriptions at Baḷḷigāve, which speak of Tārā Bhagavatī. These inscriptions have been known since long. But, still there is something to be said about them. The earlier of the two inscriptions, both of which belong to the period of Chālukya Someśvara I, is dated in Śaka 986 Viśvāvasu, Mārgaśira, Śu 3, Thursday (1065 A.D. November 5). It tells us that an officer *Sahavāsigaḷādhishṭhāyaka*, *Sarvādhyaksha*, Rūpabhaṭṭayya constructed a Bauddha *vihāra* called Jayantiprabha Bauddha *vihāra* and installed the deity Tārā Bhagavatī and granted some land for the worship of this and other deities, including Buddha and for the feeding of male and female ascetics.[14] The other inscription is dated two years later in Śaka 989, Plavaṅga, Śrāvaṇa Śu. (1067 A.D. July). Other details are lost. It speaks of a lady Nāgiyakka who held the office of *Nāḍapergade*, as installing the deity Tārā Bhagavatī at Baḷḷigāve (*Baḷḷigaveya agaṇya-puṇya-Nāgiyakkaṁ Tārā Bhagavatiyaṁ māḍigidaḷ*). She also made a grant of land for the worship of this deity. She is described as the wife of *Sahavāsi* Haṁpacheṭṭa.[15] The earlier inscription ascribes the same deed to *daṇḍanāyaka* Rūpabhaṭṭayya and it was done only two years earlier than the date of the second inscription. It is stated therein that he constructed a *vihāra* and installed the deity. But, the second inscription gives the credit of installing the diety to the lady within a period of two years. It is obvious, therefore, that both the inscriptions refer to the same event though there is a discrepancy in the names. It is quite likely that Rūpabhaṭṭayya of one inscription is the same as Haṁpachaṭṭa of the other inscription and the latter name is obviously due to the transcriber's mistake. Rūpabhaṭṭayya constructed the *vihāra* and his wife Nāgiyakka was associated with the installation of the deity.

There are three inscriptions at Ḍambaḷ which refer to the prevalence of Buddhism in that region. One of them speaks of grants made by Saṅgavayya seṭṭi, a *Vaḍḍavyavahāri* of Lokkiguṇḍi for the worship of Tārā Bhagavatī in the Bauddha *vihāra* constructed by him. It is dated in Chālukya Vikrama year 19, Yuva, Māgha Śu. Pañchamī, Sunday (1096 A.D. January 3).[16] The next one is dated in Chālukya Vikrama year 23, Bahudhānya, Āshāḍha Ba. Ekādaśī Sunday (1098 A.D. June 27) and mentions the same Saṅgavayya Setti making grants for the Bauddha *vihāra* constructed by him.[17] The third one which is engraved on the same slab and is dated in his 14th regnal year, Svabhānu, Bhādrapada Śu. (Other details are lost). It also speaks of similar grants to Buddhadeva.[18] All these obviously refer to the same Bauddha *vihāra* and the deities. The first one is more elaborate and gives more details of the grant made for the provision of *gandha*, *pushpa*, *dhūpa*, *dīpa*, *mālya* and *naivedya* for Tārādevī and Buddhadeva and for the feeding of the *bhikshus* as well as the repairs of the *vihāra*. The second one provides for the regular supply of oil for the *nandādīpa* in the *vihāra*. Thus the general pattern of the inscriptions is the same as that of contemporary Śaiva and Jaina records. The imprecatory passages also are identical.

Thus it is clear from these inscriptions that though in general, Mahāyāna Buddhism admitted image worship, the mode of worship and offerings to the Buddhist deities described in these inscriptions which is typical of the contemporary Śaiva and Jaina inscriptions is due to the local influence. A sculpture of Tārā Bhagavatī was discovered at Baḷḷigāve but the one installed at Ḍambaḷ is lost.

A sculpture of Tārā has been discovered at Koḷiwāḍ also. But there is no inscription to give any details. The one on the pedestal of the deity is only the Buddhist formula *ye dharmā hētu prabhavā* etc.[19] Thus these references go to show that Buddhism continued to hold ground in Karnataka although not in as affluent a condition as that of Jainism. In the subsequent periods also, down to the Vijayanagara days, we do find occasional references to Buddhism in a variety of ways such as to the expressions like *Bauddha-dharma*, *Sugata*, *Saugata*, *Buddha-vāḍige* (Bauddha Centres), *Buddhara neravi* (Bauddha congregations) and so on, indicating its continued existence in Karnataka. There are also references to such enthusiastic followers of other religions such as Ekāntada, Rāmaiyya, who proudly claimed to have put down the Bauddha *dharma*, among others.

Thus in Karnataka Buddhism entered towards the end of the pre-Christian era and continued to survive however feebly, till atleast the 15th-16th centuries, unlike Jainism which also entered Karnataka almost simultaneously and became one of the most prominent religions in Karnataka in the medieval days. Buddhism struggled hard to survive only to gradually sink into oblivion in course of time. Among others, one reason for the flourishing of Jainism seems to be its quick adopting of the *bhaktimārga* and the Hindu mode of worship and services through temples. Buddhism could not do it though it appears to have made some attempts as indicated by the above examples obviously due to its different ideologies in philosophy and religion.

Notes and References

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX, pp. 22 ff.
2. The actual expression is *Taṁbapaṇṇidipa pasādakānaṁ theriyānaṁ taṁbapanakanam*. It is translated as 'the monks of Ceylon who have converted Kashmir' etc. It is likely that the expression refers to the visit of these monks to these places rather than their converting these places to Buddhism for the first time.

3. *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXIV, pp. 238 ff,
4. *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, p. 24.
5. Nagaraju, S., *Buddhist Architecture of Western India*, p. 336, Karle Inscription No. 1.
6. Desai, P.B. "A New Buddhist Centre", *The Journal of the Karnatak University* (Social Sciences) Vol. IV, 1968, pp. 158 ff.
7. Sheshadri, M., *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, LVI, 1965-66.
8. Ramesh, K.V., keynote address, presented at the 31st Congress of Human Sciences held in Tokyo-Kyoto, Aug.-Sept. 1983.
9. Narasimhamurty, A.V., and Bhat, Raghunath, *Journal of the Epigraphic Society of India*, I, pp. 34 ff.
10. *Epigraphia Indica*, XXVIII, pp. 70 ff.
11. *Jayati sur-āsura-makuṭa-sphuṭa-maṇi-kiraṇ-āvalī hācharaṇa-yugaḥ|Aparimita-guṇa-gaṇa-nidhiḥ nishkāraṇa-vatsalo Buddhaḥ ||*
12. Chidananda Murthy, M., *A Cultural Study of Kannada Inscriptions*, p. 113.
13. Ritti, Shrinivas and Shelke, G.C., *Inscriptions from Nanded District*, p. 1 and facing plate.
14. *Epigraphica Carnatica*, VII, sk. 170.
15. *Ibid.*; sk. 169.
16. *Indian Antiquary*, X.
17. *South Indian Inscriptions*, XI, Pt. ii, (Bombay Karnataka Inscription, XI, Pt. ii, No. 144).
18. *Annual Report on South India Epigraphy*, 1927-28, App. E, No. 66.
19. Desai, P.B., "Buddhist Antiquities in Karnataka," *Journal of Indian History*, vol. XXXII, pp. 85 ff.

39

The Buddhist Monuments of Himachal Pradesh: From the tenth to the twelfth Century A.D.

LAXMAN S. THAKUR

The antiquity of Buddhism in Himachal probably goes back to the first century A.D.[1] The Buddhist sites yielding inscriptions and sculptural remains have been found in Kangra, Kulu, Kinnaur and Lahaul-Spiti districts. By the beginning of the seventh century A.D. Buddhism was firmly rooted in the kingdoms of Jālandhara and Kulūta. The accounts of the Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tsang confirm this.[2] When did Buddhism reached Kinnaur and Lahaul-Spiti, is a moot and debateable question. In a recent study, O.C. Handa has suggested that Buddhism reached Lahaul and Spiti during the Kushāṇa period. Such a hypothesis, however, has not been supported by any historical evidence.[3] The revival of Brahmanism gave a severe blow to Buddhism in Kangra and Kulu in the early medieval period. The situation, however, was in sharp contrast in the districts of Kinnaur and Lahaul-Spiti. The present paper analyses the art and architecture of the Buddhist monuments in the light of material and structural remnants. In order to understand the art historical position of the Buddhist remains, a study of the contemporaneous western Himalayan monastic centres has also been made. Such a comparative study is necessary so as to trace the sources and contents of the varied art forms borrowed from the neighbouring regions.

There are dozens of Buddhist temples which were constructed between the tenth and twelfth centuries A.D. An irreparable loss to these temples has been caused by the earthquakes. Also frequent repairs and renovations in the subsequent periods prevent us from making an indepth and searching analysis. The surviving remains, however, are all the more significant if we compare them with that of north India. The study covers only a few important temples such as Triloknath, Nako, Lha-lun and Tabo. If we believe in local traditions, the monasteries at Pooh, Li, Kanam, Ki, Guru Ghantal, Kardang and Shashur were founded during the period covered in this study. Unfortunately, the archaeological remains at these places are rather meagre belonging to this period.

For an appropriate appreciation of the art and architecture of these monuments in the overall historical perspective, first, we describe general characteristics to form a general idea, and then particular details. The last section traces the sources of diverse art-forms and their prime contents, which in turn, have been tested on the stylistic evolution primarily based on epigraphic evidence.

General Characteristics

Most of the monasteries have been associated either with Rinchen bzangpo or Padmasambhava. According to traditions, Rinchen bzangpo founded 108 temples during his life-time; however, so far, all of them have not been identified. Most of the temples were built on the ancient trade-routes.[4] With the exception of Triloknath temple, others were built on a flat ground near the river terraces where there was sufficient water and produce from local settlements. The monasteries which received the royal patronage are surrounded by a wall (*cagsri*) as can be seen at Tabo; traces are also seen at Alchi (Ladakh). Both layout and planning are considerably influenced by the *nāgara* temples. For example, Triloknath temple clearly conforms to the *nāgara* temple style. It is a *tryaṅga* shrine possessing *bhadra*, *karṇa* and *pratiratha* as its proliferations at the ground level. Dukhang at Tabo also possesses the main sanctum, a *maṇḍapa* and a passage for circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇāpatha*). Vairocana is the main deity enshrined at Tabo, Lha-lun and Nako, whereas at Triloknath there is a seated image of Maheśvara/Lokeśvara. The ceilings of the main halls (Dukhangs) or other chambers normally rest on the wooden pillars. Normally the porticos are attached to the temples. In the case of Tabo, Lha-lun and Nako, all frescoes are arranged in circles indicating the application of common methods. Most of the monasteries face east, probably out of a necessity where Sun provides a natural heat to the monks residing in them. The exquisite wood carvings have been done on the door frames and pillars. With the exception of Triloknath temple, the walls of other monasteries have been decorated with mural paintings which date from the late tenth century to the recent period.

Triloknath temple

Triloknath is an individual example, like Lha-lun, of the Buddhist temples in Lahaul. It stands in the centre of the village, on a hill-top, facing south-east

(*Plate* 39.1). It is the only surviving example of *nāgara* temples in Lahaul-Spiti. It is *tryaṅga* on plan, thus, possesses *bhadra*, *pratiratha* and *karṇa* proliferations.[5] Now the original temple has been covered by a newly constructed *maṇḍapa* which provides a circumambulation around the shrine. Originally it was of the *nirandhāra* type (Fig. 39.1). The *vedībandha* mouldings consist of *kumbha*, *kalaśa*, *kumuda* and *kapotālī*. The *bhadra* niches on the *jaṅghā* are empty. The *śikhara*[6] rises above in

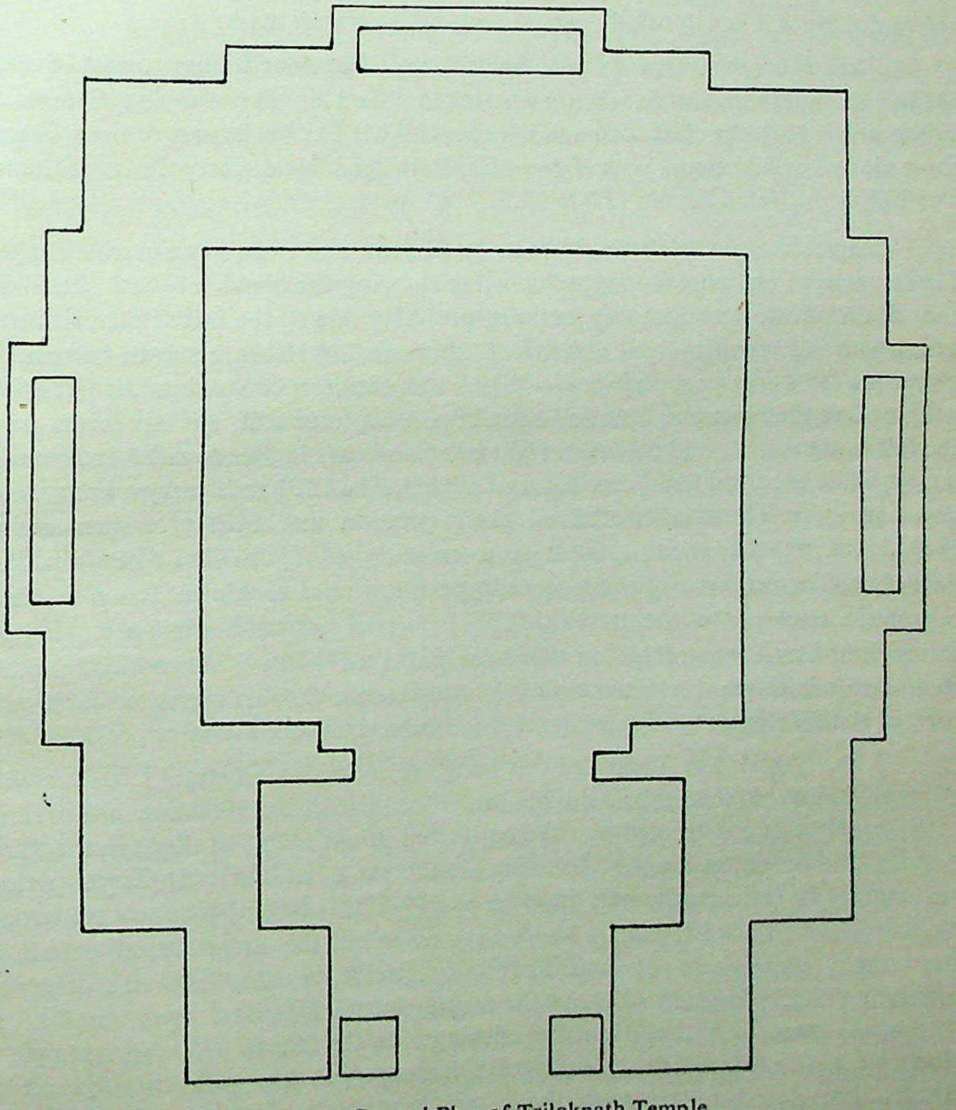

Fig. 39.1. Ground Plan of Triloknath Temple (not to scale)

five *bhūmis*, each marked by a *karṇāṇḍaka*, and finally topped by two *āmalakas*. The enclosing *kapilī* walls carry above a *śukanāsa* showing first, a single face of Śiva, and beneath it are three faces in different moods. Two pillars in the porch with square bases (33 cm across) and fluted shaft (twenty-four cornered) are decorated with *ghaṭapallava* capitals. The abacus is devoid of ornamentation. About it are brackets (28 cm in height) which support the ceiling of the *antarāla*. A pillared niche on either side enshrines an icon of Buddha in *bhūmisparśamudrā*. The lintel above the bracket is exquisitely carved with a *kīrtimukha* mask.

The door measures 88 cm. by 175 cm. The door frames consist of three *śākhās*: an inner *patraśākhā*, then a *rūpaśākhā* (showing five dancing figures on either side) and the last one again a *patraśākhā*. The lower part of these frames show Gaṅgā and Yamunā with *dvārapālas*. Both goddesses carry in their hands *amṛtghaṭas and lotus flowers* (*Plate* 39.2).

The *garbhagṛha* measures 200 cm. by 210 cm. and enshrines a marble image.[7] The image is of immense iconographic value showing the blend of both Buddhist and Brahmanical iconographic features, probably due to the mixed population in which both communities lived together. Maheśvara/Lokeśvara is shown (30 cm. by 70 cm.) in *lalitāsana* on a *padmapīṭha* (like a *dakṣiṇāmūrti* of Śiva) as the left leg is hanging and the right one bent and rested upon the lotus seat. His six arms have the following *mudrās* and *lakṣaṇas*: right two hands are in *jñāna-mudrā* and *varada-mudrā*, while the third hand carries an *akṣamālā*. The left hands carry *triśūla*, *sarpa* and *kamaṇḍalu*. The number of arms, their position and attributes seem rather exceptional. In the *mukuṭa* there is a cross-legged figure, the *dhyānī* Buddha, Amitābha. The ceiling is of the lantern type showing full blown lotus in three concentric circles. On the north side of the *pradakṣiṇāpatha*, a miniature *nāgara* shrine has been constructed on the same pattern. We have also noticed another stone statue in the sanctum measuring 25 cm. by 46 cm. This seems to be a true copy of the marble image but seems to have been sculptured in later period.

J.Ph. Vogel has identified this image with Avalokiteśvara.[8] T.S. Maxwell[9], however, has questioned this identification. He is also of the view that the Triloknath temple was constructed by "the converted Singh *rājās*" of Kulu in the "17th century".[10] Madanjeet Singh stylistically attributes it to the post-Gupta period, particularly to Harṣavardhana's times (A.D. 606-47).[11] Both these dates are wrong. Neither Maxwell nor Madanjeet Singh have examined the architectural details of the temple which help us considerably to decide its date. Maxwell's otherwise interesting article forgets to analyse the arrangement of pillars, deep *rathikās* on the *jaṅghā* part and the exquisite carvings on the facade. No *nāgara* temple in Himachal which belongs to the seventeeth century A.D. has such carvings on its facade. The fluted pillars with abacus and brackets represent the Chamba traditions of tenth and eleventh centuries. What is more revealing is that the *nāgara* temples of the post-fourteenth century in Himachal do not possess a *kīrtimukha* mask on the facade as we have discussed at Triloknath, that too carved so minutely. Equally untenable is Madanjeet Singh's view because in the seventh century A.D. neither the plan of the *nāgara* temple was so developed nor were there any deep *rathikās* on the *bhadra* projections.[12] Even in Central India from where this style penetrated into Himachal, it did not assume a definite character in the seventh century.

We do not accept Maxwell's other observation when he says that the "central object in the *garbhagṛha*"[13], was a Śivaliṅga not an image. He deliberately or otherwise ignores a pillared niche carved on either side of the facade in which Buddha has been carved in relief. The depiction of Buddha in *bhūmisparśamudrā* seems to disapprove Maxwell's hypothesis that it was a shrine wholly dedicated to Śiva with a *liṅgam* in the *garbhagṛha*.

Maxwell, relying on the researches of de Mallmann, says that the image represents the Buddhist Maheśvara. "...this groupings of symbols" says Maxwell, "identifies none of the known images of Avalokiteśvara".[14] The Markulā slab inscription contains an interesting account of Triloknath image.[15] Line 4 speaks of Avalokiā, clothed in purity which "sits on the lotus throne"[16] having one face. That the image has six-hands has been described in line 5. There is also a mention of the Markulā image (Mahiṣāsuramardinī) which is called as "the august great mother of fierce form"[17] Again in lines 11-12 there is a reference of Avalokiteś-vara enshrined "at the august Re-phag (i.e. Triloknath), and at Mar-skul, at both ...*maṇi* wheel . raised".[18] The slab was inscribed in post-1570 A.D. because a Markulā image bears that date. The inscription supplies us interesting information regarding the identification of Triloknath image. But a question arises: iconographically is it a correct identification? No, because it does not conform to any of the well known hundred and eight forms of Avalokiteśvara.[20] The common people of that area, however, regarded it as the popular Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara as also recorded in the Markulā slab inscription.

What does it represent? Three tantric Buddhist deities bear some similarity with the Triloknath image. They are: Buddhist Maheśvara, Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara and Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara. A passage in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* states that Maheśvara is ornamented with a figure of Amitābha (*Maheśvaro-amitābhena*).[21] The text does not elaborate the iconographic features of Maheśvara. Another text *Sādhanamālā*[22] describes the Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara in whose crown appears the effigy of Amitābha.[23] The other details, however, do not tally with the Triloknath statue. The attributes of this image such as *triśūla*, *akṣamālā* and snake tally with Siṁhanāda and Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara also described in the *Sādhanamālā*, but the *vāhana* of the former is Siṁha (lion), whereas the latter is shown in *samapada-mudrā* either with twelve-arms or exceptionally with eight or six.[24] Therefore, as yet we are not in a position to identify it iconographically because no *sādhanas* or ritualistic texts furnish any description. It may represent either Maheśvara or Lokeśvara which indicates the profound influence of the iconography of Śiva on the *tantric* Buddhist gods.[25]

The curious admixture of Buddhism and Brahmanism, as is found at Triloknath (as well as at Udaipur), is also met with in Rewalsar in Mandi. Padmasambhava, the founder of Buddhism in Tibet, is worshipped there not only by lāmās but also by the brahmans. Also in Mandi town there is a *nāgara* temple dedicated to Triloknath, which indicates Śiva. He is worshipped under his well known symbol, the *liṅgam*, besides *pañcamukha* images. The number of *pañcamukha* Śiva icons from Mandi and their comparison with the Triloknath marble image is of peculiar interest.

Interestingly the attributes such as snake, trident, *kamaṇḍalu* and *akṣamālā* are common to both Śiva-Pañcavaktra icons (Mandi) and Maheśvara/Lokeśvara (Triloknath). What becomes clear from the above comparison is that in Lahaul, Triloknath is a name by which the Buddhist Maheśvara/Lokeśvara is indicated and its iconographic features are markedly influenced by the iconography of Śiva Pañcavaktra. In Mandi and Kangra the same name is assigned to Śiva.

Nako monastery

According to A.H. Francke,[26] Dugpa monastery at Nako was founded by Rinchen bzangpo in *c*. A.D. 1025. The ruins of the monks' cells as well as many chortens all around suggest that it was centre of thriving Buddhist activities. At present there are four main halls of which some preserve sculptural icons.

The largest hall known as Lha-khang, Ched-po faces east. It enshrines a large icon of Vairocana as at Tabo and Lha-lun respectively. On his right side are Amoghasiddha (Don-yod-grub-pa) and Ratnasambhava (Rinchen-byung—ldan); on the left are Amitābha (sNang-ba-mthayas) and Vajrasattva (rDorje-sems-dpa). The enclosing frames of Vairocana and Tārā are of great interest. They represent, what we call, Garuḍa-*makara* frames. The wall paintings have been arranged in similar styles as seen at Tabo and Alchi (Ladakh).

The temple on the south is called dKar-byung Lha-khang (the white temple). Numerous subsidiary deities have been painted on the walls of which Avalokiteśvara and Amitābha can easily be recognized. The northern temple (Lhakhang gongma) contains an icon of yellow Tārā fitted in an elaborately carved wooden frame. She is surrounded by frescoes representing the eight medicine Buddhas. The eastern temple is called Gyamag Lhakhang (the upper temple). It contains only murals. A seated Buddha is shown opposite the door. He is surrounded by his disciples, Śāriputra and Mahā Maugdalāyana. Vajradhara and Amitāyus are also painted; the latter is surrounded by his eight followers. There are several inscriptions in this hall.[27] Francke has deciphered some of them and the following names are legible: Sha-kya-thub-pa; Myang-ngan-med-mchog-dpal; Rin-chen-Zla-ba. A short inscription in the Śāradā script is indicative of Kangra and Chamba links with Kinnaur in the first half of the eleventh century A.D. At some distance, there is another temple known SLob-dpon-zhabs-rjes "the footprint of the Teacher". Francke believes that this temple was also erected in the eleventh century, together with the great monastery. Although each temple stands independently, yet all of them form a square complex.

Lha-lun temple

The Lha-lun temple is situated on the left bank of the Lingti river in Spiti. It was surveyed by H. Lee Shuttleworth in 1924.[28] Some additions to the original plan have been made after 1924, as is clear from the plan published by Romi Khosla[29] in 1979. The temple has only two rooms, namely Tanjur and Ser-Khang, measuring 450 cm. by 378 cm. and 563 cm. by 550 cm. respectively. There is only one column which supports the ceiling.

The entry hall, Dukhang is used for festive gatherings, thus normally forms the function of an "assembly hall" as at Tabo and Alchi. The Tanjur-khang contains the images of Avalokiteśvara and Tārā, besides some musical instruments, book and a large drum (Tanjur).

The principal temple faces due west and it contains several sculptural icons. They are fixed to the walls with timber studs. The arrangement of these icons differs from Tabo. The total number of sculptures is thirty-seven, as is normally the number of deities in the Vairocana *maṇḍala*. Seventeen deities are arranged on the left hand wall exactly conforming to the arrangement of the Vairocana *maṇḍala*. In such *maṇḍala*, Vairocana as the Omniscient Lord, is represented in the centre. On its two sides are Four *tathāgata* (Buddhas), Four *śaktis* and Eight subsidiary goddesses. The central hall contains the image of Śākyamuni. Of other ten deities, five on each side, only Mañjuśrı Vāgīśvara, Vajrasattva, Maitreya and Tārā have been identified. Two structured niches for Mañjuśrī Vāgīśvara and Vajrasattva are interesting from the architectural point of view.[30] The pillar design and the bell-shaped successive tiered roofs immediately remind us of the Buddhist structures at Bharhut and Sanchi respectively. On the right hand wall are arranged nine deities. The central figure is that of Prajñāpāramitā; the others are those of Four *tathāgata* and Four *śaktis* as also seen on the left hand wall.

Tabo monastery

Tabo, also pronounced as "Ta pho", lies at a height of 10637 feet above mean sea level on the bank of the Spiti river. A detailed architectural, sculptural and decorative analysis of Tabo needs a volume, but in this context our main emphasis shall be on the critical evaluation of the development of architectural styles, along with sculptural, and more importantly, a neglected chronological study of the evolution of various sub-styles of paintings and wood carvings.

An inscription in the Dukhang informs us that the Tabo monastery was built by "the ancestor, the Bodhisattva" (Yeshes'od) in the ape-iron year and repaired by Byan chub'od forty-six years later.[31] The inscription also contains the names of the two most important Buddhist teachers, viz., Rinchen bzangpo and Atīśa. It also tells us that Rinchen bzangpo was made a "light of wisdom" by the agency of Atīśa. The renovation was carried out in *c.* A.D. 1042 during the reign of Byan chub'od and monastery was established in *c.* A.D. 996-7 i.e. forty-six years before its renovations.

Architectural details. The whole complex (except Lankar Chung) is surrounded by a rectangular wall measuring 9710 cm. by 7633 cm. (externally). If we add 240 cm. projection on the south wall then measurement would come to 9719 cm. by 8138 cm. excluding the main hall of the Lankar Chung. The entrance to the sacred enclosure (Chos-hkhor) is from the eastern side. There are nine temples, besides a number of chotens in the complex. All the walls are made of sun-dried mud bricks and plastered with clay. The western wall of every temple is about 200 cm. to 300 cm. thick whereas the other walls vary from 50 cm. to 200 cm. The additional thickness has deliberately been added to prevent the effects of snow, wind and rain. The architectural details are markedly influenced by the easily available local material for construction, as well as by the climatic conditions. The use of the wood has been made as minimum as possible. All wooden material for the pillars and door frames has been brought from Kinnaur. The absence of the craft of carpentry in Spiti indicates that the intricate wood carvings at Tabo were done by the skilled *takṣakas* from the neighbouring areas.

Three temples in the complex have similar layout, thus possessing an inner sanctum (*garbhagṛiha*), a hill (*maṇḍapa*) and an ante-room (*antarāla*). The roofs of the *maṇḍapas* have been supported on columns. The Dukhang is the most important and largest temple (1242 cm. by 1068 cm.) followed by Lang Chedbo (1005 cm. by 737 cm.). The inner walls of all temples are fairly decorated. On stylistic considerations, these decorations belong to various schools and have been painted over a long period, i.e. between the tenth and seventeenth century A.D.[32]

Sculptural styles. The Dukhang contains thirty-eight sculptural icons (thirty-three in the *maṇḍapa* and five in the sanctum), besides a stone image of Mañjughoṣa. R. Sengupta has analysed the material by which these sculptures have been made.[33] An icon is first fixed to a wooden armature which forms the rudimentary framework for the sculpture. This is fixed to the wall with a system of horizontal and vertical bracings of wood and iron. They are, therefore, covered with clay and decorated with paint.

Stylistically as well as iconographically these icons belong to three or four periods. The majority of them in the hall belong to the initial foundation of the monastery (*Plates* 39.3, 39.4 and 39.5). Those in the sanctum are of a slightly later period. Also the statue of Maitreya (the future Buddha) in the Chamba Chibo is later addition. A stone image of Mañjughoṣa, however, belongs to the end of the tenth century. The date and style of the metal sculpture also vary in certain centuries.

Paintings. A full volume would be required to discuss the varied styles and contents of Tabo paintings.[34] The walls of most temples are full of decorations. Thematically these paintings can be grouped into two: devotional and narrative. The first category includes several Buddhist deities portrayed in numerous postures and moods (*Plate* 39.6). The narrative decoration consists of birds, animals, floral designs, hunting scenes and royal gatherings, etc.

Apart from Vairocana-*maṇḍala* so popular in the school of Rinchen bZangpo and Atīśa, other themes show the stories of Buddha's life from his birth to *mahāparinirvāṇa*. The paintings on the walls of the Dukhang are the earliest, partially retouched in later period. One of the scenes on the southern wall is from the *Vessantara Jātaka* where the children of Vessantara are delivered to his father by the greedy brahmin Jūjaka. At least seven styles of paintings have been noted. Atentative chronology for them is suggested below:

(a) earliest paintings belong to *c*. A.D. 996.
(b) second group can be dated *c*. A.D. 996 to 1042.
(c) after renovation between *c*. A.D. 1042 to 1050.
(d) post-A.D. 1050 to 1100.
(e) under Tibetan influence, fourteenth-fifteenth centuries.
(f) sixteenth-seventeenth centuries.
(g) latest group belong from post-seventeenth century to recent years.

Wood Carvings: The wood carvings' remnants preserved in Tabo monastery have so far, not attracted adequate attention amongst scholars. A few of the door frames belong to the end of the tenth century. Two wooden sculptures, which are cut pieces, deserve a detailed analysis in the present context.[35] A.H. Francke has identified them as Bodhisattvas. Examining these sculptures from iconographic point of view, it becomes apparent that they can be ascribed to the tenth and eleventh centuries wood carving traditions of Chamba and Lahaul. They are, undoubtedly, the off-shoots of the Kashmiri art-productions. In each of these sculptures, the central figure—the Bodhisattva—is crowned with a trefoiled arch. Similar type of trefoiled arch, crowned by a pinnacle and an exterior gable with little birds in the lateral corners are seen on the facade of the Markulā Devī temple at Udaipur (Lahaul). Two river goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā share many similarities in style and design with the Tabo Bodhisattvas.[36] Trefoliated arch has been noticed on the *nāgara* temples of Kashmir (Payach) as far back as 483-90 A.D.[37] The artists of Chamba practiced it in *c.* A.D. 700. A seated Vaikuṇṭha Viṣṇu figure on the facade of Lakṣaṇā Devī temple confirms it. Otherwise, a non-practicable motif in the kingdom of Guge, and its sudden appearance at Tabo, could not be explained without taking into consideration the combined and sustained efforts by patrons and artists of Chamba and Kashmir. The wood work at Tabo was done by these artists and such argument is also amply supported by Rinchen bZangpo's *Biography*.[38] These Bodhisattvas remind us of the same anatomical details with slim undulating figures of Vajrapāṇi and Avalokiteśvara from Tsaparang discussed by Tucci in his *Ind-Tibetica*.[39]

The Markulā Devī temple is a remarkable and the last remnant of Kashmiri art traditions. It provided inspiration and art techniques to both Alchi, and other monasteries in the kingdom of Guge. There are numerous indisputable specimens from places such as Lhatse, Samada, Tsaparang, Tholing, Alchi and Mangnang (Man nam) which are clearly characterized by Kashmiri influence. The Bodhisattva statues from Tabo are of immense historical value providing us concrete evidence of the migration of artists from Chamba and Kashmir to the Guge kingdom. From the last decade of the tenth century onwards such migrations became frequent because the patrons and monks of the Guge kingdom required their services on larger scale than ever before.

To understand the sources of art styles and their chronological development, one has to make an analysis of the socio-economic, political and cultural history of the entire region. The monuments help us considerably to know the processes and mechanism of art production in the kingdom of Guge.

Tradition assigns the foundation of the Triloknath temple to Padmasambhava but at present no remains of his period exist at the site. The temple, however, owes both in plan and elevation to the art techniques of the *nāgara* temples of northern India. The stone carvings on the doorframes and pillars are reminiscent of the eleventh-twelfth century traditions of Chamba. Gaṅgā and Yamunā along with *dvārapālas* on the entrance are examples of somewhat decaying art styles. The marble image in the *garbhagṛha* belongs to the period during which the present structure was erected.

Monasteries at Nako, Lha-lun and Tabo can be assigned to Rinchen bZangpo's period. The mural paintings and clay sculptures indicate that several alterations have been made in the originals. Rinchen bZangpo is credited with the foundation of 108 temples from Zher in Purang as far as Hobulangka. His

Biography[40] indicates that he founded Kha-char, Tholing and Nyarma before his second visit to Kashmir. His first visit lasted from 975 to 988 A.D. He spent thirteen years in Kashmir and eastern India.[41] Temples at Kha-char, Tholing and Nyarma were built after 988 A.D. The *Biography* is silent about the number of years Rinchen bZangpo spent in the kingdom of Guge before he set out for the second trip. If the ape-iron year described in the inscription at Tabo corresponds to *c.* A.D. 996, Rinchen bZangpo must have started his journey to Kashmir in about 990-91 A.D. During the interval of about two or three years, we do not have the exact details of all temples founded by him. One of the few temples, however, was at Purang where a site for a temple was offered by the king Lha-lde.[42] Tholing too was founded during this period. Then the great Lāmā translator (Rinchen bZangpo) was requested by the Royal Lāmā Yeshes'od to go to Kashmir to "get those books (left)...and bring here some skillful artists".[43] After spending six years in Kashmir he returned together with thirty-two artists. The evidence in the *Biography* is clear enough to prove that Rinchen bZangpo founded twenty-one temples—Tabo one of them—dedicated to Buddha's worship. In each of these twenty-one places there were "complete sets of ceremonial articles".[44] There is also a mention of two other sites namely Kanam and sPu (Pooh) both in Kinnaur. The foundation of Pooh temple during the reign of Yeshes'od is also corroborated by an inscription found at Pooh.[45]

The second inscription at Tabo speaks about the renovation by Byan chub'od (a grand nephew of Yeshes'od) in *c.* A.D. 1042. This event coincided with the coming of Atīśa to Tibet. The *Biography* clearly indicates that Rinchen bZangpo was about eighty-eight years old when Atīśa visited Tibet. The year A.D. 1042 also marks a period of renewed missionary activities in the entire western Himalayan region including Ladakh. For instance the Dukhang at Alchi was also founded in *c.* A.D. 1050 or a decade earlier by sKal-ldan Shes-rab, a local chieftain.[46]

The above resume of the main events concerned with the founding of several temples also finds support from the art remains at Nako, Lha-lun and Tabo. The mural paintings at Nako and Lha-lun took inspiration from Tabo. Some clay sculptures and paintings especially in the Dukhang at Tabo belong to *c.* A.D. 996-7. Group C paintings at Tabo may be associated with Man-nam paintings (a monastery which was founded some years before 1045 A.D.)[47]. The paintings at Nako can be grouped with group D of Tabo Dukhang (i.e. the last decade of the eleventh century). The same style and rhythm find parallels in the Sum-tsek at Alchi founded by Tshul-Khrims'od, a local chief, belonging to Bro lineage.[48]

A reference in the *Blue Annals*[49] indicates that a king rTse lde called a council at Tabo in which most of the Tripiṭakadharas of dbUs, gTsaṅ and Khams assembled and various texts were translated including the *Vinayapiṭaka*, the *Prajñāpārmitā* and Tantras. This auspicious event took place in A.D. 1076.[50] The *Blue Annals* further tell us that rTse lde's son dBlan phyug lde became a supporter of rNog blo ldan she rab, a great Kadampa scholar. He spent seventeen years in Kashmir and returned to Tibet in 1094 A.D. What becomes clear from the above account is that till the end of the eleventh century A.D. the kings of Guge patronized a great number of scholars and artists. The surviving art remains amply testify to such patronage.

A fundamental question arises: how were these monastic establishments afforded by a society located in a region where the economic resources even for survival were extremely limited. Most temples and monasteries were constructed under the royal protection. Many of them were built by the Great Translator Rinchen bZangpo with the material support from the local aristocracy and donations collected from the local people. The *Biography* tells us how Rinchen bZangpo appealed to the "treasures of wealth", "treasures of wood", and "treasures of religion"[51] to donate liberally for the establishment of temples dedicated to Buddha's worship. Undoubtedly a fundamental role was played by teachers and scholars whose missionary activities gained wide public support. International trans-Himalayan trade to and from the Guge kingdom also provided substantial economic resources. The rulers of the kingdom of Guge and Ladakh ostensibly patronized the monastic arts. The tenants of esoteric Buddhism for visual presentation were made by the artists (*takṣaka*, *kāṁsyakāra* and *citrakāra*). A group of thirty-two artists from Kashmir was patronized by the monk king Yeshes'od and his successors. The art productions *in situ* suggest diverse art influences pouring into the kingdom of Guge. The school of Guge by the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries was wholly dependent on north-western Indian traditions (Kashmir, Chamba, Kulu). Kalimburg-Salter has also traced central Asian traits.[52] There were, however, strong links with eastern India especially discernible in metal sculptures. Provincial features with strong Tibetan influence are seen in those paintings and wood carvings which belong to post-twelfth century A.D.

Notes and References

1. An inscription found from Kanhiara gives us the impression that the monastery of Kṛṣṇayaśa existed at the site. Vogel, however, interprets the inscription as "the garden of Kṛishṇayaśas". Another inscription at Pathyar contains two symbols, i.e., *svastika* and a foot-print which are regarded the favourite signs of good omen with the Buddhists. For details, see E.C. Bayley, "Note on two inscriptions at Khunniara in the Kangra districs", *JASB*, vol. V, pp. 175-6; Vogel, "Two Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī Rock-inscriptions in the Kangra Valley", *EI*, vol. VII, 1902-3, pp. 116-19; Sten Konow, *CII*, vol. II, pt. 1, p. 178.
2. Samuel Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki : Buddhist Records of the Western World*, rpt. Delhi, 1969, pp. 176-7.
3. Handa has tried to show that Buddhism entered Lahaul in the second century A.D. His main argument revolves around the mistaken assumption (*Buddhist Monasteries in Himachal Pradesh*, New Delhi, 1987, pp. 27, 50-1, 69, 71 and 75) that a monk's goblet (*loṭā*) was discovered from

Lahaul. Actually it was discovered from Kundlah in Kulu; for example, see George M. Birdwood, *The Industrial Arts of India*, London, 1880, p. 154, plate 12.

4. Almost all *nāgara* temples which have been constructed between the late seventh and eighth century A.D. are located on the river-banks and seem to have been well connected by trade-routes.
5. The plan of this temple has been falsely compared with the plan of Markulā Devī temple by Handa (*op. cit.*, p. 74).
6. The *śikhara* part has been constructed with small bricks which is rather exceptional because brick structures in Himachal are rare.
7. On this statue Handa makes a curious statement "... temple that now stands there once enshrined a marble image of a six-headed Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. But this image was stolen some years ago which was later replaced with a crude figure in grey stone" (*loc. cit.*, p. 74). "Six-headed Bodhisattva" is a mistake for six-handed Bodhisattva. The statement that "it was stolen some years back" is factually wrong and unwarranted. J.Ph. Vogel as far back as 1902 has described the iconographic features of this statue (*JASB*, vol. LXX, pt. I, no. 1, 1902, pp. 35-41). Exactly the same image of white marble is at present in the sanctum of the temple which I personally confirmed after a visit to Triloknath as recently as 26 June 1988.
8. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
9. T.S. Maxwell, "Lākhamaṇḍal and Triloknāth", *Art International*, vol. XXIV, nos. 1-2, Sept.-Oct. 1980, pp. 9-74.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
11. Madanjeet Singh, *Himalayan Art*, New York, 1968, p. 104.
12. The evolution of the *nāgara* temple architecture has been discussed elsewhere; see Laxman S. Thakur, "The Beginning of the Nāgara temple architecture in Himachal Pradesh: A look at the archaeological evidence", *Proceedings of the Punjab History Conference*, twentieth session, 1986, pp. 42-6, also idem, *The Architectural Heritage of Himachal Pradesh: Evolution and Development of Temple Styles*, Chap. III (forthcoming).
13. Maxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
15. It was published by A.H. Francke in Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part I (*ASINIS* XXXVI), Calcutta, 1911, appendix III, pp. 267-8.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*, line 6.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Lines 5-6 make it clear that the Markulā slab was inscribed after the Markulā image (i.e. Mahiṣāsurmardanī). The Markulā statue was made in 1569-70 A.D.; see Vogel, *op. cit.*, pp. 249-51.
20. One hundred and eight forms of Avalokiteśvara have been described by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya in *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1958.
21. *Niṣpannayogāvalī* of Mahāpaṇḍita Abhayākaragupta ed. by B. Bhattacharyya, GOS, CIX, Baroda, 1949, Chap. XIV, p. 34, line 21. Abhayākaragupta was a contemporary of the Pāla King Rāmpāla who flourished in *c.* 1084-1130 A.D.
22. The earliest date of the Asiatic Society manuscript of *Sādhanamālā* corresponds to A.D. 1104. See *Sādhanamālā* ed. by B. Bhattacharyya, GOS, XXVI, XLI, 2nd ed. Baroda, 1968, vol. I, preface, p. xiii.
23. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 43, chap. 15; vol. II, p. cliv.
24. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 63, chap. 25; vol. II, p. clvii; also see Debala Mitra, "Twelve-armed Avalokiteśvara", in *History and Society: Essays in honour of Prof. Niharranjan Ray*, ed. by Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1978, pp. 169-85; P. Pal, "The Iconography of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara-II", *Oriental Art*, vol. XII, no. 1, Spring 1967, pp. 20-8.

25. The admission of Śiva in the *kula* of Amitābha has been analysed by Marie-Therese de Mallmann, "Divinités Hindoues dans le Tantrisme Bouddhique", *Arts Asiatiques*, vol. X, 1964, p. 77 ff.
26. A.H. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Part I (*ASI NIS* XXXVIII), rpt., New Delhi, 1972, p. 32.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
28. H. Lee Shuttleworth, *Lha-lun Temple, Spiti* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India no. 39), Calcutta, 1929.
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30. *Ibid.*, figs. 4-6.
31. Francke, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
32. For example, see G. Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. 3, pt. I, Rome, 1935, p. 21 ff.
33. See R. Sengupta's article in Deborah Klimburg-Salter, *The Silk Route and the Diamond Path: Esoteric Buddhist Art on the Trans-Himalayan Traderoutes*, Los Angeles, 1982, p. 168 ff.
34. A fresh chronology has been proposed by D.K. Salter in her recent article, "The Tucci Archives Preliminary Study, 1: Notes on the Chronology of Ta pho '*Du Khan*'', *East and West*, vol. 35, nos. 1-3, Sep. 1985, pp. 11-41.
35. Francke, *op. cit.*, p. 40, plate XVII; Tucci, *op. cit.*, plates XLVI-XLVIII.
36. Thakur, *op. cit.*, chap. IV; Hermann Goetz, *The Early Wooden Temples of Chamba* (Memoirs of the Kern Institute no. 1), Leiden, 1955, p. 98, plate XII.
37. Alexander Cunningham, "An Essay on the Aryan order of Architecture, as exhibited in the Temples of Kashmir", *JASB*, vol. XVII, pt. II, 1848, pp. 241-327, see especially plate XII.
38. Rinchen bZangpo's *Biography* has been translated in D.L. Snellgrove and T. Skorupski, *The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh*, vol. 2, New Delhi, 1980, pp. 83-98.
39. Tucci, *op. cit.*, plate LII; also idem, *Trans-Himalaya*, Delhi, 1973, pp. 143-4.
40. Snellgrove and Skorupski, *loc. cit.*, p. 91.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
45. Francke, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
46. Snellgrove and Skorupski, *loc. cit.*, p. 146, inscription no. 3.
47. The paintings at Man-nam were inspired by Indian traditions; see G. Tucci, "Indian Paintings in Western Tibetan Temples", *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 7, 1937, pp. 191-204.
48. Probably he migrated from the Guge kingdom; see Snellgrove and Skorupski, *op. cit.*, p. 147, no. 6, line 15; also see no. 8, p. 148.
49. George N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals* (Parts I and II in one), Delhi, 1976, p. 70.
50. *Ibid.*; Luciano Petech, "Ya-tse, Gu-ge, Pu-raṅ", *Central Asiatic Journal*, vol. 24, 1980, pp. 85-111.
51. Snellgrove and Skorupski, *op. cit.*, p. 83.
52. D. Klimburg-Salter, "The Tucci Archives", *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 29-30.

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Tribals in the Ancient Inscriptions of Assam

JAI PRAKASH SINGH

Assam, surrounded by tribal people all around, must have been a predominantly tribal area in the earlier periods of its history as well. Even now there are a large number of tribes inhabiting its plains. Their number must have been more in ancient period. Some of these, who had closer contacts with sections of the Hindus got assimilated in the latter society and gradually lost their tribal identity. A student of Assam history shall be disappointed if he looks for the tribal people of Assam in its ancient history.

This omission of the tribals, to an extant, is compensated by the repeated association of the dynasties of the Varmans, the Mlecchas and the Palas with Naraka or one of his descendants. Naraka, in spite of his mythical origin, is regarded by most, if not all scholars, as a tribal chief or king. That is why he is also called Asura. Since the succeeding dynasties claim their descent from him, or one of his successors, all these dynasties should also be recognised as ruling tribal families.

We start with the presumption that the Bodos are among the earliest settlers of the Brahmaputra valley. Naraka, was possibly, a Chief of some section of this tribe. It is possible to assume that the Brâhmaṇa infiltration into the region started early at a time when the Bodos were the ruling tribe. Gradually they started building up the tradition of the origin of the Bodo Chief, and seem to have been successful in bringing, at least, the royal family under their complete influence by fourth century A.D. The inscriptions available do not show any element of tribal life and culture of these families. The inscriptional evidence is in complete harmony with the elements of Brahmanical culture found elsewhere in the country. As such, earlier scholars did not try to identify elements of tribal culture in the inscriptions of ancient Assam. It is with a view to draw the attention of scholars towards this lacunae in the history of early Assam that we propose to make a few tentative suggestions.

The Varman, the Mlecchha and the Pala dynasties of Assam were undoubtedly tribal dynasties like the later Ahoms, Koches etc. The dynasty of Sālastambha is specifically mentioned as Mlecchha because of its tribal nature. All these dynasties additionally claim their origin from Narakāsura or one of his traditional successors. King's like Kalyāṇavarmā,[1] Candramukhavarman,[2] Aridamanendra,[3] Vanamāla,[4] and Gopālavarman[5] are specifically mentioned as having moon-like faces. Then there are others who have a moon-like lustre—Mahendravarman,[6] and Susthitavarman.[7] Yet others are likened to moon in one way or the other. Thus Sthiravarman is described as a moon to lotus like enemies,[8] and spotless like moon.[9] Supratiṣṭhita was born to dispel gloom like the moon.[10] Harjjaravarman was a moon among kings.[11] Human face is very frequently found compared with moon in Sanskrit literature. The comparison of the Assam kings with moon does not necessarily indicate a reference to their roughly round Mongoloid faces. In the absence of any other evidence, and the predominantly tribal nature of the region, however, we can suggest that at least some of these epigraphic notices do refer to their Mongoloid facial features.

The queens of these kings must have come from other families. A number of queens of the three dynasties are known. Only one of these is known definitely to have come from a non-tribal family—the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family.[12] Another princess Durlabhā, wife of Purandarapala, is said to have come from Prājyarājya. This kingdom is otherwise unknown but is said to have been conquered by Jāmadagnya or Paraśurāma.[13] Prājya may be a scribal error for Prācya. If this is correct then this kingdom may be located to the east of the kingdom of Kāmarūpa. In the north east, the region round Paraśurāma Kuṇḍa only, is associated with the son of Jamadagni. Traditionally, he is said to have washed his blood stained *Paraśu* somewhere here in the river, that is how it came to be known as Lauhitya. The parental kingdom of Durlabhā, therefore, has to be located in this area and has to be taken as a tribal chieftainship.

Queen Ratnā of king Harṣapāla is mentioned as *ātmānurūpa-kulajā*[14] indicating that she came from a family like that of the king. She was to the king as Girijā was to Śambhu.[15] The description suggests perhaps that she was from a royal family and came from one of the neighbouring hills. Queen Ambā of king Jayamāla is said to have been equal to the king in terms of family, age and beauty.[16] Her coming from an equal status family shows that she too was a princess or the daughter of some Chief. The families of other known Queens are not mentioned. Hence they may or may not have come from royal families. Under the circumstances we can suggest that most of those queens whose family is not mentioned came from the families of the subjects of the kings including their officers, and at least some of these ladies too may have been from tribal families.

Our assumption may seem hypothetical, however, if we turn to the later history of the region, we shall see that the Ahoms too got their wives from their subjects, including their officers. Some came from the ruling tribal families of the region like Kooch Behar, Manipur, Kachar etc. Same must have been the case in earlier periods as well.

Many Kings of Assam fought battles—some of these with outside powers—like kings of Bengal. Some of the inscriptional notices mention their opponents specifically, whereas others mention their raids extending as far as the sea. We have excluded all such references from this discussion. For the present study we are taking only those references that refer to their general victories and to their vassals.

Kalyāṇavarmā is described as the killer of enemies and had killed hosts of them.[17] Gaṇendravarmā was not only born for tormenting enemies but was like alkali to their wounds.[18] Nārāyaṇavarman was a destroyer of the pride of his enemies.[19] Mahābhūtavarman was not only terrible to the enemies but defeated them with his own arms.[20] Candramukhavarman not only damaged the pride of his enemies but also caused the wailing of their wives.[21] He was also attended to by a circle of the chiefs of Kings.[22] Many a vassal are said to have prostrated before Sthiravarman.[23] Susthitavarman uprooted a host of enemies, brought them under his control and was attended to by enemies.[24]

Prālambha *alias* Sālambha not only slew his enemies but was also attended to by enemy Kings.[25] Brahmapala is said to have defeated his enemies all alone.[26] Vassals are said to have paid homage to King Indrapala, on their own.[27] Gopālavarman's feet were also touched by the crowns of his vassals[28] like those of some of his predecessors. Harjjaravarman ascended the throne surrounded by his vassals.[29]

We are not informed anything about these anonymous Kings mentioned as the enemies of the kings of Assam. This is because these are conventional poetic statements found in *praśastis* elsewhere also in India. Even if these are taken as conventional expressions, at least some of these must have a historical basis. Some of the aforesaid Assam kings may not have actually fought any battles. Others may have only suppressed certain rebellions. There is, however, only one instance in which

King Susthitavarman is said to have brought his enemies under control.[30] This may be taken to denote the suppression of a revolt. Who these unnamed enemies of the Kings of Kāmarūpa were we do not know. All of them cannot be associated with Bengal. Besides the kings of Bengal even when defeated by the kings of Assam are nowhere mentioned as their vassals. This is, possibly, because the Kāmarūpa kings did not annex Bengal. If these anonymous enemies and vassals of Kāmarūpa Kings are not from Bengal and Behar, then who are they and where did they rule? These enemy kings of the Kings of Kāmarūpa are perhaps the Chiefs of the tribes who ruled on the borders of the Kingdom of Kāmarūpa. The Ahoms of medieval Assam were at times at war with the Kacharis, the Jayantias and the Koches. The Nāgas and others are known to have frequently made raids on Ahom territory inviting punitive expeditions from the latter. Is it impossible to assume, therefore, that the tribes who inhabited the frontiers of the Kingdom of Kāmarūpa in ancient times did not raid areas within this Kingdom or the Kāmarūpa Kings did not conquer them?

The tribal nature of the aforesaid statements can be confirmed to an extent by some references found in the ancient inscriptions. One of these mentions that 'kings anxious to conquer, having fought each other in mountainous regions', took King Harjjaravarman as their mediator.[31] The kings who fought in the mountainous region must have been kings of tribes we would perhaps never know. Both these tribal kings must have acknowledged the authority of the Kāmarūpa kings. In another case the Kings are said to have left for caves in mountains along with their wealth and wives (*girikaṇḍarepi tiṣṭhanti dāravibhavā*) forgetting the valour of their arms (*svabhuja-vīryasamutsritāni*)[31a] This expression suggests that the enemies of King Nihśankasimha being afraid of him escaped to the safety of caves in mountains. Poetically it is pure exaggeration. In the context of the history of north east India, and the existence of people both in the forests and mountains bordering the kingdom of Kāmarūpa, it is possible to suggest that the poet deliberately portrays them as having fled fearing his master.

Another reference shows that King Ratnapāla was presented hundreds of elephants by hundreds of defeated kings.[32] The passage shows that the defeated kings were expected to pay elephants, at times, as tribute. The kings, or rather Chiefs, who paid one elephant each to the Kāmarūpa king, perhaps as annual tribute, had little resources at their command and cannot be identified with Kings of territories that lay beyond the boundaries of modern Assam. Thus, these statements together indicate that some of these, at least, if not all, refer to tribal kings or chiefs and may be even village headmen. If this assumption is correct then we cannot be uncertain about the identity of the kings who crowded the royal roads of the capital city of king Vanamāla, coming to pay their homage to the kings, and going back, seated on decorated (*vicitra*) elephants, horses and *śivikās* or palanquins.[33]

Among other references that seem to refer to tribal people relate to women. A description of the city of Prāgjyotisha states that the beauty of the city was enhanced by many moons in the form of beautiful women with moon-like faces.[34] In a like manner, the capital city Haḍapyaka was made more beautiful by women having bodies like divine women.[35] The white-washed mansions of the city of Durjayā are compared with the white smile of the intoxicated beautiful women.[36] It is also said that *skhalitam* or faltering in Durjayā was noticed only in case of women who had taken wine otherwise any breach of conduct or *skhalitam* was not known.[37] Further, continuous *madhupāna*, in the city, was noticed only in cases of bees and that continuous drinking of wine was not observed in case of ordinary citizens. These clearly refer to two sets of people. One of these drank wine and moved in a care free manner, laughing or smiling, and even faltering. The other group was not given to, continuous or otherwise, drinking and was perhaps reserved. The first set, therefore, in all likelihood refers to tribal sections of the city and the other possibly to the Brāhmaṇas.[37a] The women with moon-like faces undoubtedly are the tribal women of the period.

The Viṣṇu image from Deopani bears a short inscription. The inscription says that the Śūdras, the *dvijas* and the women were to worship the goddess or Viṣṇu.[38] This inscription is very important from the view point of this study.

The *dvijas* in this record are mentioned as *dvijavarṇṇa*, which includes Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas. The *Varṇas* and the *āśramas* together are mentioned in some inscriptions of ancient Assam.[39] None of the *Varṇas* are mentioned individually. Many Brāhmṇas, however, are mentioned in the inscriptions. There is no indication of the existence of the three other *Varṇas*—the Kṣatriyas, the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras. If we accept, from the Varman ending names of the members of the ruling families,[40] that they were recognised as Kṣatriyas, even then the existence of the Vaiśyas[41] and Śūdras remains unevidenced. The people who do not belong to the first three *varṇas* are included among the Śūdras. Thus, the reference to the Śūdras in Deopani Viṣṇu image inscription implies among others a reference also to the tribal people.

There are only two specific notices of the tribals in the inscriptions. These refer to the Abors and the Rabhas. These notices occur in connection with the boundaries indicated in the concerned records. The northern boundary in one inscription is given as *Avara parvata Uttarā.*[42] The boundary, as given refers only to the hill. It does not refer to a people. It is possible, however, that the people living in this region gradually came to be known as Abors,[43] after the name of the hilly region. It is, however, difficult to determine the period by which they came to be referred to as Abors. The other reference mentions the Rabhas. This is more specific as compared to that of the Abors. In an inscription of King Dharmapala is found this expression—*Vrihadrāvā bhūsīmni Kāśimlā vrikṣaḥ.*[44] It refers to the

Kāśimlā tree on the periphery of the land belonging to *Vrihadrāvā* (literally big Rāvā or Rābhā). The term *Vrihadrāvā* is likened to Ahom *vrihatphukkana*,[45] which is incorrect. The *vrihatphukkana*, of the Ahoms, was, an officer but we cannot be sure that this *vrihadrāvā* too, was an officer, during the Pala period. The term 'big Rabha' may refer to a King of the tribe, or a big or important clan of the tribe.

This analysis of the ancient inscriptions of Assam provides sufficient indirect material about the tribal people of region. It is hoped that this analysis shall to some extent fill up the lacunae in the ancient history of Assam and make its outline more complete.

Notes and References

1. Dubi grant, V. 18-19.
2. *Ibid.*, V. 31.
3. *Ibid.*, V. 64.
4. Hayunthal grant, lines 24-5.
5. Gachtal grant, V. 24.
6. Dubi grant, V. 23.
7. *Ibid.*, V. 53.
8. Dubi grant, V. 50.
9. Nidhanpur grant, V. 17.
10. *Ibid.*, V. 20.
11. Uttarabarbil grant, V. 10.
12. Rājyadevī queen of Indrapala, Gachtal grant, V. 22.
13. Gauhati grant, V. 13.
14. Khanamukh grant, V. 11.
15. *Ibid.*
16. Uttarabarbil grant, V. 18, Nowgong grant, V. 18.
17. Dubi grant, Vs. 18-19.
18. *Ibid.*, V. 21.
19. *Ibid.*, Vs. 28-29.
20. *Ibid.*, Vs. 30-31.
21. *Ibid.*, V. 37; Nidhanpur grant, V. 15.
22. Dubi grant, V. 32.
23. *Ibid.*, V. 48,
24. Dubi grant, Vs. 53-54.
25. Tezpur grant, V. 7; Parbatiya grant, V. 7.
26. Bargaon grant, V. 11.
27. Gauhati grant, V. 15.
28. Gachtal grant, V. 23.
29. Hayunthal grant, Vs. 13-14; Tezpur grant, Vs. 11, 16. Parbatiya grant, Vs. 11, 16; Uttarabarbil grant, V. 11.
30. Dubi grant, V. 54.
31. Hayunthal grant, V. 12.

31a. Assam grant of Vallabhadeva, V. 7.
32. Bargaon grant, lines 28-30.
33. Tezpur grant, lines 1-4; Parbatiya grant, lines 33-5. These visitors are actually called *mahānarapatis*.
34. Bargaon grant, V. 5.
35. Gachtal grant, V. 31.
36. Bargaon grant, lines 31-32.
37. *Ibid.*, lines 40-43.
37a. Nothing is known from the inscriptions about the drinking habit of the Brāhmaṇas. The wife of Brāhmaṇa Gabhiṣthira is mentioned as *somalatevapāvanī* (Uttarabarbil grant, V. 28). From this reference to the *soma* creeper we can assume that they may have taken *somarasa* sometimes.
38. *IAA*, pp. 308-9.
39. Nidhanpur grant, lines 34-5; Tezpur grant, line 1; Parbatiya grant, line 33; Nowgong grant, V. 7; Gauhati grant, V. 18.
40. According to some works the names of the Brāhmaṇas should end in Śarman, those of the Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and the Śūdras should end in Varman, Gupta, and Das, respectively.
41. One record (Bargaon grant, line 33) mentions *vitteśa*. Another refers to *vaṇikas* (Hayunthal grant, V. 14). None of these refer to these as Vaiśyas.
42. Tezpur Rock inscription of GE 510, lines 8-9.
43. Now they are known more popularly as Adis.
44. Subhankarapataka grant, lines 60-61.
45. *IAA*, p. 254.

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Coins of Jagaddeva Paramara

CHANDRASHEKHAR GUPTA

Till recently very little was known about the Paramāras of the Deccan. The founder of this branch, Jagaddeva, was simply known to have migrated to south and joined Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla *alias* Vikramāditya VI, for whom he fought several battles, through several inscriptions as well as legends recorded in some literary works like *Rāsamālā*, *Prabhandhachintāmaṇi*, *Jagaddeva rī Bāta* etc.[1] It was known that Jagaddeva was the youngest son of Udayāditya, the younger brother of Bhoja. He met Vikramāditya VI at Koṭi-tīrtha and accepted his service.[2] Vikramāditya VI in turn took him as his son and gave him the Kollipaka-7000 province in the present Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh. Jagaddeva won several kings and territories for him. One of his inscriptions mentions Andhra, Chakradurga (identified with Chitrakūṭa, Bastar District), Dorasamudra (modern Halebid, the ancient capital of the Hoyasalas), Jayasiṁha of Abu, Karpa (Kalachuri king of Tripurī branch) and king of Malahāra (*Malahārakshoṇīśa*, though some scholars believe that he may be identified with Hoyasala king as he adopted the title *Malaparoḷ-gaṇḍa*, a Kannad equivalent of this word, we think it proper to interpret this term as king of Malahāra *i.e.* present Malhar, ancient Mallāla, in Bilaspur District of Madhya Pradesh).[3] Against his overlord Vikramāditya VI, Jagaddeva revolted but could not succeed.

Nothing was known about the subsequent activities of Jagaddeva or his successors. Now some very important data has come to light with the help of which it can be said that Jagaddeva not only succeeded in carving out an independent Paramāra kingdom in the Deccan but also made it strong enough to be ruled by at least two generations after him. The area, included in the Paramāra kingdom of the Deccan comprised Buldhana, Akola, Amaravati, Nagpur, Wardha, Yavatmal and Chandrapur (Chanda) Districts of Vidarbha; Aurangabad, Parabhani, Bid and Osmanabad Districts of Marathwada and a considerable part of the northern Andhra Pradesh especially the Districts of Adilabad, Karimnagar, Warangal etc. Chāhanda (modern Chāhāndūr also known as Gaḍa-Chāndūr, Taluka Rajura, District Chandrapur, Maharashtra State), was the capital of the kingdom. It is found mentioned in Yādava inscriptions at Ambe Jogai.[4]

Jagaddeva is known to have issued two types of coins. Both these issues are in gold. It is difficult to say whether coins in inferior metals like silver and copper were also minted or not, but to us it appears that only gold coins were issued.

All these coins are minted by Punch-mark technique, a revival of the earliest technique, popular during that period. Kings of various dynasties preferred to mint their coins by this method as we see in this period. But coins of the Yādava kings of Devagiri in gold minted through this technique, which bore the central and prominent device of a lotus, were responsible to give them the name '*Padma-ṭaṅka*'. This nomenclature proved to be so popular that all the coins prepared by this technique came to be called by the numismatists as *Padma-ṭaṅkas*. In the contemporary inscriptions and literature these coins are known as *Āchhu*.

The first type of the coins of Jagaddeva bear a figure of a lion in the centre with the legend in Telugu alphabet arranged in seven punches along the rim. In the second type the central area is left vacant and four punches are struck along the rim. One of the punches bears the legend in Nāgarī letters. Another difference between these two types is that while the Telugu legend gives only the title of Jagaddeva the legend in Nāgarī gives his name alongwith the honorific title *Śrī*. The provenance of these two types is also different. The first type of coins have been found in Kurnool and Vijayanagaram Districts while the coins of the second type have been reported from Buldhana District and some more are from sites not recorded.

Coins of Type I

About half a century ago a hoard of some gold coins was discovered at the village Parla in the Kurnool district. It was studied and published by R.S.R. Ayyangar.[5] Later on Brajadulal Chattopadhyaya commented on it.[6] According to them these coins are of the usual punch-marked variety. They have on them some imperfect legends written in Telugu-Kanarese characters of the twelfth-thirteenth centuries. It is difficult to make out the legends from the published reproductions but whatever can be read suggests that there are five groups: (i) *kaka*, (ii) *nnakīti*,

(iii) *Kshada*, (iv) *ṇa* and (v) *a*. The imperfect nature of the legends makes it impossible to attribute the coins to any dynasty. Ayyangar tentatively attributed them to the Telugu-Chola chiefs who were ruling in the Telugu districts in the thirteenth century A.D. Chattopadhyaya suggested that looking to the similarity of the fabric of these coins to those attributed to the later Chālukyas and the Kalachuris and the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati and to the Eluva dynasty of Nellore region etc. and the absence of any meaningful name or meaning of the legends, the only thing that can be said is that these coins belong to twelfth-thirteenth centuries A.D. Their attribution remains uncertain.

Five coins of this hoard from Parla have been catalogued by Chattopadhyaya (nos. 405—409). He has described them in five different varieties as only some letters of the legend have come on each coin. Since there were several punches for a part of one single legend to be punched on the coin, all coins must be considered as of one single variety only.

The devices on the coins beside the legend are a highly conventionalized lion made of dots and lines, conventionalised *Śrī*, and an *aṅkuśa*. The lion device is punched five times, one in the centre and four around. *Śrī* is punched twice.

The weight of these coins ranges between 54.25-55.5 grains *i.e.* 3 514-- 3.596 grammes.

It is correct that due to the fragmentary nature of the legend the attribution of these coins is very difficult. But fortunately a well-preserved coin of similar type has been found in Maradam village of Gajapatinagaram of the Vijayanagaram District, which sheds very important light on the problem.

The coin under discussion was found by a resident of the said village and was acquired by the Directorate of the State Archaeology through the Registering Officer working in the zone. Now the coin is in the cabinet of the State Archaeological Museum, Hyderabad. P.V. Parabrahma Sastry has studied the coin. The details of his studies of this coin are placed below:

Metal: Base gold
Shape: Circular
Dia.: 2.5 cms.
Weight: 3.66 gms.

Obverse : The legend in Telugu script reading *Śrī Pratipanna Kanna* arranged into seven punches along the rim of the coin. The central area covered with a punch with an indistinct symbol like a lion standing to left, tail raised over the back.

Reverse : Blank.

Parabrahma Sastry has pointed out that the coin bears the legend in Telugu letters and resembles in shape those of the Yādavas and the Western Chālukyas.

There is a slight concavity on its obverse (as normally found on coins minted by this technique).

Now when we compare this coin with those found at Parla, we find a considerable similarity between them. Firstly, the device of lion is present on both the coins, though in the case of the former four more punches are stamped around the one in the centre. Secondly, the stamping of the legend split into several punches is common in both. Thirdly, if we see keenly then we find that the legend on coins from Parla represents the same legend as read on the coin from Maradam. Actually, the legend has come out only partially on the coins from Parla and moreover it is very much indistinct. So, the view of the earlier scholars who studied them may not be absolutely correct. Their suggestion that there can be five different groups can be corrected as seven. Moreover, the sequence or the definite reading is not stressed, only a tentative suggestion is put forth. So, following the reading given by Parabrahma Sastry, the legends on these coins can be restored as: *Śrī Pra ti pa nna ka ṇṇa*.

The multi-punching of the lion device and the conventionalized *Śrī* symbol (punched five and two times respectively) and the presence of *aṅkuśa* symbol on the coins from Vijayanagaram District, suggest that they must be considered as a separate variety.

As it is well-known, *Śrī Pratipannakarṇa* (meaning the subduer of Karṇa, both in valour and charity) was the title of Jagaddeva. It is mentioned in his three inscriptions at Kollipaka (Kolanupaka, Nalgonda District)[7] as well as in the Jainad inscription.[8] So there should be no doubt about the attribution of these coins to Jagaddeva.

Coins of Type II

As early as 1910 A.D. a hoard of 25 gold coins was found at Rohinkhed, a village in Buldhana District. The hoard was sent for study to the Numismatic Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was stated that the hoard contained coins of Gāṅgeyadeva, Mahīpāla and Jagaddeva. Three coins of Jagaddeva were noticed and they were deposited in the coin cabinet of the Central Museum, Nagpur. The Numismatic Secretary pointed out regarding the coins of Jagaddeva, that they appear to be South Indian according to their fabric and type, but he was unable to attribute them to the dynasty to which Jagaddeva belonged. However, he identified the issuer of these coins with one Jagadeva whose coin had been published by Walter Eliot in his monograph on South Indian Coins.[9]

Since then the coins were lying in the coin cabinet of the Museum. In 1946, V.P. Rode studied these coins and found that the coins can be attributed to Jagaddeva Paramāra, whose inscriptions were found from this region.[10] Subsequently while writing on the coin-collection in the Museum, on the occasion of the centenary celebration, he wrote on one of these coins.[11]

According to Rode these coins bear four punched areas one of which shows the legend *Śrī Jagadeva* written in Nāgarī script. Two side punches show a symbol formed by curved lines and dots which appears to be a crude representation of the old Kannada letter *Śrī*. The bottom area contains a symbol formed by a rectangular platform over which is a tower-like representation, supposed by him to be a temple.

Looking to my interest in the study of the coins, the Curator, Central Museum, Nagpur, very kindly made photographs available to me. Though he was unable to show me the coins, the excellent photographs of these coins are sufficient enough to serve the purpose. The Photographer deserves our sincere thanks. Accompanied illustrations are based on the photographs supplied by the Museum authorities.

I found few more coins of Jagaddeva of this type in some private as well as museum collections. They are discussed below.

Central Museum, Nagpur

Coin No. 1; Museum Accession No. 10088.

Metal	: Gold
Size	: 1.8 cms. (Average diameter).
Weight	: 3.69 gms.
Obverse	: Four punches along the rim. The top punch bears the legend *Jagadeva* in Nāgarī of *c.* 11-12th cent. A.D. Two punches bearing similar devices, supposed to be the stylised Kannada letter *Śri* on the left and right sides. The device is quite different from those on the other two coins. Only one solid dot is seen in this coin between the curved lines. Below, the fourth punch showing a lenticular linear device placed vertically above a rectangular platform. Dots one each in the middle of the flame-like lenticular device, the platform and outside the lower line are shown. Three dots on the left and five on the right side of the same are also shown.
Reverse	: Blank.

(*Plate* 41.1a)

Coin No. 2; Museum Accession No. 10089

Metal : Gold
Size : 1.9 cms. (Average diameter).
Weight : 3.69 gms.
Obverse : As in no. 1 above with some minor differences *e.g.* legend *Śri* (*Śrī*) *Jadeva*; two dots in *Śrī* device and the lenticular fourth device is flanked by one and four dots.
Reverse : Blank.
(*Plate* 41.1b)

Coin No. 3; Museum Accession No. 10090.
Metal : Gold
Size : 1.85 cms. (Average diameter).
Weight : 3.69 gms.
Obverse : As above with some differences *viz*. four dots inside the stylised *Śri* device; three and five dots flanking the fourth lenticular device. The lower base line of this device in this coin is not straight but formed by joining two curves at the centre where the dot is placed. Here the device appears like an open book with the flame of a lamp.
Reverse : Blank.
(*Plate* 41.1c)

National Museum, New Delhi

Coin No. 4; Museum Accession No. 59.152/1280.
Metal : Gold
Size : 1.7 cms.
Weight : 3.672 gms.
Obverse : Two stylised *Śrī* devices; legend *Śrī Jagadeva* in Nāgarī of 12th century A.D.
Reverse : Blank.

This coin has been attributed doubtfully to the Yādava dynasty. But the name of the ruler is given as Jayadeva.[12]

The Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum, Hyderabad

Coin No. 5; Cat. of Select Gold and Silver Coins, Sr. No. 26.
Metal : Gold

Size : .72 (inch).
Weight : 58.27 gns.=3.775 gms.
Obverse : As no. 1 above. The legend is given here as *Śrī Jagadeka* which must be *Śrī Jagadeva*. The fourth device is named as *liṅga* on *vēdī* and the conventionalised *Śrī* symbol is simply mentioned as two symbols.

The coin was found at Matnoor in the Adilabad District.[13] There is a possibility of some more coins either of Type I (*Cf.* Cat. p. 12, Sr. no. 147 etc.) or Type II, in this Museum. A careful study is required.

Archaeological Department, Karnatak State (?)

Coin No. 6;
Metal : Gold
Size : ?
Weight : 57-57.6 gns.
Obverse : As above. The Nāgarī legend is read as *Śrī Jagadeva*. The fourth device is called a large dotted spear head.
Reverse : Blank.

This coin has been reported in the *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for 1933*. The provenance of this coin has not been given. Chattopadhyaya has described it as a Type of coins issued by the Chālukyan king Jayasiṁha Jagadekamalla.[14]

One coin of similar type attributable to Jagaddeva is in the private collection of Shri Kishor Moreshvar Sathe, Librarian, Lokamanya Tilak Mahavidyalaya, Wani, District Yavatmal. It was found in the vicinity of the town.

It is thus clear that all these coins were issued by the Paramāra chief Jagaddeva. Some coins are attributed by scholars to the Chālukyan king Jagadekamalla, which is quite baseless as his coins bear the legend in Kannada script while those issued by Jagaddeva give his name in Nāgarī. Moreover, the name Jagadeva is seen clearly on these coins and it is never Jagadeka.

A further thorough study in this direction is required.

Notes and References

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3. *E.I.* Vol. XXII, p. 56, fn. 5.
4. G.H. Khare, *SMHD*, I, pp. 76 ff; Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Yādava Inscriptions From Ambe Jogai*, Hoshiarpur, 1972, p. 32, line 27; p. 46, line 27.
5. *I.A*, LVI, pp. 189-190, pl. facing p. 186, nos. 14-16.
6. *Coins and Currency Systems in South India, c. 225-1300 A.D.*, Delhi, 1977, pp. 94-5, 304-307.
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13. M. Rama Rao, *Select Gold and Silver Coins in A.P. Govt. Museum, Hyderabad*, Hyderabad, 1963, p. 4, no. 26.
14. B.D. Chattopadhyaya, *op. cit.*, p. 212, pl. III. 91.

42

Prime Minister Mandana and His Works

SATYA VRAT

Maṇḍana, the poet-prime minister of Māṇḍū, forms the last link in the long chain of litterateurs, who wielded pen and sword with equal effect. By all accounts, Maṇḍana was endowed with the most pleasing and colourful personality. A bundle of contradictions, he represented a unique amalgam of a scholar, administrator, diplomat and a devout *śrāvaka*—all rolled into one to result into a multi-focal entity that spurred Maheśvara to recount his varied attainments in the poem *Kāvyamanohara*,[1] which, in essentials, seeks to detail with poetic trappings, the saga of the Śrīmāla lineage, in seven cantos. The Śrīmāla dynasty was admittedly adorned with a series of colossui who made, down the years, substantial contribution to the enrichment of the social and political life of Mālava. Maṇḍana was an heir to the chequered tradition of ministerial skill and religious fervour. All his predecessors from Ābhū to Jhañjhaṇa had held ministerial office with various rulers, and had undertaken pilgrimage at the head of multitude of devotees, that earned them the proud epithet of *saṁghapati*.[2] Maṇḍana sought to diversify his innate administrative competence by fruitful forays into the hitherto unexplored domain of music and literature. Maheśvara is warmly liberal in his pronouncements on Maṇḍana's multiple literary equipment. We have it on his authority that besides being endowed with keen intellect, Maṇḍana was well-versed in grammar, poetics, dramaturgy, music, *Belles letters* and a host of other *śāstras*. He thus imbibed, in equal measure, an admixture of what, in the jargon of poeticians, is known as *śakti* and *vyutpatti*. While his frequent visits to the centres of pilgrimage elevated him to the status of *saṁghapati*, much in the manner of his predecessors; the profusion of his liberality brought him the sobriquet of *Kalpataru*.[3]

Of the six great sons (*ṣaṭ tanayā mahāntaḥ*) of Jhañjhaṇa, who all were ministers (*sacivāḥ samastāḥ*) celebrated for their riches (*sampannavittāḥ*),[4] Bāhaḍa was especially known for his compassion and munificence. During his stewardship as a minister, he had been instrumental in securing release of Keśirāja, Harirāja and Amaradāsa from the fetters they had been condemned to.[5] Maṇḍana, the crest-jewel of the Śrīmāla dynasty, was the second and the youngest son of Bāhaḍa.[6] With personable mien and sweet tongue, he was an extremely cultured minister.[7] From the fact that his achievements in literature and music are repeatedly stressed in the *Kāvyamanohara* (*KM*), it would be reasonable to hold that he was rated fairly high both as a poet and musician. His writings bear it out in abundant measure.

In view of the catholicity of vision that breathes through the *Kāvyamaṇḍana* (*Kāv. m.*), one may plausibly entertain a modicum of doubt about Maṇḍana's precise religious predilections. From the sincerity of devotion with which Lord Śankara and Viṣṇu and some of the religious places and sacred rivers of the Hindus are extolled therein, in *Puranic* style, he may well be inferred to have been a follower of the *Bhāgavata* or *Śaivite* faith. Though liberal to a fault, Maṇḍana has unequivocally expressed his devotion to Jina, in almost all his works. While he tenders homage to Jina in the concluding verse of each canto of *Kāvyamaṇḍana* (*Jinendranirbharanateḥ*), in *Alaṁkāramaṇḍana* (*AM*) he proudly evaluates himself as *jinabhakta* (v. 75) and Maheśvara hails him as a great devotee of Jineśvara (*Jineśvara-mahābhakta*, *KM*. I. 9). Not unlike his predecessors, he has been frequently alluded to as *saṁghādhipa* or *saṁghapati* by the author of the *KM* (II. 22). By the *Dhāma* and *Pareśa* eulogised in the benediction to the *Kāv.m.*, he, like Nayacandra, seems to imply *Paramajina*.[8] The strong revulsion to violence and persecution expressed in the *Kav.m.*, also appears to emanate from his puritan jainistic belief. Maṇḍana should not be thus confused with the author of *Kāmasamūha* (1457 A.D.) who, though named Maṇḍana, was, unlike our author, brāhmaṇa by caste. He was a scion of Bhāmalla family and his grandfather was Nārāyaṇa.

Besides the six works issued in *Śrīhemacandrācārya-granthāvali*, Maṇḍana is credited with the authorship of *upasargamaṇḍana* and *Sangītamaṇḍana* as well. His *Kavikalpadruma* is noticed in the *catalogus catalogarum*, but seems to be otherwise lost, perhaps irretrievably. The manuscript that forms the basis of the current edition of *Kāv.m.*, was copied in V.S. 1504 (1447 A.D.).[9] The MSS. of *Kādambarī darpaṇa* (*KD*), *Campūmaṇḍana* (*CM*), *AM* and *Śṛngāramaṇḍana* (*SM*) are also dated in the same year. In the penultimate verse (107) of *SM*, Maṇḍana has used for himself the epithet *sārasvatakāvyamaṇḍanakaviḥ*, which seems to reveal that he had composed a work *Sārasvatamaṇḍana* by name. Of the two manuscripts of *Sārasvatamaṇḍana* preserved in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, one is dated 1575 A.D. (V.S. 1632). The beginning and concluding parts of the manuscript confirm it beyond doubt that the author of *Sārasvatamaṇḍana* was identical with Prime-minister Maṇḍana. Thus the date of transcription of six of Maṇḍana's works is now known to us. All the aforesaid works *sans* the *Sārasvatamaṇḍana* must therefore be referred to the years anterior to 1448 A.D. On its own admission, the *Kāv.m.* was written at a time when Ālamshāh was ruling over Māṇḍū. The *Śṛngāramaṇḍana* (*SM*) also had its genesis in the regime of Ālamshāh.[10] And Maheśvara joins Maṇḍana in upholding the fact that Bāhaḍa and his brothers owed their elevation to this ruler.[11] Ālamshāh was a powerful ruler, a veritable scourge to the enemy.[12]

P.K. Gode is convinced that in view of the sequence of the Muslim ruler of Mālava, Alap Khan alias Hoshang Ghori (1405-1432 A.D.) is the only ruler who can be justifiably identified with Maṇḍana's patron Ālamshāh. Alap Khan had ascended the throne of Mālava after poisoning his father Dilawar Khan to death. He invaded the neighbouring Gujarat twice, in 1411 and 1418 A.D. Though Maṇḍana seems to credit him with victory over the Gujarat rulers that allegedly resulted in their flight from the homeland;[13] Ahmedshah, the contemporary of Alap Khan, is known for certain to have administered resounding rebuff to his evil designs. Alap Khan was reduced to such dire straits that after his defeat at the hands of Ahmedshah in 1419 A.D., he had to fall back to the safe sanctuary of Maṇḍapadurga.[14] If Ālamshāh's identification with Alap Khan alias Hoshang Ghori is correct, *Kāvyamaṇḍana*, *Śṛngāramaṇḍana* and *Campūmaṇḍana* can be dated, with certainty, between 1419 and 1432 A.D. And it would be hardly off the mark to assign Maṇḍana's entire literary output to the first half of the fifteenth century, beyond which he could have hardly prosecuted his writings.

Mandana's works

By all standards, Maṇḍana was a gifted writer. His versatility is reflected in the variety of works he is credited to have authored. Maṇḍana's sound grounding in various disciplines had suitably equipped him to make considerable contribution to such diverse branches as poetry, grammar, music and poetics. It would be worth-while to undertake a critical evaluation of his works to drive home his achievements as a poet.

Kavyamandana

By its sheer bulk and poetic worth, the *Kāvyamaṇḍana* (*Kāv.m.*) occupies the highest rung in the galaxy of Maṇḍana's works, and, as such, it may justifiably be rated as his *magnum opus*. A *mahākāvya* in thirteen cantos, it purports to describe, with established mannerisms, a brief episode from the *Mahābhārata*, beginning with the Pāṇḍavas' miraculous escape from the lac-house to their return to Hastināpura, following their arduous wanderings coupled with Arjuna's feat in winning Draupadī's hand in the *svayamvara*-ceremony, conducted with royal fanfare. The *Ādiparva* forms the main source of Maṇḍana's theme. The episode of Kirmmīra that has come to be accorded high importance in the poem is narrated in the Vanaparva (III. 11), being somewhat distinct from the main narrative, closely related to Bhīma's exploits. Maṇḍana has subjected the epic narrative to drastic trimming to make it square with the limitations of the *mahākāvya*, though in the process he has skipped over some of the momentous details. While it was essential to convince the Kauravas of the success of their fiery operation, contrary to its source (*MB*, I.147.4), the burning to Purocana and six substitutes is not even remotely hinted in the *Kāv.m.* It is, however, a different matter, if they are still confident of the sizzling end of their adversaries (*Kāv.m.*, XII. 35). The strenuous itinerary of the Pāṇḍavas and sequential description of the various places of pilgrimage and holy rivers are conspicuous by their absence in the *Mahābhārata*. The *Ādiparva* contains no more than a skeletal account of Arjuna's pilgrimage, intended to serve as backdrop to his various marital alliances, not precluding abductions (*MB*, I. 212-216). The Pāṇḍavas, as described in the *Kāv.m.*, stay at Ekacakrā with an indigent brāhmaṇa and their mother Kuntī offers to save his only son from the menace of Baka-demon even at the cost of one of her own sons. In the *MB*, the offer is made to the brāhmaṇa while the *Kāv.m.* directs it to his wife, tormented with the supposedly imminent end of her son (*MB*, I. 160.3; *Kāv.m.*, IX. 8). By substituting one arrow for the five in the *Mahābhārata*, Maṇḍana has evidently sought to simplify the imperative of the *svayamvara* (*Kāv.m.*, XII. 18; *MB*, I. 184.35). Kuntī's imprudent direction to her sons to share equally their newly acquired possession (Draupadī) is smugly admitted in the *Kāv.m.* as well (*MB*, I. 192.2; *Kāv.m.*, XII. 19). Incensed at the assassination of his brother Baka and friend Hiḍimba and at the abduction of the latter's sister, Kirmmīra, according to the epic, assails Bhīma but is killed in the combat; in *Kāv.m.* Bhīma is credited to have slain him to obtain the release of his brothers and mother, forcibly kidnapped by him (*MB*, III. 11.30-32; *Kāv.m.*, VIII. 37). By effecting change in the epic version, Maṇḍana has evidently shifted the onus of the duel to the demon. The episode seems to have been transplanted in the poem to underline the ferocity and insurmountability of Bhīma.

The form of the *Kāv.m.* is obviously out of tune with its contents. Maṇḍana has raised a mighty edifice on the slender base of the epic story, which, in itself could well have been disposed of in a tiny poem. However, as executed in the *Kāv.m.*, it often seems to sink into oblivion. The fact that five (II, V-VIII) of the thirteen cantos have been dissipated on digressions, basically alien to the theme, is a telling commentary on Maṇḍana's sense of proportion.

Being primarily concerned with exploits of the Pāṇḍavas, particularly Bhīma and Arjuna, the *Kāv.m.* is dominated by the heroic sentiment which may be admitted as its principal *rasa*. The poem is enlivened throughout by Bhīma's awe-inspiring prowess and ferocity. To him unquestionably rests the credit for conducting out his kins from the death-trap, the *lākṣā-gṛha*, for subsequently securing their release from the iron clutches of Kirmmīra and ending the menace of Baka demon. All his combats occasion powerful expression of the *vīra-rasa*, which is addedly reinforced by Arjuna's valour. Bhīma's soliloquy in canto Four, on escaping unscathed from the lac-house, though chiefly intended to scoff at Yudhiṣṭhira's commitment to peace, is pervaded by extreme hauteur and brusqueness, fully worthy of a kṣatriya warrior. He is determined to reduce the Kauravas to ashes like so many moths, provided the cloud of Yudhiṣṭhira's compassion does not crop up to quench the fire of his anger.[15] However, the most effective delineation of *vīra-rasa* stems from his terrific battle with Kirmmīra.[16]

Of the ancillary sentiments, the *Bhayānaka-rasa* tends to match the principal sentiment in intensity and depth. In a bid to overpower the Pāṇḍavas, Kirmmīra resorts to the gimmick of the *mahābhicāra* sacrifice. Crowded with witches and vampires and resounding with frightful sounds of bisons, rams, drums and demons, his sacrifice-grove, the cemetry, strikes terror down to one's spine.[17] Besides the two major sentiments, *Karuṇa*, *Raudra*, *Śānta*, *Śṛṅgāra* and *Adbhuta* also considerably contribute to the aesthetic pleasure of the poem and thereby invest it with added charm.

While in deference to the rhetorical precepts Maṇḍana sticks, by and large, to the traditional style in depicting nature in its various forms, it is the ornate description that engages attention in the *Kāv.m.* It bears testimony to his fertile imagination coupled with an expertise in exploiting it to the maximum effect. His skill in personifying the natural phenomena has greatly enlivened the description in the poem. The banal description of sun-set has been elevated to great heights by investing the dusk with the function of a skilful gold-smith. The goldsmith of dusk, who had heated the mass of gold (the sun), in the crucible of sky, has now consigned it to the depth of the western ocean so that he may subsequently fashion, at will, the attractive ornaments of moon and stars (*Kāv.m.*, V. 53). However, Maṇḍana is at his best while depicting nature in its undiluted pure form, with the figure of speech, *Svabhāvokti* (III. 36).

Maṇḍana's equipment is various disciplines which had enabled him to gain an enviable command on Sanskrit language. As it is employed in the *Kāv.m.*, it represents a combine of the natural and the flamboyant. While on the one hand, it is characterised by diaphanous perspicuity, on the other it is larded with a wealth of compounds, that, occasionally, tend to turn it into an exercise in artificiality. The deftness in striking balance between the two galvanises Maṇḍana to cope with an array of situations in their variety and entirety. Be it the aflame lac-house or *mahābhicāra* sacrifice, Kuntī's wailings or terrific combats, Śankara's boisterous dance or holy current of the Ganges, all these have come to vibrate with realism at the touch of Maṇḍana's pen.

The phraseology that marks Yudhiṣṭhira's arguments to reassure his brothers, accords with his philosophy of peace (*Kāv.m.*, IV. 31). The arguments with which Bhīma seeks to counter his weak-kneed policy, on the other hand, are couched in a language that emits arrogance and furiousness. He is unequivocal in denouncing Yudhiṣṭhira for reposing trust in the wily Kauravas, who, like the beasts of prey could never be expected to abandon their wickedness (*Kāv.m.*, IV. 33,37).

Maṇḍana has not been miserly in interspersing his language with inverted constructions and sesquipedalian compounds. The language used in eulogising the sacred rivers and presiding deities of various *Tīrthas* is decidedly laboured. *Yamaka* and the *Sragdharā* metre combine to turn it into a far-fetched affair. The language that is intended to extol *Aṣṭamurti* śankara must have posed serious challenge to the mighty god (VIII. 61). It is however to Maṇḍana's credit that though artificial at places, his language is never shorn of dignity and poise.

But for his favourite *Yamaka*, with which the *Kāv.m.* is deliberately stuffed, Maṇḍana is not enamoured of *alaṁkāras*. The ode to Śankara (VIII. 63-67) should suffice to illustrate the complexity of his *Yamaka*. Of the *arthālaṁkāras*, *upamā*, *utprekṣa*, *Vyatireka*, *Rūpaka*, *Svabhāvokti* and *Arthāntaranyāsa*, besides others, have been approvingly admitted in the poem. Maṇḍana is the master of simile. The *Kāv.m.* abounds in charming similes. Maṇḍana uses both abstract and concrete *upamānas* to ensure the clarity of the subject. While he compares in XIII. 44 Yājñasenī with the abstract *Kuṇḍalinī* power, the five organs of perception (*Jñānendriyas*) form the standard of comparison for the Pāṇḍavas. It is however *Svabhāvokti* that projects Maṇḍana in true colours. The pen-picture of the farmer, perched on the improvised *machan*, guarding his crop from the deperadations of the birds with sling and shrill cries, is extremely happy (III. 14).

Maṇḍana seems to have wilfully flouted the rhetorical injunction in respect of metre. The precept that prescribes the preponderance of a solitary metre in the canto has not met his approval. Consequently eight out of the thirteen cantos of *Kāv.m.* are dominated by plurality of metres. In all, twenty three metres have been exploited in the poem that serve to illustrate his thorough grounding in metrics.

The *Kāv.m.* forms an eloquent dissertation on Maṇḍana's poetic talents. He has executed a non-Jaina theme in its original setting. Although he had zealously imbibed the contemporary *Mahākāvya*-tradition, he has been at pains to keep it within the bounds of moderation. He has doubtless made frequent forays into artificiality of style, but, all in all, the *Kāv.m.* is not unreasonably laboured.[18]

Mandanakadambaridarpana

Of over a dozen compendiums and adaptations of uneven worth, both in prose and verse, that emerged, down the years,[19] to bring Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*[20] within the reach of lay readership, the *Maṇḍanakādambarīdarpaṇa*[20a] or *Kādambarīdarpaṇa* (*KD*) of Maṇḍana, deserves notice by reason of its lucid style and close pursuance of the original, besides its being the solitary abridgement of Bāṇa's *magnum opus*, ever undertaken by a Jaina author.

Written in deference to the wishes of the author's patron (I. 15-18), the *Kādambarīdarpaṇa* embarks upon the frustrating task of pruning the *Kādambarī* down to a size that may reflect its *summum bonum* without in any way infringing upon the grace and essentials of the story and requirements of an epitome. A gifted writer as he was, Maṇḍana has acquitted himself with admirable credit. It is a measure of his poetic equipment that he has summed up the whole of *Kādambarī* within the body of mere 574 *anuṣṭup* verses, imaginatively arranged in four rounded sections (*adhyāyas*).

Not unlike Bāṇa, Maṇḍana has prefaced his epitome with an account of his lineage. While Bāṇa's family was known for its literary attainments, Maṇḍana's represented an admixture of riches and letters (I. 9) and was essentially a veritable repository of eminent ministers (I. 3), he himself being a peer of Bṛhaspati (I. 13). Maṇḍana has wisely dispensed with the series of descriptions that characterise *Kādambarī* in its inception. He has relegated them, in a severely truncated form, towards the close of his narrative and are there to form a link with the earlier segment of the story. Such of the descriptions as being inextricable ingredients of the main story and therefore essential to its flow and proper understanding, he has chosen to incorporate in the epitome are reduced to the barest minimum with practically no possibility to slash them further. The account of the Acchoda lake (I. 94-103), the shifting phenomena at dusk (II. 64-70) and the *nakhaśikha* description of Kādambarī's physical beauty (III. 1-18) are cases in point. It may be noted in respect of the last while it does not share many of the ideas of the original, it has the merit of not ignoring any of its salient features and represents a worthy compendium of its parallel in Bāṇa.[21] Maṇḍana's description of the shifting phenomena at the onset of night vis-a-vis Mahāśvetā's emotional stresses effectively brings out her anguish born of separation from Puṇḍarīka (II. 64-70). For the other descriptions that menacingly beset Bāṇa's narrative Maṇḍana has effectively resisted the temptation that could have well deflected a lesser poet from his goal, exposing him, in the process, to ridiculous situations, irrelevant to an abridgement.

Maṇḍana seems to have launched upon his task with the zeal of a missionary and equipment of a well-versed author. He had not only a thorough grasp and transparent understanding of Bāṇa's text but had also mastered all the nuances of his language and various situations of the narrative. And if the unending similarity in phraseology is any pointer, he seems to have committed to heart the whole of *Kādambarī*, almost verbatim. Otherwise it would be difficult to account for the deep sprinkling of Bāṇa's ideas and phrases that *KD* has received in profusion.

That the *Kādambarī-darpaṇa* forms an excellent epitome of *Kādambarī* is to restate the obvious. The divergences are too insignificant to admit of serious consideration. Of the four sections, the first summarizes, preliminaries apart, the story from Tārāpīḍa to Mahāśvetā's account upto the advent of her youth, related to Candrāpīḍa in her first encounter with him. The second section carries the narrative to Candrāpīḍa's visit to Kādambarī on Hemakūṭa, preceded by the touching account of Mahāśvetā's meeting with Puṇḍarīka and the latter's succumbing to his emotional upsurge. Candrāpīḍa's meeting with Kādambarī followed by the lovely description of their love, the prince's return to his capital and his journey back to Kailāśa, apparently in search of his friend Vaiśampāyana, form the contents of the third section. Section Four deals with the rest of the narrative. The *KD* is faithful to its prototype not only in theme which is the basic requirement of a compendium, but in the matter of language as well. This two-fold adherence to the original has enabled Maṇḍana to capture the depth of feelings and emotional and physical torments of his characters in pithy verses in a manner that he compares creditably well with the master.[22]

Maṇḍana's indebtedness to Bāṇa is evident at every step. There is hardly any verse in *KD* that does not pulsate with Bāṇa's phraseology. While it is neither feasible nor advisable to detail all such similarities, some of the more glaring may be reproduced to drive home the quantum of debt Maṇḍana owes to the author of Kādambarī.

In describing Candrāpīḍa's pursuit of the Kinnara-couple and his consequent arrival at Kailāśa, Bāṇa remarks:

Atra gṛhyate'tra gṛhyate idam gṛhītamidam gṛhītami-tyatirabhasākṛṣṭacetasā mahājavatayā turaṅgamasya muhūrtamātreṇaive.......pañcadaśayojanamātra-madhvānam jagāma / taccanubadhyamānam kinnaramithunamavalokya evāsya sammukhāpatitama cala tungaśikharamārurha.[23]

With it may be compared the following verses from *KD*:

mahatyā vānchayāviṣṭo vājinā vāyuraṁhasā /
atyavāhayadānītaḥ panthānam pañcayojanam. (I. 82)
idam gṛhatamityeva tasyānudravataḥ puraḥ /
adreḥ śikharamtyuccamaśvo'gamyamavāpatat. (I. 83)

Candrāpīḍa's subsequent vacillation at his venture is described by Bāṇa as follows:

kimanena gṛhītenāgrhītena vā kinnarayugalena prayojanam /[24]

Maṇḍana has adopted the sentence almost in toto:

gṛhītenāgrhitena kim vānena prayojanam / (I. 86)

Bāṇa has delineated the state of Puṇḍarīka's emotions with a pretty *Sahokti*:

karatalādakṣamālām lajjayā saha galitāmapi nājñāsīt /
......*athāham tām kaṇṭhābharaṇatāmanayam* /[25]

Maṇḍana's description of the situation is not much dissimilar:

na viveda tadā pāṇicyutām sphaṭikamālikām/
anayam hārapadavīmādāya tām drutam. (II.23)

All this should serve to highlight the fact that the *Kādambarī-darpaṇa* with its commitment to the prototype and lucid style, matched by pleasing ease, is one of the best epitomes of Kādambarī. It has the distinct merit of disseminating to the lay reader what was earlier the preserve of the well-equipped scholar alone.[26]

Campumandana

The admixture of prose and poetry, alternating at measured intervals, though first encountered in ancient texts like the *Brāhmaṇas*, *Arthaśāstra* and *Pañcatantra* took pretty long to establish itself as a genre of poetry, popularly known as Campū, some time before Daṇḍin (7th century) who is the earliest of the poeticians to notice and define it[27] in a manner which, minor variations apart, continued to hold ground, down the years. Though otherwise commendably rich, the Jaina literature suffers from a disgusting paucity of Campūs. It is therefore all the more surprising that despite its merits the *Campūmaṇḍana*[28] continues to encounter undeserved neglect.[29] It commands attention because of its colourful author and the ennobling story of Ṅemi and Rājīmatī that it seeks to detail with poetic trappings.

The seven chapters (*paṭalas*) that *Campumaṇḍana* (*CM*) is made of, are evidently disproportionate to the quantum of details set forth therein. Besides preliminaries, the first chapter opens with the description of Samudravijaya's metropolis Vijayavardhana, followed by an account of his equipment as a powerful ruler and the beauties of his noble wife Śivādevī. With no organic nexus with the theme, chapter Two amounts to a glaring digression. The couple's water-sports in chapter Three are followed by emergence in dream of a *dvija* to offer three jewels, the peers of *Kaustubha*, to Śivā who promptly apprises her husband of the amazing occurrence. An *ācārya*, in the fourth chapter, assures Samudravijaya that the sight of jewels heralds the attainment of a jewel-like son. The child is appropriately named Nemi. He embodied the munificence of *kalpataru*, depth of ocean, charm of cupid and compassion of a sage. Chapter Five sees Nemi in Dvārikā, the metropolis of Kṛṣṇa, at the latter's invitation. His marriage is fixed with Rājīmatī the comely daughter of Ugrasena, the ruler of Mathurā. Ugrasena gears the town to the extravaganza of the royal marriage. At the opportune moment reaches Nemi at the head of the marriage-party. Chapter Seven represents both the climax and anticlimax of the theme. Overwhelmed with revulsion at the proposed mass butchering of the cattle for the marriage-feast, Nemi leaves marriage in the midst of its execution and flees to Raivataka to escape the mundane frivolities. Rājīmatī is left aghast. However, she follows her 'lord' to his resort and attains supreme bliss even before him.

Maṇḍana has been rigorous in shearing the details so that the theme is reduced to a bare frame to sustain the rather heavy portrayal that *Campūmaṇḍana* turns out to be. Occasionally the thread of the story tends to snap under the weight of descriptions that beset the Campū. Maṇḍana has indeed been brusque in dealing with the story. As a form of poetry the Campū had caught the fancy of Maṇḍana to the extent that he likened it to a lovely damsel who imparted pleasure with her tenderness, imaginative embellishment and innate sentiments.[30] Doubtless, by its very nature the Campū opens up wider avenues for the muse of the author to unfold itself in both prose and poetry. Maṇḍana embarked upon the Campū with the decided objective to project himself as a prose-writer of some order. While his equipment as a poet is evidenced by his poetic works especially the *Kāvyamaṇḍana* the *Campūmaṇḍana* with an over abundance of prose in preference to poetry, serves to establish him as a prose-author of no mean merit. Maṇḍana had a clear vision of the type of prose that he wanted to foster. It is to his credit that he did not mean to overawe the reader with sesquipedelian prose tarnished by inverted construction, with compounds heaped upon compounds and replete with *śāstric* allusions, to emerge, like Somadeva, Haricandra or Arhaddāsa, as a rival to Bāṇa. His modest aim was to describe the story in simple and lucid prose marked with such literary devices as had established themselves as inseparable ingredients of literary prose.

In ultimate analysis, the *Campūmaṇḍana* adds up to a mass of prose-pieces, spun out to draw sketches that form the warp and woof of the poem. The innate characteristic of Maṇḍana's description is to focus on the totality of the object to draw an integrated picture. This he has been able to achieve through his keen power of observation coupled with an equipment that reveals itself in an apt and lucid phraseology, which, even if occasionally infested with longer compounds, is never divested of effect and precision. The description of spring bears it out in ample measure (p. 5-6). Even pithy sentences are used here to maximum effect. Maṇḍana is equally at home in drawing the wide spectrum of description. Whether it is the trite sunrise or Śivā's pregnancy or *Dvārikā's* grandeur, all have come to be invested with pleasing aptness and freshness. The skill in mustering appropriate *upmānas* lends added effect to his prose that results in enlivening the various descriptions. While the description of *Grīṣma* based on a string of similes, brings into relief the rigours of Indian summer with burning sky and breathless people, (p. 10); the pen-sketch of the *ācārya*, invited to interpret Śivā's dream, highlights at one stroke his manifold equipment in the science (p. 13). And poetry has been liberal in contributing to bringing the stateliness of *Dvārikā* to life.

Maṇḍana's grounding in poetics and metrics is beyond question. While an undercurrent of alliteration runs throughout his prose and poetry in the *Campūmaṇḍana*, other figures of speech lend strength to the expression. He is at home in handling the short *anuṣṭup* and the longer metres like *Pṛthvī* and *Śārdulavikrīḍita*. *Upajāti* and *Mālinī* are, however, his forte.

With his multiple equipment Maṇḍana has thus contributed to the neglected branch of Campūs, a work that, on all counts, deserves a treatment kinder than what it has so far received.

Candravijaya-Prabandha

Though Maṇḍana's love for nature and his skill in describing it in various facets is amply evident from his poetic works, the *Candravijaya-Prabandha*[31] (*CVP*) is sought to be an index to the minister's adroitness in depicting *Candrodaya*—the moon-rise—in its various manifestations—that had settled down as a sort of digressive mannerism, right from Kālidāsa's era.

Divided into two parts, the first '*Paṭala*', on the poet's own admission, forms prologue to the '*prabandha*' proper. The prelude concerns itself with describing successively the myriad situations from moon-rise to its setting. Though mainly stereotyped in nature, Maṇḍana's fertile imagination and judicious use of the *arthāntaranyāsa* coupled with his penchant for personifying the phenomena have invested the description with a measure of charm and freshness.

The tiny crescent that bore resemblance with the nail-mark and cupid's tender bow (7-8), soon develops into full orb, the peer of ear-ornament of the orient quarter and roving mirror of the world (15). Reflected in the ocean alongwith the stars, it invited comparison with Viṣṇu's conch laced with pearls emanating from its own belly (17). The intermingling of its beams with darkness is happily conceived as the torrent of the heavenly Ganges descending upon Śiva's matted locks (20). In describing its retreat from the sky, the poet tends to personify the phenomenon. The angler of moon had cast the net of his sheen far and wide in the sky. While withdrawing, he carries a rich haul of fish in the form of stars (33). An happy idea to describe the *Candrāsta*: The strand of personification is stretched further with fruitful results. The voluptuous moon had dared into the harem of the sun in his absence. On seeing him return, the poor fellow has fled in panic to the western-quarter. However, harsher treatment awaited him there. The seasoned harlot of the western quarter, having robbed the youthful dandy of his riches (*vasu*), has unceremoniously bundled him out of her campus (32).

Pained at the fall of the mild-mannered moon, the poet decides to detail his triumph that forms the contents of the second part of the *prabandha*.

Though born of the same parents, the sun incurs wrath of the father (ocean), while he lavishes care and affection on moon for his solicitude for the masses (11-17). That serves to stir the envy of the sun which was further inflamed by the proposed marriage of moon with the lovely damsel of night (25). He promptly decides to fight it out. Soon the two are pitted against each other on the battle ground. The volley of arrows discharged with measured frequency by the moon lacerated the repository of valour (*tejonidhi*) to the extent that the ground was soaked with the torrent of his blood (37-39). The haughty creature had to beat a hasty retreat. In the true spirit of the Rajput women the herd of his spouses perished in *jauhar* (45). The moon emerged victorious. He ruled the empire of sky with abandon and enjoyed himself with his new spouse (87).

Besides being an eloquent testimony to Maṇḍana's expertise in depicting nature in a variety of styles, the *CVP* forms a slim thesaurus of charming *sūktis*, some of which may be reproduced here.

1. *Patiṣytām pāparatā hi vṛttiḥ*/ II. 9
2. *vairasya mulam vanitā hi punsām*/ II. 25
3. *Yūnoh sandeśavārttā khalu sangakalpā*/ II. 28
4. *parābhibhūtermaraṇam hi mānyam*/ II. 43
5. *sarve ca kāle prabalāḥ svakīye*/ II. 53

Srngaramandana

Though not rated as a *śataka*, the *Śṛṅgāramaṇḍana*[33] (*SM*) of Maṇḍana adds up, in essentials, to a century of erotic verses.[34] Written in a bid to further the tradition enriched by Bhartṛhari and Amaru, it describes the myriad situations that the young lovers undergo in union and separation, without sharing the depth, suggestiveness and refinement of the earlier stalwarts. The defective text, tarnished by many a lacuna, robs the poem of much of its charm. However, Maṇḍana's delineation of the joys and sorrows of love, with its varied nuances, is marked by warmth and insight. In his reckoning the young comely damsel forms the quintessence of life, and in comparison to her all else sinks into sterility. It is she who imparts immaculate non-dualistic pleasure to the aspirant by entering into *yoga* with him *viśadānandādvayam*).[35] To him the release of man from inverted copulation constitutes the real *mokṣa.* No bliss is greater than the exultation emanating from the warm embrace. Only the unwise wear themselves down through a variety of penances for attaining *Brahman* in preference to woman—the fountain-head of all bliss (99). While Maṇḍana is occasionally uninhibted in expression, some of the situations are happily drawn. "The callous hearts of the lovers are locked in embrace only after they, like two pieces of iron, have undergone sufficiently harsh heating in the fire (of separation), fanned by the series of breath" (75).

Alamkara-Mandana

Primarily intended as a manual to set forth, in brief, the main precepts of Sanskrit poetics, the *Alaṁkāra-maṇḍana* (*AM*)[36] serves to establish Maṇḍana as a poetician of some worth. Maṇḍana had a long, varied and rich tradition, extending over fifteen centuries, to draw upon. He has doubtless utilised Mammaṭa's *magnum opus* with fruitful results. However, despite this well-entrenched tradition, the way he has chosen to skip over some of the momentous issues perforce leads one to conclude that he has presented in the volume, what he, according to his lights, deemed to constitute the essence of poetics. Maṇḍana has not only dispensed with the *śabda-śaktis,* his treatment of the classification of poetry is also perfunctory to the extreme, which in Mammaṭa forms the most authentic and exhaustive dissertation on the subject. His handling of *rasa* likewise lacks depth and penetration. On his own admission, the work is intended to be a guide to new poets.[37]

The praise of poetry that characterises the beginning of *AM* sets the tone for the rigorous adherence to rhetorical injunctions that Maṇḍana demands of a poet. To the author of *AM*, poetry serves twofold purpose. It brings fame to the poet which is essentially instrumental in raising him to divine status (I.4). It is however the aesthetic pleasure (*pramoda*) that is the life-breath of poetry (I.7). It represents a doctored version of Bhāmaha's view on the issue who accords equal status to *kīrti* and *prīti*.[38] While Bhāmaha and following him Maṇḍana represent the *kāvya-prayojana* in essence, Mammaṭa[39] seems to have assimilated all that was handed down to him by his predecessors.

Mammaṭa's definition of poetry,[40] though bitterly denounced by Viśvanātha,[41] established itself as a reasonably complete and pragmatic definition. Maṇḍana deemed it best to repeat it, albeit in a disguised form, perhaps in the belief that it was futile to improve upon what the master had bequeathed to the posterity. Like Mammaṭa, to him also poetry consists of both 'word' and 'sense' which echoes the considered view transmitted to him by celebrities like Bhāmaha,[42] Kuntaka[43] etc. and blessed with approval by poets like Kālidāsa[14] and Māgha.[45]

It should additionally be endowed with poetic qualities (*guṇas*) and ought to be free from blemishes (*doṣas*), evidently as far is possible. While Mammaṭa wisely tones down the importance of the figures of speech (*alaṁkāras*) by making their use optional, Maṇḍana seems to accord them as elevated a status as to the *guṇas*: *sālaṁkāraguṇā sarthādoṣā vāk kāvyam ucyate* (AM, I.9). Maṇḍana has classified poetry into three well-known categories, the degree of excellence being dependent on the position of *dhvani* therein. He has however refrained from critical evaluation thereof which forms the heart of kāvyaprakāśa (*KP*) and has been mainly responsible for elevating it to exalted heights.[45a]

In the absence of *vṛtti* on the text, it is difficult to ascertain if Maṇḍana, like Hemacandra, drew distinction between the primary and ancillary causes of poetry. If the singular form *hetuḥ*[46] is any pointer, Maṇḍana does not seem to favour such arbitrary distinction. Not unlike Mammaṭa he is disposed to hold all the three as an integrated whole that forms the cause of poetry, jointly and not separately, as Mammaṭa wisely puts it.[47] Maṇḍana rather represents a bloated version[48] of Mammaṭa's text on the subject.[49] *Pratibhā* in Maṇḍana is a counterpart of Mammaṭa's *śakti*; *vyutapatti*, as viewed by the author of *KP*, is wide enough to embrace in its swoop *sarvaśāstrāvalokanam, devabhāṣāparijñānam* and *sadasallokacāturyam.* All else in Maṇḍana is included in *kavyajñaśikābhyāsa* of Mammaṭa.

It is difficult to understand the rationale of dealing with *rītis* in the first chapter, that are usually relegated to a lower rung. Maṇḍana's treatment of *rīti* is very casual. He has neither defined it in general nor any of its varieties. However, he has illustrated them with appropriate examples.

In Maṇḍana's conception of the imperatives of poetry, blemishes (*doṣas*) are to be shunned with meticulous care. He, therefore, has detailed the various types of faults that are likely to plague the *kāvya*, in a chapter (II) that outweighs in extent all others combined together, sans the fifth. Following in the footsteps of his predecessors, Maṇḍana has classified the poetic blemishes into four categories: those pertaining to *pada* (word), *vākya* (sentence), *artha* (sense) and *rasa* (sentiment). While unlike Mammaṭa, Hemacandra etc., he has transposed *rasa doṣas* to the chapter (IV) devoted to the treatment of sentiments, he has dealt with others at the appropriate place. Maṇḍana follows the great author of *KP* (VII. 50-51) in enumerating and illustrating the sixteen *pada-doṣas*, preceded by a succinct but lucid definition of each fault. But unlike in Mammaṭa, the *vākya-doṣas* and *artha-doṣas* in *AM* are only illustrated, not defined. Maṇḍana has combined *vidhiyuktatā* and *anuvādayuktatā* to bring down the number of *arthadoṣas* to twenty-two.

Chapter Three, devoted to the treatment of poetic qualities, is by far the slimest in the work. Maṇḍana has neither defined *guṇa* in general, nor has he sought to draw distinction between *guṇa* and *alaṁkāra* that forms one of the complex problems in poetics. Unlike Mammaṭa and Hemacandra who have reduced with sound arguments the inflated number of *guṇas* to three,[50] Maṇḍana continues to cling to the older view[51] that favoured ten qualities. He has been rather hasty in disposing of the *kāvya-guṇas*, doubtless with appropriate definitions and illustrations.

Maṇḍana seems to accord to *rasa* a place higher than the *alaṁkāra* (*AM*, IV. 1) which may be taken to reflect his adherence to the *rasa*-school of poetry, though his treatment thereof is perfunctory, almost half-hearted. While he could not afford a full-fledged discussion on the nature, character, number and process of development of *rasa* (*rasa-niṣpatti*) in a slim tract, he explicitly hints his preference for Bhaṭṭa-lollaṭa's doctrine of *utpatti vis-a-vis* the poetic sentiment (*AM*, IV. 2). It runs counter to Hemacandra, who, in pursuance of *KP*, is a champion of Abhinavagupta's *abhivyaktivāda*.[52] In admitting nine *rasas* including the *Śānta*, Maṇḍana is indebted to Mammaṭa and Hemacandra, who likewise had argued in favour of nine poetic sentiments,[53] though the former, like Bharata and the authors of *Daśarūpaka*,[54] dismisses as impossible its development in a visual art like drama.[55] *Bhāva*, *Bhavābhāsa* and *rasābhāsa* are duly noticed. All the illustrations are remarkable for their precision and lucidity. The enumeration of *sthāyibhāvas* and *vyabhicāribhāvas* at the end of the chapter is enigmatic.

As usual, the figures of speech claim the last chapter Maṇḍana has dealt with the *alaṁkāras* based on both *śabda* and *artha*, which, as enumerated by him (*AM*, V. 2-10), number sixty-eight against Mammaṭa's sixty-six. Mammaṭa has rightly brought *māladīpaka* under the parent *alaṁkāra*.[56] Hemacandra has reduced them to thirty-one. Maṇḍana has defined and illustrated almost all the major *alaṁkāras*, but some of the definitions and illustrations are inapt, if not erroneous (e.g. *Prativastūpama*, *Bhrāntimān*). The fact that he has detailed sixty-eight *alaṁkāras* in a tiny work may testify to the fancy he had taken for the outward embellishment of poetry.[57]

Maṇḍana was thus bountifully endowed with administrative skill and high literary attainments. In his own words, both the goddesses of learning and riches resided in his campus in perfect harmony.[58]

Notes and References

1. *Śrīhemacandrācāryagranthāvali*, No. 7, *Śrīhemacandrācārya-sabhā*, Patan, 1918 A.D.
2. *Kāvyamanohara* (*KM*), VIII. 3-17.
3. *Ibid.*, I. 9, 12; II. 22.
4. *Ibid.*, VII. 34.
5. *Ibid.*, VII. 28.
6. *KM*, VII. 24: *Kāv.m.*, XIII. 55; *Campūmaṇḍana* (*CM*), p. 35 (verses 8-9); *Kādambarī-darpaṇa* (*KD*) I. 4-8; *Śṛṅgāra-maṇḍana* (*SM*), 105-107.

7. *Kāvyamanohara*, VII. 43.
8. In the benediction to the *Alaṁkāramaṇḍana* obeisance is paid to the lotus-like feet of Jinendra (*Jinendra-padābjarajaḥpavitram—AM*, I. 1).
9. *Saṁvat* 1504 *varṣe śāke* 1369 *pravartamāne...bhādra-śudi-pañcamyām tithau budhadine pustkamalekhi*. Scribe's insertion at the close of Kāv.m.
10. *SM*, 103.
11. *KM*, I. 5; *CM*, P. 35 (verse 8).
12. *Kāv.m.* XIII. 53; *SM*, 103.
13. *Vijahati hetibhirjarjarā gūrjarāḥ| SM*, 104.
14. *Jain Antiquary*, XI. 2, p. 25-26, F.N. 1

15 *Matkrodhavahnāvayakāradīpte pāpāḥ patiṣyanti pataṅgavatte |*
na cettavoddāmadayāmbudāli tacchātikartrī bhavitāntarāyaḥ ||
Kāv.m. IV. 39.

16. *Ibid.*, VII. 38.
17. *Ibid.*, VI. 26-28.
18. For an exhaustive critique on *Kāv.m.* see my book (under print) *Jaina Saṁskṛta Mahākāvya*, p. 48-74.
19. The New *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Madras University, Vol. III, p. 388.
20. M.R. Kale (ed.), *Kādambarī* with auto-commentary *Bālabodhinī*, Delhi, 1968.

20a. *Śrıhemacandrācāryagranthāvalī*, No. 18, Patan, 1918.

21. *Kādambarī* pp. 282-88.
22. Compare *KD*, II. 34, III. 49.
23. *Kādambarī*, op. cit., p. 193.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 194.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 232.
26. For a fuller discussion on the subject see my paper 'A Versified Jaina Epitome of *Kādambarī*', *Jain Journal*, Vol. XX, No. 1,p. 24-27.
27. *Gadyapadyamayī kāciccampūrityapi vidyate |*
    Kāvyādarśa, I. 31.
28. *Śrīhemacandrācārya-granthāvalī*, No. 9, Patan, 1918 A.D.
29. Kapura Chand Jain, who details the Jaina Campūs including some modern attempts in his study, is not even remotely aware of its existence. See *Purudevacampū kā ālocanātmaka pariśīlana*, Delhi, 1985, p. 51-76.
30. *Campūmaṇḍana*, p. 2, verse 2.
31. *Śrīhemacandrācāryagranthāvalī*, No. 10, Patan, 1918 A.D.
32. *Jaivātṛko jālikavatsamantāt vikṣipya vistāritamaṅ śujālam |*
    saṁgṛhya tārāśafarānaśeṣān punryayau puṣkarataḥ parastāt ||
    CVP, I. 33
    vikarttane kvāpi gate vilāsī tasyāvarodhe viharannabhonte |
    samīkṣya śaṅke tamupetamindurbhayādagāt paścimavartmanaiva ||
    Ibid., I. 35.
33. *Śrīhemacandrācāryagranthāvalī*, No. 11, Patan, 1918 A.D.
34. *Śṛngārabhaṅgyā śataślokī |* SM, 108.
35. SM, 101.
36. *Śrīhemacandrācāryagranthāvalī*, No. 11, Patan, 1918 A.D.
37. *AM*, I. 8.
38. *Prctim karoti kīrtim ca sādhukāvyanibandhanam |*
    Kāvyālaṁkāra (*KA*), Patna, 1985, I. 2.
39. *Kavyaprakāśa* (KP), Varanasi, 1960, I. 2.

40. *tadoṣau sabdārthau saguṇavanalaṁkṛtī punaḥ kvāpi |*
Ibid., I. 4.

41. Jīvānanda (ed.): *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, Calcutta, 1934, I, p. 9-20.

42. *śabdārthau sahitau kāvyam |* *KA*, op. cit., I. 16.

43. *Vakroktijīvita*, I. 7.

44. *Vāgarthaviva saṁpṛktau... |* *Raghuvaṁśa*, I. 1.

45. *Śabdārthau satkaviriva dvayaṁ vidvānapekṣate |*
Śiśupālavadha, II. 86.

45a. *KP*, op. cit., Chapters 4-5.

46. *Kāvyasya hetuḥ pratibhā... |* *AM*, I. 10.

47. *trayaḥ samuditāḥ na tu vyastāḥ tasya nirmāṇe......heturna hetavaḥ |*
Vṛtti on *KP*, I. 3, p. 17.

48. *AM*, I. 10-12.

49. *KP*, op. cit., I. 2.

50. *trayaste na punardaśa |* *KP*, op. cit., VIII. 68.

51. *...guṇā daśa |* *AM*. III. 2.

52. R.C. Parikh (ed.): *Kāvyānuśasana* (*KAS*), Bombay, 1964, *Vṛtti* and *viveka* on II. 1, p. 88-103.

53. *Śānto'pi navamo rasaḥ |* *KP*, IV. 35; *KAS*, op. cit., II. 2.

54. *Śamamapi kecitprāhuḥ puṣṭirnāṭyeṣu naitasya |*
Daśarūpaka, Nirṇaya-sagara Press, Bombay, 1928, IV. 35.

55. *...aṣṭau nāṭye rasāḥ smṛtāḥ |* *KP*, op. cit., IV. 29.

56. *KP*, op. cit.. Chapters IX-X.

57. For an exhaustive critique on Alaṁkāramaṇḍana see my paper Alaṁkāramaṇḍana: Maṇḍana's Tract on Poetics, Tulasī-prajñā, Vol. XII, No. 3, Ladnun (Raj.).

58. *KD*, I. 10.

43

Sculptural Representations on the Memorial Stones

A.V. NARASIMHA MURTHY

Though hundreds of memorial stones have been discovered all over Karnataka, the sculptural representations on them have not been subjected to serious study by art historians. The general feeling is that their sculptural representations are not of high quality and do not portray classical sculptural art one finds in temples. It is also felt that there is repetition of themes on the memorial stones and they lack variety in their execution. In fact on a closer examination it becomes clear that the sculptural representations on the memorial stones are more faithful in representing the contemporary social life; they are more pointed in approach and simplicity is their main character. Under this light it is necessary to examine the sculptures found in various types of memorial stones such as herostones, Māstikals and others.

The most commonly found sculptures on the herostones of Karnataka contain three panels on a vertical stone. Though these stones are crude during the Gāṅga and Rāshṭrakūṭa periods, they become highly polished during the time of the Hoysaḷas, Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and the Sēvuṇas of Devagiri. In fact the herostones of these three dynasties can compare favourably with the sculptures on their temples. It is also of some interest to note that the sculptors responsible for the temple building activities were also employed in making some of the memorial stones of the period. These are generally made of fine grained black basalt which was the material par excellence used for temple building by the Hoysaḷas. Because of this soft stone the herostones became highly artistic capable of showing minute intricate carvings which was the most dominating feature of the Hoysaḷa sculptures. However, during the Vijayanagara period, there is a decline in the quality of the memorial stones for various reasons. The number of memorial stones suddenly increased due to a large number of fights and wars and the local people could not afford the erection of fine sculptured panels. Instead of the fine grained soapstone, the Vijayanagara sculptors used hard granite which was not helpful in making fine and minute sculptures. It is also possible that the art of making herostones became a craft because of the high demand for them.

The three panelled herostones which more or less became the dominant type show three panels showing three different scenes. The scenes start from the bottom most panel where the hero is shown in action. The second panel shows the hero being taken away by the *apsaras* in a *vimāna* to the *svarga* and the third panel shows the hero enjoying the life of the *svarga* or Kailāśa. But one can notice many varieties in these three panels depending upon the nature of the incident involved. When the incident is a fight between two heroes, the lowest panel depicts a fight between two men who hold swords and shields. At times they fight with other arms such as spears, bow and arrows. Sometimes they are shown on the horse back also.

But majority of the herostones depict war scenes in which the lowest panel is very richly carved with scenes of *raṇaraṅga*. Such panels become very frequent in the Hoysaḷa period, though they are not altogether absent earlier. In the scene of a war, the entire paraphernelia is well depicted in a minute way as the space available is small. Whatever may be the type of war, the hero is shown in a conspicuous way either in slightly bigger proportions or more decorated so that he looks prominent. In such scenes, heroes, elephants, chariots, foot soldiers with bows and arrows, varieties of shields are depicted. If the hero happens to be a royal person an umbrella is invariably shown over his head. An inscribed herostone from Balligave of the Hoysaḷa period may be cited as an example of a good war scene. Here the hero is shown in bigger proportions as compared to other persons in the scene and holding a broad sword in his right hand while his left hand holds a roundish shield. The action of the hero striking the enemy is finely carved and shows a dynamic movement. A mere look at the panel brings to our mind the horrors of a war. More than a dozen soldiers are shown in various poses. Some are riding the horses while others are in chariots. Different types of shields are also carved. Thus in a small panel the war scene is graphically portrayed in a minute but effective manner for which the Hoysaḷa sculptor is well known. In another herostone of the same period the hero is shown as holding a big bow. The size of the bow may look exaggerated but it is done purposefully to show the prominence given to the hero. The herostone from Māvaḷi of the Rāshṭrakūṭa period is equally interesting from this point of view.[1] The hero is holding a bow almost of the same height as that of the hero himself. The scene depicts not the action itself but the post-war scene. The dead bodies are strewn all around and people are admiring the valour of the hero. In another *vīrgal* from Nērlige the lowest panel shows men fighting with spears sitting on elephants. Only two elephants are shown and five men are depicted as fighting. In another *vīrgal*, now kept in the Mysore University Archaeological museum, a fight between a foot soldier and a horse rider is graphically depicted. Thus whatever may be the details of the war or fight depicted, the sculptors have taken great care to make them natural.

The second or the middle panel can be divided into two categories. The first category depicts the hero being taken in a *vimāna* by the *apsarās* to the *svarga*. The second category depicts the hero resting his two arms on the two *apsarās* one on each side and thus being led to the heaven. The *pushpaka vimāna* looks like an open *maṇḍapa* of the Dravidian type supported by two pillars. It is shown as being lifted and carried by the *apsarās*. However, one can see varieties of the *vimāna* in these depictions. In the second category two or more *apsarās* may lead the hero to *svarga*. The Nērlige herostone has only two *apsarās* while the Māvaḷi herostone has many *apsarās* carrying the hero to the *svarga*. In some of them the *apsarās* hold *chāmaras* to welcome the hero.

The third or the topmost panel shows the hero in the *svarga*. The hero is shown as seated on an exalted pedestal. Usually Īśvaraliṅga is shown in the panel if it is to depict Kailāśa. The *vīragals* at Bāchaḷḷi Agrahāra and Nērlige depict Śivaliṅga with Nandī at the top. However, some of the *vīragals* have top panels more decorated. The central top has a *kīrtimukha* or *siṁhamukha* and *śākhās* emerging out on both sides. Below is shown temple for Śiva. The shape of the *śikhara* is interesting and deserves special attention. One of the herostones of the Hoysaḷa period shows a typical Ṛekhānāgara type of *Śikhara* which houses the *Śivaliṅga*, with a *stūpī* at the top. A memorial stone from Raṭṭehaḷḷi in Dharwad District is highly interesting from this point of view. It has three *śikharas*, all belonging to *nāgara* type. The *vīragal* from Kaykiṇi in North Canara District has three *śikharas* of the *Vesara* type. Another *vīragal* from Hūli in Belagaum taluk has a Drāviḍa *vimāna* at the top. Thus we see *nāgara*, *drāviḍa* and *vesara* types of *śikhara* in the *vīragals*. This makes it clear that the sculptors of the *vīragals* were familiar with different types of temple styles that were in vogue in Karnataka during the contemporary period.

Though three panelled herostones are common, four, five and even six panelled ones are also available in Karnataka. The four panelled herostones were popular in Hoysaḷa and Vijayanagara periods, during which period the sculptor had a special liking for minute details. He was not satisfied with the three panels and hence devised four panels so that he could be more graphic and give more details. In all other respects these *vīragals* are similar to those with three panels except that the lower two panels depict the scene of the war or battle. The third and fourth panels are devoted to the *apsaras* taking the hero to the *svarga* and his life in Kailāśa.

Some herostones have only two panels. A herostone from Hampi has only two panels; the lower panel shows two heroes fighting against each other with swords and the top panel shows the hero in the Kailāśa. The *apsarās* taking him to *svarga* is not depicted in this stone. This is generally the case with all two panelled herostones.

The other type belongs to the single panelled herostone where the entire event is depicted in a single panel. In this type the hero being taken to the *svarga* and his life in *svarga* or Kailāśa are not depicted, because these two automatically follow the death of a hero. What is more important is the heroism or the exploits of the hero for which the undoubtable result was the *vīrasvarga*. Among these single panelled herostones we find many varieties depending upon the type of heroism and the occasion which demanded the sacrifice. Generally in such stones the inscription is carved either at the bottom or at the top of the sculptural representation. There are many herostones in which the writing is carved on all the four sides of the sculptured panel. The Ātkūr inscription is a good example of this type.[2]

The Bēgur herostone is perhaps the best example of a war scene depicted in a single panel.[3] The sculptural representation portrays graphically the heroism of Nāgattara in a fight. An elephant has thrown a soldier into the air with its trunk. A crow is pricking into the eyes of a dead soldier. Others are shown as carrying wounded soldiers from the battle field. The *piśāchīs* are drinking the blood of the dead soldiers. Thus the whole scene is awe inspiring.

Gograhaṇa or *Turugoḷ* was of common occurrence in ancient and medieval Karnataka. In fact it was a prelude to a major war or a political clash. Thieves or robbers entered the villages and drove away cattle stealthily. On such occasions the youth of the village came forward and protected the cattle. Such herostones contain cows depicted in natural postures and the heroes rescuing them from the robbers. A *gograhaṇa* herostone from Balligave of the time of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa dated 1095 A.D. can be cited as a good example for this type.[4] Dēvagavuṇḍa and Mallagāvuṇḍa opposed the thieves who were taking away the cows and died in action. Their brother Boppagāvuṇḍa set up this memorial with the consent of the villagers.

Herostones representing *peṇbuyyal* meaning the saving the honour of women is another category worthy of notice. A large number of references are seen in epigraphs to enemies arriving in villages with the intention of molesting the honour of women. On such occasions the youth of the village used to fight against miscreants and in the process sacrificed their lives. In commemoration of this event the villagers set up herostones in honour of the dead. These stones contain representations of women on the panels along with the heroes. In this connection, the herostone from Abbalur has to be examined.[5] To represent the molestation of women, the sculptor has graphically shown half nude women and the heroes fighting against the culprits.

The herostones commemorating the death of individuals who died while hunting are also of importance. Wild animals such as tigers, elephants and boars used to attack the villagers. On such occasions, the able bodied men of the village hunted these wild animals and in the process laid their lives. Either the entire village or the relatives of the heroes used to set up these stones. On such herostones the sculpture shows the hero fighting against the wild animal. A herostone from Bāgali shows the hero fighting against a tiger. Such sculptures are seen in the herostones found at Kubbaṭūr, Balligave, Śravaṇaguḍi, Tāvarekere and Kolar. The herostone at Balligave has the sculpture of a hero fighting against a boar. Similar stones are found at Koḍihaḷḷi and Tippūr also.

At this point it is worth examining the memorial stones which were meant for pet animals. The most exemplary incident is not only narrated but also sculpted in the Ātkūr inscription dated 950 A.D.[6] In the war between the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Gāṅgas of Talkāḍ, Būtuga gives a grant to Maṇalēra for his exceptional bravery. Maṇalēra requests for a dog by name Kāḷi and gets it from Būtuga. In course of time the dog is killed in a fight against a boar. Maṇalēra, stricken with grief, sets up a memorial stone along with an inscription for his pet dog Kāḷi. At the top of the stone is a fine sculpture of a dog fighting against a boar. Both the animals are naturally depicted and the movement is easily visible. Thus it is one of the well executed memorial stones from the sculptural point of view. Similar sculpture is also found at Yelahanka belonging to the period of Rājēndra Choḷa.

Self sacrifice for various reasons is mentioned in many inscriptions of Karnataka. Generally these sacrifices are done to fulfil a vow to serve the master. Garuḍa was a practice which was quite popular in the Hoysaḷa period. It was considered a great opportunity to sacrifice oneself for the sake of the ruling king. Such herostones have the sculpture of a hero and a small sword by which he cuts his own head. In some cases the severed head is shown separated by the body. Inscriptions refer to this practice as *Siḍitale*. Vēḷevāḷi, Joḷavāḷi and Lenkavāḷi also refer to such sacrifices for the master.[7] Though the sculptures on these stones look simple, they portray the sentiment effectively. *Kīḷgunṭe* is another similar practice. In the Doḍḍahunḍi stone the king is shown on the sacrificed body of a hero.[8] The attendants hold the *chhatra* and the decorated cot is shown graphically. It can be taken as a good example of the sculptural tradition of Karnataka of the middle of the tenth century.

Finally a reference must be made to *māstikals* or *satī* stones. The sculptural representation on these stones can be seen in three types. The first type has a man and a woman, the latter ready to die. The second type shows a woman in a stylized form ready to commit *satī*. The third type is symbolic as it has a pillar and a hand of the woman. The third type is repetitive and does not show any good sculptural art. However, the first and second types show some good sculptural representations. In this connection the *māstikal* of Bommanahalli deserves a special mention. A well dressed woman is standing with one of her hands raised. At the bottom is a man with a bow. The dress and ornaments of the woman are not only gorgeous but show a rich variety and naturalness. The hair at the back is very finely carved. No contemporary sculpture of any temple shows this type of delicate hair.

Thus the sculptural representations on the memorial stones show a variety which is rare in temple sculptures. Secondly they are highly useful in understanding the contemporary socio-religious practices and warfare. The different types of weapons shown in the hands of the heroes and the ornaments on the horses and elephants etc. deserve special mention.

Notes and References

1. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VIII, Sb 10.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, Md 41.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. V.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, Sb 175.
5. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V, p. 261.
6. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. III, Md 41.
7. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. XIV, Pt ii, p. 98.
8. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. III, Tn 91.

44

Dating the Murals in the Arjun Mahal, Kota

JOACHIM BAUTZE

The wall paintings in the Arjun Mahal within the old palace of Kota were hardly mentioned in art historical context.[1] Besides, we only came across one published specimen, reproduced in a book the title of which does not show any connection to Kota murals.[2] This is why we decided to write a short note on these unpublished beautiful "frescoes" in honour of Shri R.C. Agrawala, who over the years followed the course of our work in Rajasthan with great interest and attention.

The Arjun Mahal is situated within a part of the ancient palace built during the reign of Maharao Arjun Singh (1720-1723)[3]. It adjoins the north-eastern corner of the inner courtyard in the first floor. The outside of the Arjun Mahal shows no wall painting. All murals are situated within the Arjun Mahal which has but one entrance in the south-west and one window in the north-west. The entrance measures 0.94 m. in width and is usually closed by two leafs of a wooden door each of which shows a standing woman below a fluted arch in the upper and a bunch of flowers emerging from a flower pot resting on a bowl in the lower part, when seen from within. When seen from without, the doors are simply painted in red colour. The south-western and the north-eastern wall measures about 5.28 m. in length, the two opposite remaining walls in the south-east and north-west respectively are about 2.85 m. long. The height of the room is about 2.87 m. the floor, however, is rather uneven. A painted room in Rajasthan can be divided into 5 horizontal levels in order to facilitate the specific position of each wall-painting, as we have already discussed elsewhere to some extent.[4] Thus, level A extends from the ground to the eye level or slightly below. Level B is usually situated within the eye level. Level C is situated above the eye level and below level D. Level D includes the quirk which connects the perpendicular wall with the ceiling, the tambour or squinch nets with the cupola respectively. Level E marks the ceiling or cupola. At times we find an intermediate level between levels C and D. It can usually be recognized by its hooks in the shape of animals protruding into space.

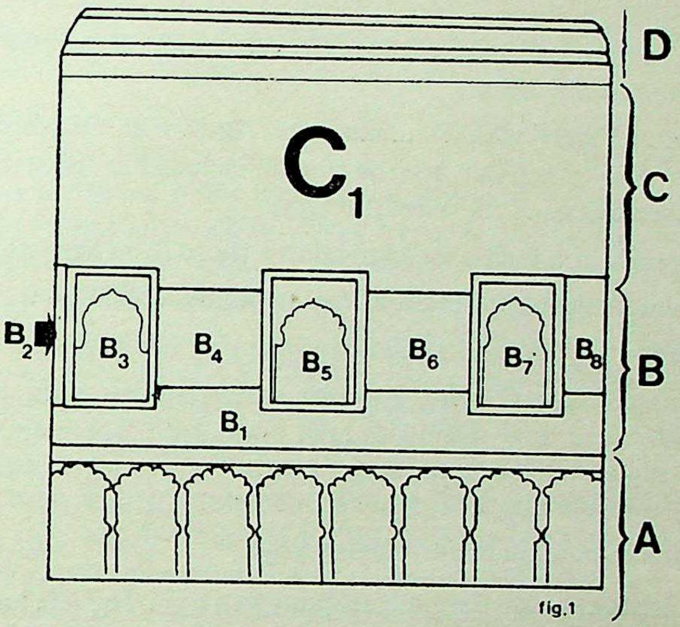
Level A consists of bunches of flowers placed in flower pots which are placed on bowls. Each such flower arrangement is placed in a painted frame with a fluted arch on top, indicated in figs. 44.1-44.4.[5] A narrow horizontal band with floral patterns against red ground above the frames also belongs to level A which measures about 0.72-0.73 m. in height. The background within the painted frames alternates in red and green, the space between the frames is filled with blue.

Level D is only about 0.15 m. high and shows three different patterns of flowers painted in blue on white ground.[6] The thin line immediately below level D indicates in all the four accompanying figures the extent of the fringes or tassels which appear in a similar place in most painted rooms in the south-eastern part of Rajasthan throughout the 18th and 19th centuries.[7] They were probably meant for indicating the border of an awning (*śāmiyānā*). Level E thus became the awning in case of a flat ceiling as opposed to one or more than one cupola, where the rendering is different. Level E in the Arjun Mahal shows in its center the face of the radiating sun placed in a square. The rest of the ceiling is painted with a network of squares[8] each of which is filled with a flying bird set against blue background.

Much in contrast to levels A, D and E, characterized above, levels B and C offer a large variety of painted subjects and scenes. We are going to describe them briefly in the sequel by starting with the south-eastern wall (fig. 44.1). The drawings (figs. 44.1-44.4) give an idea about the location of the wall paintings which are separated from each other by a red line. Another way of indicating two different paintings was the use of abrupt change of the scene in placing it in a different landscape when compared to the neighbouring painting. Each field is numbered from left to right according to the level in which the mural is situated.

Fig. 44.1 (south-east)

B_1 : Two mounted elephants, a number of horsemen and bearers on foot moving through a hilly landscape with occasional trees. Below B_4 and B_6 a rider has fallen from his horse. This procession is partly continued on fig. 44.2, B_1.


D
C₁
C
B₂
B₃
B₄
B₅
B₆
B₇
B₈
B
B₁
A
fig.1

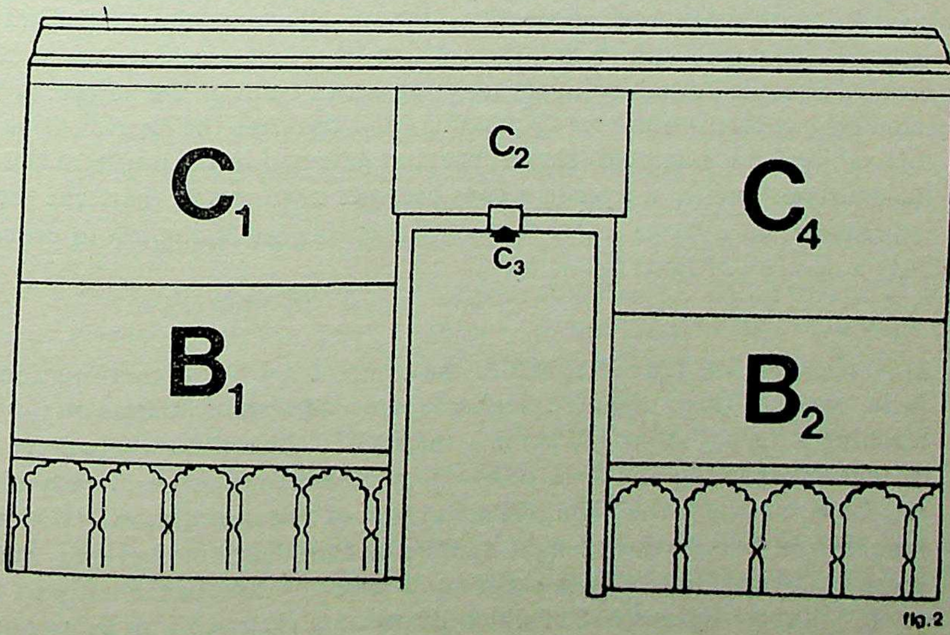

C₁
C₂
C₄
C₃
B₁
B₂
fig.2

Fig. 44.1 & 44.2

B_2 : This narrow field was perhaps once filled with a painted cypress, nothing however now remains.

B_3 : A painted niche with a woman on a *chaukī* with hands clasped above her head. She is similar to the woman included in the standard Bundi *kalam* representations of the Vairāṭī Rāgiṇī.[9]

B_4 : A woman in a landscape extracting a thorn from her left foot.[10]

B_5 : A painted niche showing a woman suckling a child on a terrace.[11]

B_6 : A standing woman in a landscape clasping her hands above her head.[12]

B_7 : A painted niche showing a woman arranging the *pallu* of her *sari*. She is seated on a low stool with high back rest.[13] These niches (B_3, B_5, and B_7) are only about 1-2 cms. deep, a reason for which we called them "painted". They measure about 50-51 cms. in height.

B_8 : A woman in a landscape playing yoyo.[14]

C_1 : The celebration of the Janmashṭamī festival[15]. The left half of the composition is occupied by the Kota palace. The right hand half shows the large square between the eastern facade of the palace and the Naqqarkhana Darwaza which can be seen on the extreme right of this large mural. Brijnathji, the tutelary deity of Kota[16] is worshipped in the Raj Mahal behind the square tank with the islet in its middle.[17] Priests and devotees flank the image on either side (*Plate* 44.1). The remaining space around the lake is crowded with spectators. Brijnathji appears again in the "Lal Chattri" situated above the Hathian Pol, from where he offers *darshan* to a large crowd of people assembled in the large square in front of the palace. A two lined Nāgarī-inscription near the Hathian Pol confirms the identification of the subject. 11 mounted elephants stand gathered in the northern part of the courtyard, where a tiger in a cage becomes a witness of the scene being imprisoned in a large cage. Crowds of people are facing left in order to have a *darshan* of Lord Brijnathji.

Fig. 44.2 (south-west)

B_1 : Shikar scenes. The lower left half of the composition is a continuation of B_1 in fig. 44.1. Three mounted elephants and a number of hunters on foot are reaching a tiger who lies hidden in a thicket. To the right, two hunters out of four are shooting at a flock of five boars, two of which are already hit by the balls of the rifles. The remaining part of this mural shows 16 hunters mounted on horseback and eight hunters on foot distributed evenly over a green landscape studded with shrubs and tufts of grass. In the left part they try to kill three tigers[18] one of which jumps on a rider who in consequence is falling from his horse. The right half shows various stages of pig sticking.[19] One boar is killed with a sabre while attacking the horse[20] and another boar is killed with a dagger.[21]

B_2 : Shikar scenes. Inscribed in two lines of white Nāgarī letters: "*Srī darabāra durajañna sālajī bādu/ra savārī cogana ki raṃgābāḍī ko*" (Durjan Sal sporting on horseback in the *chaugan*). A horseman below the inscription is engaged in spearing a buffalo (*Plate* 44.2). A green halo with golden brim around the rider's head indicates that he should be identified with Maharao Durjan Sal, who, however, looks quite different.[22] Moreover, this composition is only known from the period of Maharao Ram Singh (1827-1866) onwards.[23] Most of the 53 men on foot either attend Maharao Durjan Sal or move towards the center of the composition like the seven horsemen, of which only a few are visible in our *Plate* 44.2.

C_1 : Scenes in open landscape. In the left hand third of the mural rides a horseman with his left hand outstretched.[24] He is accompanied by two riders behind him. Three men on foot are walking in front while a fourth walks on the proper left side of the horseman, holding a *morchal*. The rider has probably to be identified with Durjan Sal. His head is framed by a golden halo. Four footmen in the foreground are ascending a small hill which forms part of a rocky landscape that fills the entire lower part of the composition. The right hand two third show a lake with a small palace in the back. The lake is populated by numerous aquatic birds, turtles and fishes amongst a number of lotuses. Large herds of deer are approaching the lake for drinking. They are neither disturbed by the huntsmen distributed in three different walled hiding-places nor by a tiger below a tree with red blossoms near the lake. Boars are sporting around freely and two bears out of four are seen fighting each other. More antelopes, a couple of lions and a few hares populate the rocky landscape in the upper part of the painting, where also a city with a temple can be seen. The black sky is illuminated by lightnings here and there.

C_2 : The worship of Shri Nathji on the occasion of the Annakut-festival. The representation is quite conventional and has probably been copied from a similar composition in the Bara Mahal, dating from about 1829. The *Pichvai* behind the *Svarupas*, however, does not show the ordinary "tree of life" motif but the older "*choktha*" pattern.[25] Shri Nathji is shown with splayed feet. The "tree of life" motif appears behind the wall of the courtyard, set against the black sky. The priest who performs the *Arati* resembles Damodarji Maharaj from Nathadwara[26], who often appears in 19th century Kota painting. Seven devotees are standing on the left hand side while six devotees pay respect to the assembled *Svarupas* on the right hand side of the mural. The first devotee from the left group looks like the person who is identified as "Maharao Durjan Sal" by several inscriptions in the Arjun Mahal. His head is surrounded by the usual halo. Behind him stands a man who resembles Maharao Bhim Singh. His head is framed by a halo as well.[27] The head of the first devotee of the right hand group is also highlighted by a halo. We are, however, unable to identify this character.[28]

C_3 : The red faced, four-armed Ganesha flanked by a female chauri-bearer on either side.

C_4 : Maharao Durjan Sal watches an elephant fight in front of the palace.[29] A two lined Nāgarī inscription in the upper part of the painting below the stylized clouds reads: "śrī māhārājajī śrī dura/janasālajī". Maharao Durjan Sal watches two fighting elephants which are separated by a wall. These elephants are to some extent reflected by the two elephants of the Hathian Pol situated in the left half of the composition.[30]

About 30 people witness the fight behind the left hand elephant. A third elephant is waiting behind a second wall meant for elephant fights. This wall is situated below the southern Bangaldar of the eastern facade. Two horses with grooms and two dogs can also be found among the crowd in front of the palace gates with its painted outer walls.[31]

Fig. 44.3 (north-west)

The "W" marks the space of a window which is usually closed by two shutters.

A_1 : This is the only place within the level A where we find a figural representation, hence our inclusion in the specified level-wise description. An elephant with broken chains is pursuing two horsemen and three people on foot. Two persons are standing behind the running animal. The scene is put against green background without any indication of landscape.

B_1 : The niche in the center of B_1 (i.e. B_2) is flanked by a blossoming creeper on either side. In the middle below, a tiger attacks a running boar. The head of the tiger is curiously shown *en face*, the boar is running from left to right.

B_2 : A seated lady worships a white Śivaliṅga on a painted terrace. The flowers behind the low balustrade in the back indicate a garden.[32]

B_3 : The painted niche in the centre is flanked by a blossoming creeper on either side situated in B_3. In the center below a tiger coming from right attacks a hunter running from left. The hunter is striking the animal with his *talwar*.

B_4 : A lady seated on a terrace with a great bolster in her back pours a drink from a bottle held in her right hand into a cup in her left. The balustrade and the flowers behind resemble B_2 in fig. 44.3.

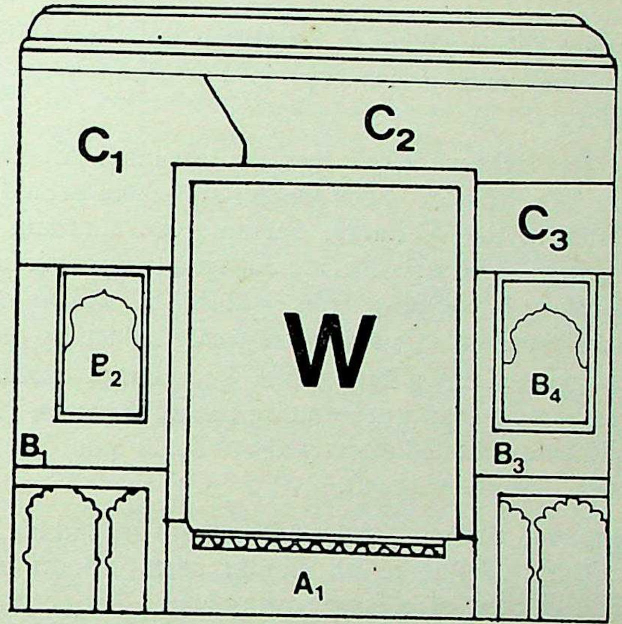

C_1
C_2
C_3
W
B_2
B_4
B_1
B_3
A_1

fig.3

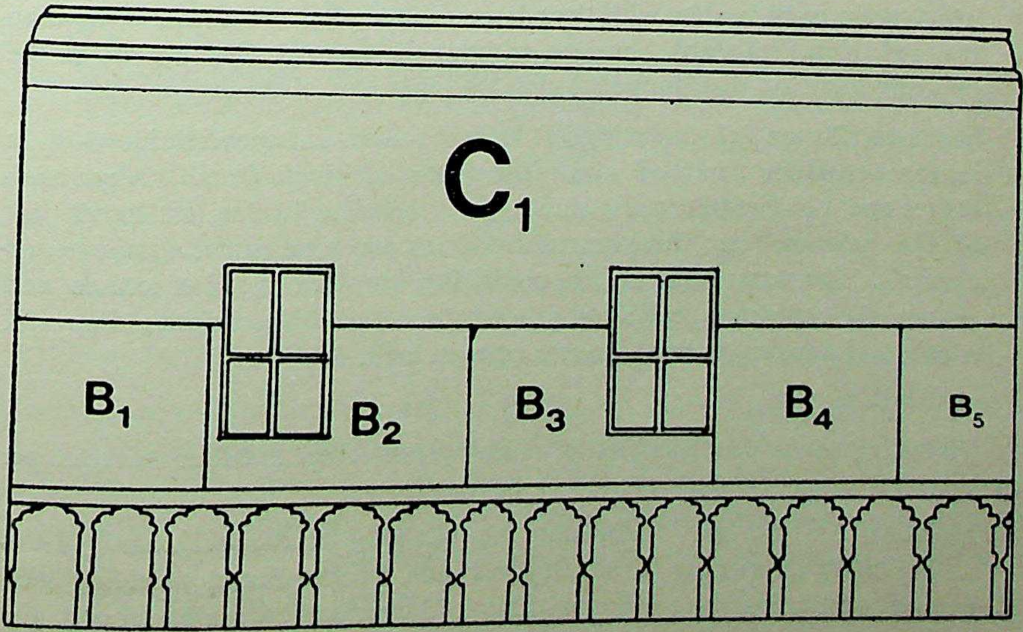

C_1
B_1
B_2
B_3
B_4
B_5

fig 4

Figs. 44.3 & 44.4

C$_1$: Maharao Durjan Sal is giving a Darbar within a large walled enclosure. He is sitting in the same position as in our *Plate* 44.3, his left hand, however, is empty.

The Maharao faces right while two standing servants behind him are waving white *chowries* (fly whisks). Four *sardars* are seated behind and 5 *sardars* are seated in front of the Maharao. Servants are standing in attendance behind each group. Two wrestlers are engaged in a match in the courtyard which is bordered by blossoming trees within the walled enclosure. Two *chobdars*, 5 musicians and one singer are partly hidden by the foliage of the trees, while two women and a fluting man in a dance costume perform a *Nautch*. Three more servants are waiting behind the trees. The entrance to this walled enclosure, situated directly above B$_2$, is guarded by a bearded man with a stick. He is facing left.

C$_2$: A Shikar scene on a river.[33] A ruler with a halo around his head—presumably Maharao Durjan Sal as in all similar cases—shoots at a cheetah(?) from the elevated bow of a large rowing boat. The panther on the river-bank is just attacking a hunter on foot.

A hunter in another boat coming from the opposite direction (i.e. from right to left) is aiming his arrow at second panther nearer to the river-bank. Two smaller barques between the two large boats contain a number of people, apparently musicians. Crocodiles, turtles, fishes and aquatic birds inhabit the water. A small area above C$_3$ shows a part of the river-bank on this side. This part of the bank is occupied by ten persons, several of which seem to be beaters with their large drums. One of them is holding the red Kota standard, however, without the Garuḍa. The beaters on the opposite bank are distributed all over the right half of the composition.[34]

C$_3$: Maharao Durjan Sal sits facing left in a pavilion in conversation with a visitor seated in front of him. (see *Plate* 44.3 for a detail.) A *morchal*-bearer and a *chauri*-bearer are standing behind him. In the left hand part of the pavilion[35] are three seated musicians playing a drum, a *tanpura* and cymbals. The water in front (not visible in *Plate* 44.3) is full of lotuses and echoes the exuberant vegetation around the red pavilion. A glass lamp with a candle is hanging from the vertex of each arch.

Fig. 44.4 (north-east)

The window-like panels consist of mirror-glass. There are four mirrors per panel.

B$_1$: Maharao Durjan Sal celebrating his birthday in the *darikhana*.[36] He is sitting below an awning in the left hand half of the mural receiving gifts from a courtier standing in front of him. 13 courtiers are seated around him in a special *darbar* arrangement while four attendants equipped with the signs of royal dignity (*morchal, chauri* etc.) are seen standing behind him. The lower left half of the composition is occupied by two grooms with one caparisoned horse each, one attendant and two men each of which carries a huge club. A crowd of people is standing in the right half of the painting facing the king. This crowd is formed by 21 persons. One of them is leaning on a long staff, another one holds a stringed musical-instrument, two persons are carrying large globular maces while two others attend two baby elephants. Three pairs of wrestlers are fighting in the open space adjoining the platform of the *darikhana*. Two of these fighters are equipped with tiger-claws.[37] Nine musicians, three of which are standing, and two attendants near the right hand border of the composition conclude the scene.

B_2 : Maharao Durjan Sal is looking out of the central window on the right hand side of the gateway of his hunting seat.[38] He is flanked by a person on either side, looking from the adjoining windows. These three persons are, however, painted in a comparable small size, since the scene is dominated by a landscape with a lotus lake in front of the gate and numerous trees around. This landscape is populated by numerous rabbits, boars, black bucks and a panther. The exuberant vegetation within the walls of the hunting seat and its garden consists of deciduous trees intermingled with banana trees and palm-trees, where numerous birds can be found. Monkeys of different kinds are jumping on the garden wall and various other parts of the hunting seat which takes the entire space in the upper right half of this painting.

B_3 : Maharao Durjan Sal out hunting with a cheetah.[39] He is mounted on horseback and attended by three persons on foot. The cheetah is shown three times: first it is seen on the hackery, then together with his attendant and finally it is jumping on a black buck which it selected from a flock consisting of seven animals.[40] The painting should be "read" (i.e. seen) from the left to right to have an adequate idea of the sequence of different actions taking place. The left half shows a beautiful scenery which is dominated by some sort of hunting seat with a large tower-like structure. Noteworthy is a central banyan tree below which stands the bullock cart.

B_4 : Maharao Durjan Sal celebrating Holi on horseback.[41] As in all other portraits within the Arjun Mahal his head is surrounded by a golden and green halo as he throws red powder coming from left. There are altogether 8 riders coming from different directions. The ground has turned pink and red respectively. Attendants, *nauch*-girls, *chobdars* and musicians are roaming among the horses.

In the lower right corner, an elephant, three mounted and three unmounted horses including a number of foot soldiers form a procession which seems to leave the scene in the direction of the lake scene described below.

B_5 : Maharao Durjan Sal out hawking on a lake at Kota.[42] He is sitting at the bow of a large red barge which is being propelled by at least four paddle-like oars. A hawk is sitting on his right outstretched hand. The same hawk is shown again some distance away in the act of hitting his prey. The island behind the barge is the Jagmandir of Kota with its corner-towers and *bangaldars*. The water is densely populated by fishes, acquatic birds, crocodiles and tortoises. A large number of people is assembling in the lower part of the painting. They have come from B_4 described above. The upper part of this mural is marked by the walled bank of the artificial lake, where some trees and people can be seen in the distance.

C_1 : Maharao Durjan Sal shooting a tiger following a battue. This scene is the largest composition and covers the entire level C of the wall. The tiger appears altogether six times. At first it is sleeping in a bamboo-thicket. The beaters consisting of trumpeters and drummers are approaching in large number with the effect that the tiger rises from his slumber. Then it tries to escape the beaters by jumping into a lake nearby, where its course is stopped by a dozen of armed men. They have drawn their sword and are busy engaged in checking the advance of the animal. All this is happening above the left hand mirror arrangement. The next part of the action takes us to the center of the level C in which the tiger reappears with some bears, foxes and rabbits in the distance behind.

The next stage of tiger's movement shows it in the company of foxes and deer, all running from left to right crossing the hilly land-scape. The final stage of the tiger's life appears above B_4. The tiger, after having moved into the trap, is biting into the branch of a tree,[43] being completely surrounded by the nets of the ring. In this moment, Maharao Durjan Sal who is seated on a tree *machan*, fires the fatal shot (see *Plate* 44.4). Standard bearers on elephants, horsemen and servants of all kind can be seen everywhere in this large painting.

The paintings which were for the first time briefly described above, are certainly a 19th century product. This becomes clear from the 19th century glass lamps visible in *Plate* 44.3 or from the fact that several details were copied from paintings which were probably not in existence before the beginning of the 19th century (cf. *Plate* 44.2). We already observed that the "portraits" of Maharao Durjan Sal in the murals of the Arjun Mahal show but little similarity with contemporary portraits of the said ruler.

The problem of dating the Arjun Mahal murals is solved with the help of a hitherto unpublished genealogical assembly of 16 Kota rulers.[44] The drawing starts on the right hand side with a portrait of Rao Madho Singh and ends on the left hand side with a portrait of Maharao Shatru Sal. The eighth ruler from right is identified as Arjun Singh, son of Maharao Bhim Singh.[45] The ninth ruler, facing right (*Plate* 44.5) is identified as son of Arjun Singh, Durjan Sal.[46] Two things are noteworthy regarding these two portraits (*Plate* 44.5). The eighth ruler was and is always called Arjun *Singh* instead of Arjun *Sal* as written in the Nāgarī-inscription. The portrait of Maharao Arjun Singh/Sal bears but little resemblance to his contemporary portraits, one of which we are reproducing here for comparison (*Plate* 44.6). On the other hand, the shape and decoration of the turban along with the radiating halo appears in the contemporary (*Plate* 44.6) as well as in the 19th century portrait (*Plate* 44.5). The ninth ruler, who was actually a brother of Arjun Singh,[48] can well be compared to his contemporary portraits.[49] A comparison of the portrait of Maharao Arjun Singh in *Plate* 44.5 with the portraits of "Maharao Durjan Sal" in the murals of the Arjun Mahal (*Plates* 44.3-44.4) reveals that the painter of the Arjun Mahal murals actually painted a 19th century version of Arjun Singh instead of Durjan Sal, who was never depicted with a radiating halo. It should be added that in his contemporary portraits, Maharao Durjan Sal never had mutton chops (cotelettes) with which he appears in all identified portraits in the Arjun Mahal. The triangular cotelettes were a characteristic trait of contemporary portraits of Arjun Singh. The artist of the Arjun Mahal murals obviously confounded the two Maharaos: he painted Arjun Singh who was then erroneously identified with Durjan Sal. This error is quite understandable because the location as such was and still is known as "Arjun Mahal". This confusion is reflected again in the genealogical drawing, where Arjun Singh is identified as Arjun Sal, as already noted. The other rulers depicted in the genealogical drawing are correctly identified as "Singh" with the exception of the last, whose name is given as Chattar Sal (*Plate* 44.7). They are also correct with regards to their likenesses.[50]

The genealogical drawing is dated above the head of the last ruler as "saṃmata 1948" (1891 A.D.), cf. *Plate* 44.7. The ruler at that time was already Maharao Umed Singh II,[51] Maharao Shatru Sal had breathed his last on "jyeṣṭha śuklā 12 samvat 1945".[52] The murals in the Arjun Mahal can thus safely be dated around 1891 on the basis of a dated confusion of a name and a likeness respectively.[53]

Notes and References

1. Cf. Parmar 1975, p. 37; Brijraj Singh, 1985, p. 21.
2. Mohanalāla Gupta 1981, second plate after p. 48.
3. Śarmā 1939, Vol. I. p. 316.
4. Cf. Bautze 1987^a p. 110.

5. We can see similar painted flower arrangements in level A in a number of painted rooms within Kota such as the Chattar Mahal, the Jhala ki Haveli (glass-inlay), the Bara Mahal, the verandah of the Lakshmi Bhandar and one room within the Devtaji ki Haveli.
6. The colour combination is reminiscent of the contemporary "Jeypore pottery", cf. Hendley 1895, p. 84.
7. For an illustration of the earliest example in the Chattar Mahal of Kota see Beach 1974, fig 114.
8. For a similar pattern see Stevens 1981, p. 256, figs. 28. 10b-c.
9. For an enumeration of published illustrations of this *rāginī* see Bautze 1987^{a} p. 268.
10. For a lady in a similar position but mirror reverse when compared to the present mural, see Archer 1965, illustration on front cover.
11. For a very similar rendering see Maggs Bull. 19, 1971, no. 23.
12. A similar representation is reproduced in Maggs Bull. 22, 1974, no. 46. Another representation is to be found in Archer 1965, illustration on back cover. This rendering is like the following mirror reverse when compared to B$_6$, see Pal/Glynn 1976, no. 38 (without the child).
13. This seems to be a modified version of a woman seated on a *chaukī* after bath. For an enumeration of such renderings see Bautze 1987^{a}, p. 24, footnote 77 and Music and Dance 1963, col. frontispiece. The tradition of placing a woman in a niche of a painted room dates back to the late 17th century, cf. Bautze 1987^{a}, figs. 63-64 and description, pp. 202 f. A continuation of this tradition can be seen in the murals of the Chattar Mahal (Kota) and Jhala ki Haveli (Kota).
14. There are similar panels in the verandah of the Lakshmi Bhandar and in the Bara Mahal. For illustrations of the latter see Bautze 1985^{b}, figs. 8-10.
15. For a description see Jagatanārāyaṇa 1983, pp. 210ff.
16. See Bautze 1987c.
17. For a miniature painting in the collection of Dr. Alvin O. Bellak, Philadelphia, dated 1764, see Bautze 1987^{a}, fig. 9.
18. These tigers have the head of a lion, cf. Bautze 1987b, col. Plate p. 87.
19. For similar representations in miniature painting cf. Sotheby 8.10. 1979, lot 88, showing a boar hunt in front of Bishan Singh of Bundi on elephant or Sotheby 28/29.4.1981, lot 95, showing even women engaged in pig sticking. See also Bitterman 1981, col. Plate (=Weiner 1980, no. 186). These murals in the Arjun Mahal are probably copied from similar wall paintings in a small room within the Chattar Mahal of Bundi (unpublished) or from a large hunting scene in the Jhala ki Haveli, for which see Brijraj Singh 1985, fig. 38 or Bautze 1986^{a}, p. 66 top.
20. There are at least seven different published miniature paintings showing the same scene. Although it seems that none of them was painted by a Kota artist, they have to be mentioned here due to their great similarity with the scene in the lower right corner of B1 in our fig 2. (1) Gupta 1922, Plate VIII; (2) W.G. Archer 1959, fig. 22; (3) Sharma 1973, no. 44; (4) Sotheby 27.3.1973, lot 258; (5) Sotheby 7.7.1975, lot 113; (6) Bitterman 1981, col. Plate and (7) Ehnbom/Topsfield 1987, no. 22, col. Plate. We know of more versions in Indian private collections. The Bundi rulers in particular were very fond of boar hunting. A Mewar painting in a private Dutch collection shows 6 horsemen hunting down a single boar. A one lined Nāgarī inscription on verso identifies the painting as "Bundi sardars hunting boar". The painting is reproduced in Maggs Bull. No. 20, March 1972, no. 105. See also Kramrisch 1986, no. 47.
21. This seems to be based on an old Bundi-original published in Bautze 1986b, fig. 12. The Kota copy is published in Bautze 1986^{b}, fig. 14. A further copy by a Kota artist is in a British private collection.

22. For Durjan Sal's portraits see Bautze 1985^{h}, fig. 1, p. 91; and figs. 3-4 on pp. 96f. Further published portraits are listed in the same article under footnotes 49-54. Another (contemporary) portrait of Maharao Durjan Sal is published in Pant 1982, Plate LVII. No. 53 in Kramrisch 1986 does not show Maharao Durjan Sal on the elephant because in 18th century Kota painting a ruling king has never been depicted without the customary halo around the head. Unpublished portraits of Maharao Durjan Sal are in the collection of Dr. Alvin O. Bellak, Philadelphia, R.K. Tandan, Secunderabad and the Bara Mahal, Kota.
23. These illustrations mostly illustrate part of the Dussehra-celebrations, during which a buffalo is killed from horseback. In the present example, the buffalo is killed with a spear as in a number of miniature paintings. See e.g. Archer 1959, fig. 49. A similar unpublished painting, dated V.S. 1911 is in the collection of Dr. Alvin O. Bellak Philadelphia, another similar unpublished miniature is in the Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum, Hyderabad. It is dated V.S. 1916. A stroke of a sabre kills the buffalo in many other rather similar miniature paintings. These include an unpublished painting in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, an unpublished miniature under glass in the Bara Mahal, Kota, Śarmā 1963, illustration on p. 23, another unpublished miniature in the Madho Singh Museum Trust, Kota, listed in M.M. Shastri 1961, no. 240. This painting is dated V.S. 1926 and the buffalo is killed by Maharao Ram Singh's successor, Maharao Shatru Sal. Further paintings are published in Sotheby 20.11.1986, lot 93 and Sotheby N.Y. March 16 and 17, 1988, lot 407.
24. A similar rendering of this horseman is published in Lewis 1976, no. 37.
25. Cf. Ambalal 1987, p. 83.
26. Cf. Bautze 1987^{c}, fig. 14, 15, 18 and 19.
27. For a published similar portrait see Bautze 1987^{c}, fig. 8.
28. The respective mural in the Bara Mahal, eastern wall, level C, shows in its right hand half *inter alia* the Maharana of Mewar, a Maratha Sardar, the Maharaja of Marwar and the Raoraja of Bundi.
29. This elephant fight is the only hitherto published mural from the Arjun Mahal to which we referred above, f. n. 2. This reproduction unfortunately omits the upper part which shows nearly the entire eastern facade of the Kota palace.
30. For the elephant fight with reference to Rajasthani painting see Bautze 1988, p. 126 and footnotes 32-52. For an earlier Kota view of the palace facade with the Hathian Pol and the wall meant for elephant fights including one elephant see Hodkin/McInerny 1983, no. 26.
31. The right hand half of the mural with Durjan Sal watching the fighting elephants was probably copied from a similar miniature painting showing Maharao Ram Singh instead of Durjan Sal: This unpublished miniature is kept in the Davids Collection, Kopenhagen.
32. The liṅga-worship is shown in innumerable Bundi kalam paintings as well as drawings (cf. e.g. Maggs Bull. 13, 1968, nos. 21-22). None of these, however, resembles the present mural.
33. C_3 is separated from C_2 by the outer wall in the latter.
34. Very similar scenes are known to us from the murals in the Bara Devtaji ki Haveli in Kota. We have also seen a number of similar miniature paintings, most of which date from the reign of Maharao Ram Singh. Only very few of them are published, see e.g. Sotheby 11.7.1973, lot 172, col. Plate facing p. 37 (=Christie's 19.4.1979, lot 69, col. Plate opp. p. 22). Noteworthy among the unpublished pieces is a miniature in the Government Central Museum, Jaipur, another one under glass in the Bara Mahal, Kota (dated V.S. 1916) and a painting in a New York private collection (dated V.S. 1896). In all the cases the hunted animals are tigers, in a few cases also a bear. A panther hunt as in this case, is quite unique.
35. It seems that the pavilion in fact existed during Maharao Durjan Sal's reign, see Sotheby 11.7.1973, lot 179, where the pavilion seems to be white and not red as in the case of the mural under discussion (*Plate* 44.3).

36. A two lined Nāgarī-inscription above the scene reads "śrī māhārājādhīrāja śrī māhārāvajī/śrī durajana sālajī darīkhano sālagara ko". Another Nāgarī inscription between two wrestlers has become illegible.
37. For an illustration of this weapon see Egerton 81, Plate X, nos. 476 and 477. For an engraving showing an actual fight see Rousselet 1877, p. 125. The Count of Modave witnessed such a fight in July/August 1776 in Kota and left an account on it, see Modave 71, p. 478. According to Tod, the tiger-claw fights in Kota ceased to exist by the end of the 18th century, following an intervention by Umed Singh of Bundi, cf. Tod 20, Vol. III, p. 1617f.
38. A two line Nāgarī inscription above the painting reads: "śrī śrī (etc.) ... sīkāra abeḍā kī rāḍī kī".
39. The inscription on the painting reads: "śrī śrī (etc.)...bāhdura sīkāra cītā kī". For a detailed illustrated 19th century description of an antelope hunt with a cheetah see Mundy 1858, pp. 244ff. For another good 19th century description cf. Russel 1877, pp. 202-204. The respective illustrations are reproduced in *The Graphic*, December 25, 1875, p. 621. For a description from 1920 cf. Ellison 1925, p. 142.
40. This type of hunting is already represented in the murals of the Chattar Mahal in Kota, where the cheetah is seated on a horse trained for that purpose.
41. A two lined Nāgarī inscription in the top part of the mural reads: "śrī śrī (etc.)...holī goḍā kī savārī kī". For an illustrated account of celebrating Holi during the 1920s in Kota see Jagatanārāyaṇa 1983, pp. 229ff. and plates facing p. 225.
42. A two lined Nāgarī inscription below the upper border of the painting reads: "śrī śrī (etc.) ... sikāra (painted surface and inscription flaked) ... bhāva kī jagamaṇ dara". The Jagmandir is situated in the center of an artificial lake in Kota. It is an island-palace like its namesake in Udaipur. A view of the Jagmandir was already published by Tod in the second volume of his *Annals*, see Tod 20, Vol. III, illustration facing p. 1521. The engraving was reprinted in the middle of the last century as folded frontispiece in Tillotson n.d.
43. This last action of the lion and tiger respectively was immortalized in numerous paintings. The published versions include Archer 1959, Plate 41 (often reproduced since, lately in Desai 1985, no. 48, col. Plate p. 59); Devkar 1957, Plate XIX; Christie's N.Y., 25.5.1978, lot 69. Unpublished versions are in the Collection of Maharajkumar Brijraj Singhji of Kota, in the Bara Mahal, in the Bara Devtaji ki Haveli and in the Jhala ki Haveli. The last two mentioned locations signify wall-paintings, the remaining references signify paintings on paper.
44. This drawing with colour indications in a private collection measures 1.22 m. in length.
45. "Mārāvāji śrī/bīma sīgajī kā baṭā/arajana sālajī".
46. "Arajanasālajī kā baṭā/durjana sālajī".
47. Maharao Arjun Singh celebrating the Janmashtami in the Rajmahal of the Kota palace. This drawing is in a private collection. The fully painted version of Maharajkumar Brijraj Singhji of Kota.
48. The word "beṭā" (baṭā in the inscriptions) is to be understood as "successor" rather than "son".
49. For examples see f.n. 22 above.
50. For reproductions of another 19th century genealogical assembly of Kota rulers see Bautze 1985, Abb. 3-4.
51. Cf. Jagatanārāyaṇa 1983.
52. Śarmā 1939, Vol. II, p. 667.
53. At last but not at least we want to express our gratefulness to Maharajkumar Brijraj Singhji of Kota who so generously allowed us to work in the premises of the old Kota palace. Without his support, the present work would not have been possible.

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45

Acharya Jambhekar (1812-1846) The Pioneer Oriental Scholar and Reformer of Western India

H.A. PHADKE

The introduction of English system of education in the first quarter of the nineteenth century was an event of great significance in the social, cultural and academic life of Western India. It induced the newly educated people to undertake a critical study of their cultural heritage in order to remove its deep rooted inequities and falsehoods. Among such pioneers was Acharya Bal Shastri Jambhekar who may be rightly compared with his counterpart, Raja Ram Mohun Roy, the father of renascent Bengal.

As a student Jambhekar was influenced by Sadashiv Kashinath Chhatre, the Secretary to the Native Book and School Society, and Mr. A.B. Orlebar, Professor of Mathematics at the Elphinstone Institute. His brilliance was noted by his teachers right from his early school days. Recognition came to him when he was appointed Deputy Secretary (1830) and Secretary to the Bombay Native Education Society (1832) before his appointment as the first Indian Professor of Mathematics at the Elphinstone Institute in 1834.[1] 'The first outstanding star of the Elphinstone College', he delivered lectures on history and philosophy as ably as he could lecture on Mathematics besides as rightly mentioned in the Report of the Board of Education 'his remarkable facility and elegance in English composition gave him the reputation of an able English scholar'.[2] His achievements in Mathematics and Astronomy were remarkably far advanced than any of his countrymen in Western India. As a linguist he was well conversant with a number of languages—Sanskrit, Gujarati, Bengali, Kannada, Telugu, Hindi, Persian, Arabic, French, Latin and Greek besides Marathi which was his mother tongue. He held prominent positions in the field of education as Superintendent to the Government School (1842) and Director of the Normal Class (1842). What was remarkable of him was his ardent anxiety and zeal for the improvement of his countrymen for he firmly believed that the promotion of education and diffusion of knowledge were the initial steps for the reform of the Indian society. It was with this aim in view Jambhekar founded the Native General Library and Native Improvement Society in 1845. In recognition of his services in education and reforms that the Government appointed him *Justice of Peace* in 1840.[3]

Since newspapers are the most effective means for educating public mind Bal Shastri decided to start in 1832 *Darpaṇa*—a bilingual weekly, and then in 1840 *Digdarshana*—a monthly. *Darpaṇa* clearly shows his acquaintance with the Bengali language and press for it is well known that *Samāchārdarpaṇa* which was founded in 1818 by Serampore Missionaries was the first attempt at Anglo-Vernacular journalism in Bengal. The object of the *Darpaṇa* as stated by its learned editor was 'to encourage amongst the countrymen the pursuit of English literature and to open a field for free and public discussion on points connected with the prosperity of this country, and the happiness of its inhabitants.'[4] The importance of the paper was also recognised by the *Oriental Christian Spectator* while commenting 'Darpaṇa is a highly respectable and useful paper in Marathi and English. Both its original and selected articles are well fitted to inform, expand and correct the native mind'.[5] The *Digdarshana* contained original and select article on geography, history, natural philosophy, chemistry and general science with a view to improving the mind imparting useful knowledge to the Indians.[6]

In his editorials Bal Shastri used to enter into serious discussions on a variety of topics connected with our social system. He was in close touch with the reform movements of Bengal and was well informed about those outside India. Like his great contemporary Raja Ram Mohun Roy, he makes a fervent appeal to his countrymen to do away with the cruel and inhuman social rite of *Satī*. He also advances arguments against another evil custom of the female infanticide. Not only did he plead for the education of women, but also for the re-marriage of the Hindu widows as far back as the thirties of the 19th century, and is said to have inspired Gangadhar Shastri Phadke for writing book on the last mentioned subject.[7] His own contributions were, of course, three important articles which he wrote while reviewing the earliest books on the subject.[8] Bal Shastri expresses his desire that such books need to be reprinted and properly circulated among the educat~~ed~~ pundits. The object of the aforesaid books was to establish three propositions:

(i) that female education should be encouraged;
(ii) that woman losing their husbands before the age of puberty should marry again and,
(iii) girls should not marry at an early age.

In his reviews Bal Shastri firmly asserts that marriage should be celebrated only when a girl attains the age of womanhood. He opines that the girls should not be married until they become 12 years of age although by doing this a man may not obtain virtue deserved for the giving of his daughter, he may have that which is derived from her happiness.[9] Looking at the then social conditions of Maharashtra and the fact that it was not till 1891 when the Age of Consent Act was finally passed by the Government of Lord Lansdown, it must be admitted that Bal Shastri indeed took a very bold stand.

The achievements of Bal Shastri in the field of social reforms have been properly evaluated by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar in his Presidential Address to the Bombay Provincial Social Conference of 1901.[10] While reviewing the progress of the social reforms before Justice Ranade, Sir Narayan makes a glowing reference to the work done by Prof. Bal Shastri Jambhekar. Bal Shastri persuaded Jagannath Shankar Seth to espouse the cause of the youngman named Shripad Sheshadri, who was a convert to Christianity but desired to enter again into the Hindu fold. There was a great deal of insurrection in the orthodox society of Maharashtra, who opposed tooth and nail to the readmission of the youngman to Hinduism. The opposition was led by Dhakji Dadaji, who was considered to be the prominent member of the Hindus of Bombay. But Bal Shastri, in spite of the fact that he had to suffer ex-communication for five long years, made tremendous efforts and ultimately succeeded in getting round the community in admitting the youngman to the Hindu Society. The credit for making the first breach in the strong-hold of the orthodox Hindu Society goes obviously and rightly so to Acharya Jambhekar.[11]

In a letter to his brother-in-law dated November 19, 1843, Bal Shastri directs attention to the nefarious activities of the Christian missionaries in forcibly converting poor and innocent Hindus to their faith.[12] He sincerely believed that re-admission of such persons to the Hindu Society is all the more necessary for the preservation and existence of the Hindu religion, and expressed his desire to educate public opinion in favour of such a movement. Bal Shastri was thus the fore-runner of the Shuddhi Movement which was started later on by Arya Samaj under the direction of its founder Dayananda Sarasvati.

Himself devoted to the best teachings and practices of the Hindu faith and believing in the ancient saying *svadharme nidhanam shreyah*, he was singularly free from the prejudices of caste, creed or sect. Not only did he preach but himself lived a life of moral purity, religious toleration and universal brotherhood. Bal Shastri held to the opinion that reform in society is no more possible without religion and the best way to break down caste distinctions is to begin slowly purifying the religious practices of the people. His deep knowledge of Hindu scriptures made him alive to the hollowness of many a religious rite and social custom. A great admirer of the Western education he believed that it would free Indians from the shackles of superstitions. Once in a public lecture he explained the true causes of the eclipse and called as useless all religious rites which are performed on such occasions. For this he was again threatened with ex-communication by the orthodox section of the society but Bal Shastri, a man of great courage as he was, could not be bowed down by such moves and continued to follow the dictates of his own conscience and convictions in matters of social reforms. A great social force of his time, Bal Shastri is thus considered to be the founder of three important movements of Maharashtra: widow re-marriage, *shuddhi* and the publication of newspapers.[13]

Bal Shastri was not unmindful of yet another feature of the renaissance namely, the growing interest of researchers, both Western and Indian, in the study of the antiquities and the ancient literature of India. In Western India the beginning was made by Sir James Mackintosh in the foundation of the Literary Society of Bombay in 1804, while the legislative and educational reforms of Mountstuart Elphinstone initiated measures for the promotion of Oriental researches in the Bombay Presidency. The Bombay Literary Society merged itself into the Royal Asiatic Society as its Bombay Branch in 1829 and later on Dr. John Wilson, the distinguished Orientalist became its President in 1835. While expounding the objects of the society Dr. Wilson asked its members to investigate into the various aspects of Indian life—physical, historical, literary, religious and administrative. The earliest representative of this indological consciousness was, as remarked by Dr. Wilson 'the distinguished Bal Shastri Jambhekar, one of the most learned natives of Western India'. Bal Shastri wrote several papers on antiquities of India to the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. It is recorded of him that when the doors of the Society were not opened to the Indian members Bal Shastri had only to send his papers through the Secretary of that body. Nevertheless, he was appointed Secretary to the Translation Committee of the Society to procure translations from the original languages into European languages. He was also elected to the membership of the Bombay Geographical Society and contributed largely to its transactions.[14] He was something of a genius, as skilled a modern scholar as he was an erudite Shastri.

His papers on copper-plates and rock inscriptions bearing on the early history of India appeared in the earliest numbers of the Society's Journal and as very aptly put by Sir Chandavarkar 'he was the first antiquarian scholar among the Hindus who enriched the literature of this Society'. Bal Shastri's contributions consisted of publication of facsimile of ancient inscriptions some of which he brought to light for the first time, with Devanagri transcript and English translations. It shows that he was well conversant with the reading of the Brahmi script. These inscriptions he copied from various places—Palitana, Girnar, Kharepatan, Nagpur, Kolhapur and Samangarh. The Kharepatan and Samangarh grants are related to the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty of the Deccan while the 'Note on a specimen of iron ore in the vicinity of Malwa' is of a technical nature. His research papers have left a distinct mark of the depth and vastness of his scholarship.[15]

Bal Shastri was a prolific writer. His major works include—*Theory of Equations*, *Elements of Differential and Integral Calculus*, *Sārasamgraha or Catechism on General Knowledge*, *Abridgement of Murray's English Grammar*, *Rudiments of Geography*, *Etymology of the Marathi Language* (jointly with Vinayak Divekar and Bhau Mahajan), *History of England* (2 vols.), *History of British India* and the *History of India*. He edited and brought out the lithograph edition of the *Jñāneśvarī* besides a number of useful articles on a variety of subjects—chemistry, physics, geography, astronomy, psychology, history and palaeography published in the *Digdarshan* to make his readers aware of the technological and scientific advancement through the ages.[16] His works on history although in the form of translations and abridgements of the original English works nevertheless show his deep interest in that discipline which he considered essential for a proper understanding of the contemporary times. The inspiration perhaps came from the writings of Elphinstone who wrote the earliest satisfactory history of ancient and medieval India. Elphinstone underlines social change, provides details and offers explanation. Free from preconceived notions he admires the antiquity and vitality of Hindu Civilization in some of its features, did not judge the state of Hindu society by Western standards but studied it against the conditioning circumstances.[17] It was Bal Shastri who first published an abridgement of this work in Marathi.

Rev. Wilson in reply to Morbhat Dandekar's *Hindū Dharma Sthāpana* wrote a book under the title *An Exposure of the Hindu Religion*. Appreciating the stand taken by the latter scholar Bal Shastri wrote in his editorial:

> "We believe Morebhutt's is the first instance of a Brahman coming forward publically to vindicate the Hindu religion, and entering the field of public discussion by publishing a work in defence of it."[18]

As a perceptive critic of other's works Jambhekar's merits, can be judged from his review of Vans Kennedy's *Researches into the Nature and Affinity of Ancient and Hindu Mythology*.[19] Although not agreeing with all the conclusions of Kennedy Bal Shastri points out that the learned scholar did not impose his own conceptions regarding the Hindu Religion but has represented it according to the Shāstras. Bal Shastri is full of appreciation for Kennedy who unlike Bentley and other Western scholars did not assign sacred books of the Hindus to the last seven or eight hundred years but traced them back to at least a period of three thousand years also pointing out numerous striking coincidences between the Ancient World and Hindu Mythology. And the close affinity between Sanskrit and most of the ancient languages as shown by Kennedy in an earlier work led Jambhekar to the suggestion that probably most of the ancient religious systems had their derivation from the Hindu mythology. Kennedy's cursory remarks on the impact of Hinduism on the human mind also contents much truth and candour Bal Shastri contends.[20]

The move of several Western scholars like Trevelyan, J. Prinsep, Tytler, Rev. A. Duff, and H.T. Prinsep to bring about the 'Romanization of the Indian Alphabets' was strongly opposed by Bal Shastri through an editorial in the *Bombay Darpaṇ*.[21] The proposal was adopted in the Bengal Presidency. After a careful consideration of every argument advanced in favour of such a proposal Bal Shastri was convinced that the substitution would not serve any useful purpose. He pointed out that the notions of Western scholars regarding the phonetic values of Indian alphabets were erroneous and that the translations of ancient texts in Roman characters would defeat the very purpose of imparting knowledge to the natives of India and further, for the 'convenience of a handful of Europeans' such a suicidal course in academic matter need not be adopted. Bal Shastri very ably combated the view of Sir William Jones in alleging a belief on the part of the Hindus regarding the theory of divine origin in reference to the Devanāgarī alphabet. He further showed that the letters of the alphabets that is their sounds are in artificial order in which they are arranged in Pāṇini's *Vyākaraṇa*. The sounds of speech are nearly the same in every language and therefore, nothing is gained by the substitution as far as they are concerned.[22] Concluding his arguments Bal Shastri remarked:[23]

> As to the forms by which sounds are expressed, no Hindu ever adduces a divine origin for them; in fact, they are not the same as those in use in time of antiquity, which after receiving successive modifications have at last assumed their present form. In either point of view, therefore, it cannot be maintained that, by the substitution of the new alphabet, the natives are weaned from a superstitious conceit, since the conceit has no real foundation.

Dr. John Wilson too agreed with the views of Jambhekar whom he regarded 'the most capable of judging in the case in this part of the country at least.'[24]

The premature death of Acharya Jambhekar in 1846, a man of such a brilliant career and many sided activities naturally came as a great shock to the cause of rational and intelligent social reforms and oriental researches depriving the historian of forming an estimate of would have he had been had he lived longer.

Paying tributes to his remarkable achievements Prof. A.B. Orlebar, the editor of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society wrote:[25]

> In the death of the late Bal Gangadhar Shastri, remarkable among the native community for grand talent and acquirements, the Society has lost, a valuable and most useful contributor of inscriptions, that branch to which Professor Lassen has particularly called the attention of our members as being the only means of obtaining a clear and authentic knowledge of the early history of our country.

And Sir Erskine Perry while assessing the place of Acharya Jambhekar among the great Indians of the early nineteenth century observed:[26]

> To the wide range of information and the enlightened morality resulting from an excellent European education, to the most solid and rare attainments in science and literature, both European and Asiatic,—and to the influence which was the just and natural result of a character and mind thus distinguished and adorned, he added an anxiety and zeal for Native improvement which I have never seen equalled; and which have forcibly impressed upon my mind the conviction, that the loss of no individual in Bombay, European or Native of whatever rank, could prove so great a calamity to Western India, as of our lamented friend, the late Bal Shastri.

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2. Report of the Board of Education for the year 1846.
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4. 'The Bombay Durpuṇ', January 6, 1832, Prospectus; G.G. Jambhekar, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 1.
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9. *Ibid.*
10. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, *Speeches and Writings*, Bombay, 1911, pp. 93-94.
11. *Ibid.*, see also his address 'On Old Elphinstonians', pp. 413-14.
12. G.G. Jambhekar, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, Appendix II, Some Important Letters and Papers, pp. 495-97.
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15. For Jambhekar's contributions to Epigraphy see *JBBRAS*, Vol. I, Nos. II, III, V, VII; Vol. II, Nos. VIII, X, XI.
16. G.G. Jambhekar, *op. cit.*, Vol. I pp. 62-64, 66-68.
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19. *Ibid.*, February 3, 1832.
20. *Ibid.*
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22. G.G. Jambhekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 616-17; 619
23. *Ibid.*, p. 619.
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25. Professor A.B. Orlebar (ed.), *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. II, (July 1844-1847), Preface.
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46

More Asokan Edicts from Sannati (Karnataka)

I.K. SARMA, G.V. SRINIVASA RAO AND
J. VARAPRASADA RAO

To the list of sites which have yielded Aśokan edicts in the Āndhra-Karṇāṭaka region (Fig. 46.1) may now be added the name of Sannati.

Sannati (Lat. 16°49′ N; Long. 76°54′ E) in Chitapur Taluk of Gulbarga District is a remote village approachable through a rugged road and is at a distance of 50 Km. north-west of Yadgir. It is about 40 Km. from Chitapur-Nalwar Railway Station on the Wadi-Secunderabad line. The village is famous as a pilgrimage centre on account of the temple dedicated to Goddess Chandralāṁbā.

It is only in the month of January this year that a big granite slab containing Aśokan Edicts XII and XIV was discovered in the Devī shrine, within the Chandralāṁbā temple complex. A detailed article on these edicts was sent for publication.[1] At the same breath immediate measures were initiated, to preserve this stone slab which has been under use as a *pīṭha* for the Goddess. During this work, G.V. Srinivasa Rao, Dy. Superintending Archaeologist and J. Varaprasada Rao, Technical Asstt., both of the Hyderabad Circle, noticed more inscriptions on the rear face of the slab, while attempting to shift it to the cloister of the temple for proper upkeep. While doing so the broken parts of the big slab got separated into three pieces (Fig. 46.2).

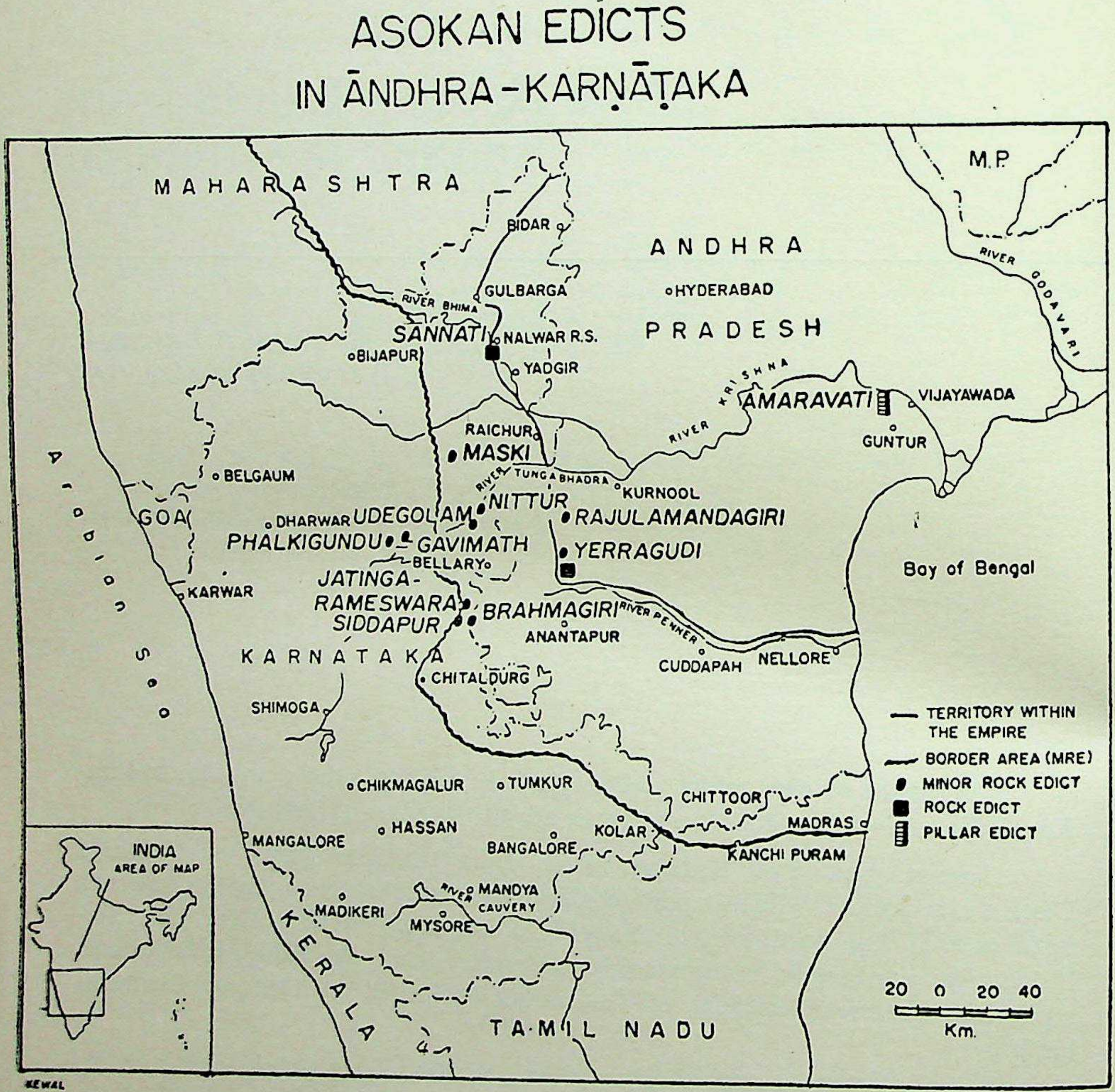
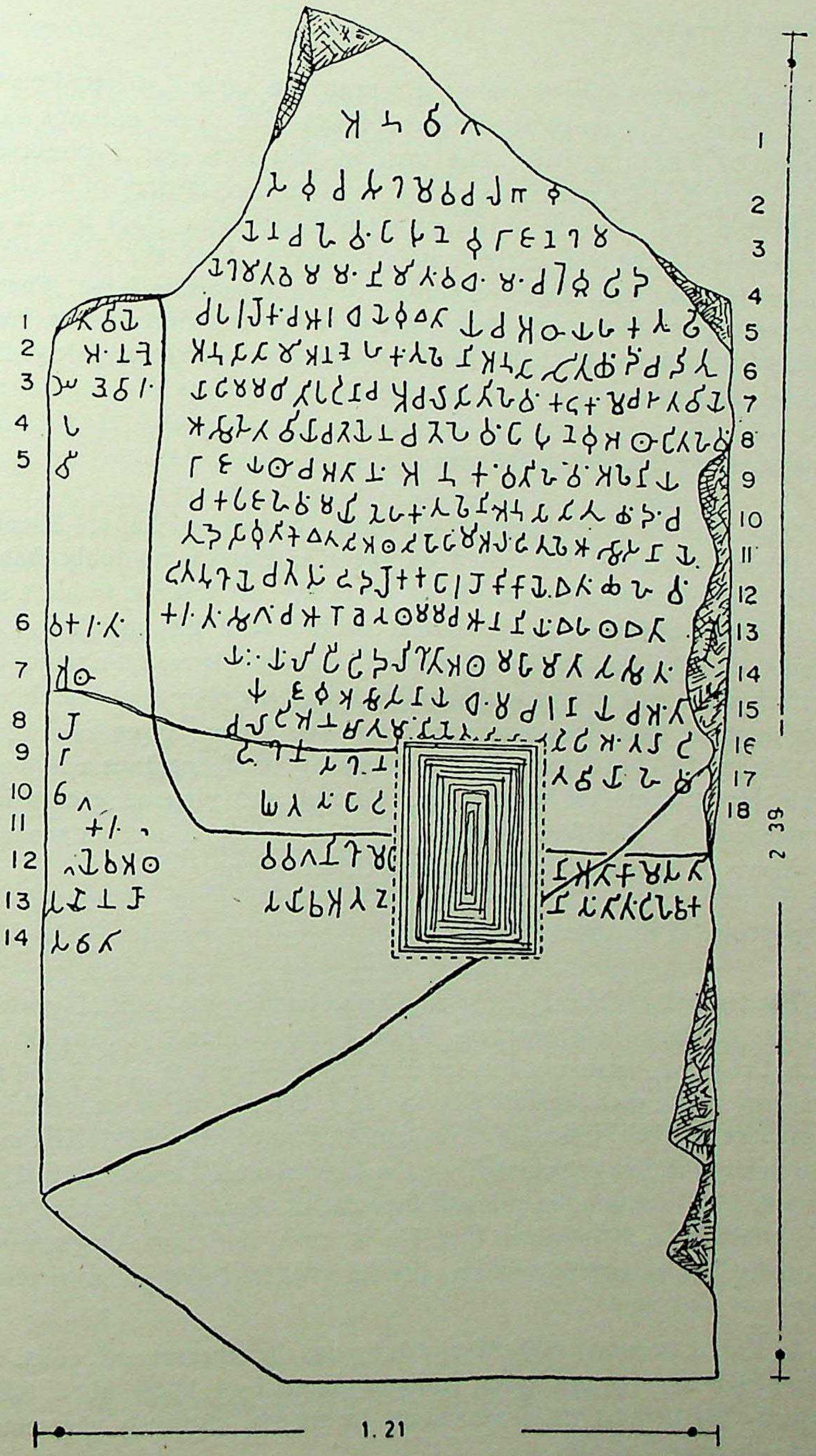

ASOKAN EDICTS
IN ĀNDHRA-KARṆĀṬAKA
MAHARASHTRA
M.P.
BIDAR
ANDHRA
PRADESH
GULBARGA
HYDERABAD
RIVER BHIMA
SANNATI
NALWAR R.S.
BIJAPUR
YADGIR
RIVER KRISHNA
AMARAVATI
VIJAYAWADA
RIVER GODAVARI
RAICHUR
MASKI
GUNTUR
BELGAUM
RIVER TUNGABHADRA
KURNOOL
GOA
DHARWAR
UDEGOLAM
NITTUR
RAJULAMANDAGIRI
PHALKIGUNDU
GAVIMATH
YERRAGUDI
BELLARY
Arabian Sea
KARWAR
JATINGA-RAMESWARA
SIDDAPUR
BRAHMAGIRI
RIVER PENNER
ANANTAPUR
Bay of Bengal
KARNATAKA
CHITALDURG
CUDDAPAH
NELLORE
SHIMOGA
TERRITORY WITHIN THE EMPIRE
BORDER AREA (MRE)
MINOR ROCK EDICT
ROCK EDICT
PILLAR EDICT
CHIKMAGALUR
TUMKUR
CHITTOOR
KOLAR
MADRAS
MANGALORE
HASSAN
BANGALORE
KANCHI PURAM
INDIA
AREA OF MAP
RIVER CAUVERY
MANDYA
MADIKERI
MYSORE
KERALA
TAMIL NADU
20 0 20 40
Km.
KEWAL

Fig. 46.1. Aśokan Edicts in Andhra-Karṇāṭaka.

The inscriptions over this face revealed in three sections, two more Aśokan edicts (*Plate* 46.1). The major record occupied the central portion in 18 lines. A few letters corresponding to these very lines are preserved at the extreme left margin of the slab. Being mutilated and the text survived by only a few words, it was not possible for us to make out full meaning of these words. Yet there is no doubt that this forms part of the separate Rock edict-I and fairly agrees with the known Kaliṅga version (Fig. 46.2).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Fig, 46.2. Sannati, Chandralāmbā Temple, Devī shrine, inscribed slab with separate Rock Edicts I & II.

The characters of the record are closer to the ones discovered on the outer facet and somewhat better preserved because this side of the slab was hidden and not affected by human activity. The text, is, therefore, better preserved. This latest discovery is of far reaching importance to the early history of South India of the Mauryan period. In view of this, an attempt has been made here to place, as quickly as possible, the texts to the scholarly world. This study, at best, may be regarded as tentative but sincere attempt to unravel certain facts. The credit of this discovery goes to the latter two authors while the first author finalised the readings and interpreted the text. The omissions are, therefore, solely from the side of the first author.

I. Unique among the Asokan Records

Since both the broad facets of the stone (measuring 2.33 × 1.21 metres and 30 cm. thick), contained the inscribed records, there is no doubt that this slab originally might have been a stele placed vertically in position within a structural set up. The historical reasons, the context behind such an installation of a slab containing the *Dharma* at Sannati remain to be speculative till a major clearance followed by systematic excavation is undertaken at the place. But one thing is clear that this inscribed stele does not come under the known types of Aśokan edicts (MRE, RE and PE) but forms a separate class by itself, perhaps a *Dharmma śilā*. Its original locus could not be far away. Careful and planned excavation within the temple area is, therefore, a necessity. The temple is over an ancient mound with evidence of its being on an early historic settlement.

II. Importance of the Records

The content of the major record which occupies the central portion of the stele is very similar to the separate Rock Edict-II found at Jaugada in district Ganjam, Orissa. A version of this separate Rock Edict was also found at Dhauli in Puri Distt. along with separate Rock Edict-I. D.C. Sircar[2] regarded this separate Kaliṅga edict as Rock Edict-XV. Though numbered as SRE-II in the sequence this is actually the first one carved. In the Sannati record, minor textual variations can be noted. There is no mention of the epithet *Devānaṁ Piya* or *Piyadasi lājā* etc. but reference to *Mahāmātra* (line-14) is seen and also king's name is not mentioned. But in Jaugada version, besides the *Devānāṁpiya* a viceroy named *Samāpa*[3] was also cited.

In Kaliṅga country (Dhauli and Jaugada) the separate rock edicts are issued in place of RE-XI, XII and XIII. While at Sannati we know about RE-XII and XIV clearly but the rest are fragmentary in nature. Presently they could not be satisfactorily identified too.

It is well known that minor rock edicts of South India (Āndhra-Karṇāṭaka)[4] were intended for the edification and guidance of independent peoples outside the Aśokan realm. The Rock Edicts, however, enunciate broad ethical principles and guidelines of the emperor underlying his administrative policy for the border inhabitants of his empire.

The separate Kaliṅga edicts contain the rules made by Aśoka for the pacification of the territory annexed after the sanguinary war which transformed the monarch. These were issued in C. 263-262 B.C. after placing the territories under the charge of Viceroys both at Tosali and Suvarṇagiri. The present separate edict of Sannati assumes greater significance. In the absence of any such record at Yerragudi or any other known place of "Āndhra-Karṇātaka", it is clear that the areas of Kurnool and now Sannati were territories annexed by Aśoka and brought within his empire. Thereby stationing a viceroy and issue of Rock edicts and separate edicts became a necessity.

III. Texts of the Records

(A) Separate Rock Edict-II

line— 1 : *......anuviga (gi)**
line— 2 : *......Sevu cha Sukhameva cha rabhavu......*
line— 3 : *......yena cha hevaṁ pāpunevu rājāne khama (ṁ)*
line— 4 : *ve khamitave mamaṁ nimitaṁ ve dhaṁmaṁ charevu hida (lokaṁ)*
line— 5 : *cha Paralokaṁ cha ārāḍhayevu* (4) *etāya cha aṭhāya haka (ṁ) tuphe*
line— 6 : *anusāsāmi anuno hakaṁ tupheni anusāsita chhaṁdaṁ cha ditu*
line— 7 : *yāhi mama dhiti Paṭini cha achalā sāti hevaṁ kaṭu kaṁme charitaviye*
line— 8 : *āsvāsetaviyā cha toyana cha te hevaṁ Pāpunevu athā Pita hevaṁ*
line— 9 : *rājā yathā cha atānaṁ anukaṁpati hevaṁ apheniya (ṁ)*
line—10 : *Chakapaja hevaṁ mayā sehakaṁ tupheni* (5) *anusāsitu chhaṁdaṁ cha*
line—11 : *tu desāvutike etasi athasi hohāmi alaṁhi tuphe āsvāsanāye*
line—12 : *dha (hi) ta sukhāye cha tesaṁ hidaloka ka(ṁ) Paralokikāye etaṁ chha hevaṁ*
line—13 : *Karaṁtaṁ Svagaṁ cha arodhe satha mama cha ānaniyam ehatham* (6) *etā*
line—14 : *......ya iyaṁ lipi hida likhita athā mahāmāta Sāsvataṁ*
line—15 : *......ya (yu) jevu āsvāsanīyā dhaṁma charanāyacha aṁtā*

* Refer to V—Sanskritized Text and Translation below.

line—16 : *......cha lipi ane chātu māmi sotayi sehi amtalāpi*
line--17 : *......hi—.—. sarena* (slot)** *taviyā hevaṁ*
line—18 : *......ghaṭa Sampāṭi* (slot)**

(B) Portions of the Separate Rock Edict-I

(*Plate* 46.2)

The extant letters of this Edict are very few and do not give any scope for a full study of the text. It is clear that the upper part as also quite a big chunk of the slab at the left side were severed by the temple builders and presently not traceable. As a result the upper portions of the text of both the edicts and also the present Edict-I are lost. Further the mortise hole has cut off some crucial words at the terminal portion of the text.

A comparison of the published texts of the two separate Rock Edicts of Kaliṅga (specially Jaugada), reveals some closeness of the words and expressions. We have provided here the text and translation of the Kaliṅga version of this Rock Edict below for study and easy cross reference. The double-lined words from line 13 onwards indicate the available portions of the Sannati version.

Text

1. *taviye*
2. *aṁnāne*
3. *Ya javāram*
4. *Pa*
5. *dhi*
6. *chakalaṁtaṁ*
7. *atha*
8. *lo*
9. *rā*
10. *cha ga*
11. *karaṁ*
12. *Yeva atha—.—.—. va vagaṁ nikhāme* (slot) *atikāme sati*
13. *sayāna no—.—.—. peyiva atane* (slot) *ni saṁti tampi hevākaṁ*
14. *Sāthīti*

IV. Script, Language and Grammar

The characters employed in the above edicts of Sannati are Brāhmī and do not display any special features. They recall the writing of the major rock edicts

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** letters are lost here.

of Yerragudi, district Kurnool (A.P.) and the separate Rock edicts of Dhauli and Jaugada in Orissa.

The language is *Māgadhī Prākṛita* and agrees with the Aśokan edicts of Jaugada, Yerragudi and Kalsi. The retention of Sanskrit *ra* in all the cases (instead of *la*) is a notable feature at Sannati.

Examples are—*rabhavu* for *labhavu* in line-7;
rājāne in line-3;
Charevu in line-4;
Paralokam in line-5;
Charitaviye and *arāḍhayevu* in line-5
Kāraṁtaṁ for *Kālaṁtaṁ* in line-13 etc.

Such a feature is noticed at Girnar and in some MRE at Yerragudi.

Vowels: Initial vowels are dropped for example *hakaṁ* for *āhakaṁ* in line-6, *ti* for *iti*. The vowel *u* is elided *hveyu* for *huveyu*.
Final vowel is shortened. *Mahāmāta* (line-14),

atha for *athā*, *tatha* for *tathā*
Pita for *Pitā*, etc.

Reduplication of Consonants : It is observed in a single case.

Sva instead of *Śva*
Svagaṁ in line-13; *asvāsanīya* in line-15;
āsvāsetaviyā in line-8; *Sāsvataṁ* in line-14;

In all cases the two sibilliants *Śa*, *Sha* are marked by *Sa* throughout, *ha* is prefixed in *hida*, *hata hevaṁ* (lines-8,9). Semi vowel *Ya* is replaced by *Va*. See *avutike* (line-11), *arāḍhayevu* in line-5. *Charevu papunevu* (line-8), *Yujevu* and *huvevu*, etc.

A. Separate Rock Edict-II

(*Plate* 46.2)

V. Text Sanskritized and Translation

१. देवानां प्रिय एवमाह । समापायां महामात्रा राजवचनेन वक्तव्याः—यत्किञ्चित्पश्याम्यहं, तदिच्छान्यहम् किमिति ? कर्मणा प्रतिपादयेहं द्वारतश्चारमेहम् एतच्च मे मुख्यमतं द्वारमेतस्यार्थस्य यद्युष्मास्वनुशिष्टिः ।

1. The beloved of the gods says thus:

The Mahāmātras (officers) at Samāpā are to be addressed by the King's command:

Whenever I see anything significant, I desire to translate it into action and begin it by proper means; and in my view, the principal means of achieving this end is to instruct you in my thoughts.

२. सर्वे मनुष्या मम प्रजाः। यथा प्रजायै इच्छामि, किमिति (?) मे सर्वेण हितसुखेन युज्येरन् [यथा प्रजायै इच्छामि किमिति मे सर्वेण हितसुखेन युज्येरन्] इति ऐहलौकिकपारलौकिकेन, एवमेव मे इच्छा सर्वमनुष्येषु।

2. All people are my children. Just as I desire on behalf of my own children, that they should be fully provided with all kinds of comfort and enjoyment in this world as well as in the other world, similarly, I desire the same (happiness and enjoyment in this world and in the next) on behalf of all people.

३. स्यादन्तानामविजितानां किंछन्दोऽसौ राजास्मास्विति। एतावती मे इच्छा अन्तेषु—(एवं) प्राप्नुयुः राजा एवमिच्छति—*"अनुद्विग्ना भवेयुर्मयि आश्वस्युश्च। मे सुखमेव च लभेरन् मम ते न दुःखम्।" एवं च प्राप्नुयुः—"क्षमिष्यते नो राजा यच्छक्यं क्षमितुम्। मम निमित्तं च धर्मं चरेयुरिति, इहलोकं च परलोकं चाऽऽराघयेयुः।"

3. Those who live on the borders of my dominions, and have not been conquered by me, may wonder what exactly is my disposition towards them. My disposition towards them is this: They should be told that the King desires thus:

*"Let them not be afraid of me. Let them be made to feel confident that they need expect only happiness from me and not misery". They should again be told thus: "The King will forgive their faults that can be forgiven. May they be induced to practise Dharma for my sake and thereby attain happiness in this world and in the next".

४. एतस्मै चार्थाय अहं युष्माननुशास्मि। आनृण्यमेतेन अहम्। युष्माननुशास्तुं छन्दं च वेदयितुं या मम धृतिः प्रतिज्ञा चाचला। तदेवं कर्तुं कर्म चरितव्यमाश्वासनीयांश्च ते येन ते प्राप्नुयुः—"यथा पितैवं नो राजेति। यथात्मानमनुकम्पते एवमस्मास्वनुकम्पते। यथा प्रजा एवं वयं राज्ञः।"

4. For this purpose I am instructing you. By this, I discharge the debt (which I owe to them). My resolution and vow to instruct and communicate to you my desire is unshakable. Your action should be shaped accordingly, and the borderers should be comforted and consoled and inspired with confidence and this idea *viz.* "The King is like our father. He cares for our welfare, as much as he cares for himself. We are, to him, like his own children":

५. युष्मान् अहमनुशास्तुं छन्दं च वेदयितु या मम धृतिः प्रतिज्ञा चाचला। सकलदेशायुक्तो भविष्याम्येतस्मिन्नर्थे। अलं हि यूयमाश्वासनाय हितसुखाय च तेषामैहलौकिकपारलौकिकाय। एवं च कुर्वन्तः स्वर्गं चाराधयिष्यथ मम चानृण्यमेष्यथ।

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* The text of Sannati Rock Edict is available from here onwards.

5. My resolution and vow to instruct and communicate to you my desire is unshakable. I shall provide instructions in this matter through officers duly appointed for the purpose, throughout the country. You are competent to inspire confidence in them and ensure them the welfare and happiness of the borderers in this world and in the next. By acting thus, you will attain Heaven and discharge your debt of duty to me.

६. एतस्मै चार्थायेयं लिपिर्लिखिता इह एतन्महामात्राः शाश्वतं समयं युज्येरन्नाश्वासनाय च धर्मचरणाय चान्तानाम् । इयं च लिपिरनुचातुर्मासं श्रोतव्या, तिष्येणान्तरापि च श्रोतव्या ; क्षणे शान्तमेकेनापि श्रोतव्या । एवं च कुर्वन्तश्चेष्टध्वे संप्रतिपादयितुम् ।

6. For this purpose this rescript has been engraved so that my officers (Mahamātrās) may continue to inspire the borderers with confidence and to induce them to practise Dharma. This edict must be listened to, once in four months, or on Tiṣya days, or between Tiṣyas; and when opportunity arises, it may be heard calmly even by a single person. Acting thus, you engage yourself in executing my command.

B. Separate Rock Edict I (Kalinga Version)

(*Plate* 46.3)

(Text and Translation)

Devānaṁpiyasa vacanena tosaliyaṁ mahāmāta nagalaviyohālakā* (1)

Line—1 : By command-words of Devānāṁpriya, the Chief Executive Officers and City Judicial Officers of Tosali are to be addressed thus:

vataviya Aṁ kichi dakhāmi hakaṁ taṁ ichāmi kiṁti (?) *kaṁmana paṭivedayehaṁ* (2);

duvālate ca ālabhehaṁ, Esa ca me mokhyamata duvāla etasi aṭhasi aṁ tuphesu (3);

anusathi, Tuphe hi bahūsu pānasahasesu āyatā (1) *Panayaṁ gachema sumunisānaṁ, Save* (4);

munise pajā mamā Athā pajāye ichāmi hakaṁ kiṁti (?) *savena hitasukhena hidalokika* (5);

pālalokikāye yūjevū ti (,) *tathā* (*savesu*) *munisesu pi ichāmi hakaṁ No ca pāpunātha āvā ga* (6);

make iyaṁ aṭha Kecha va ekapulise papunāti etaṁ Se pi desaṁ no savaṁ Dekhata hi tuphe etaṁ (7);

Lines 2-7: Whenever I see anything significant, I desire to translate it into action and begin it by proper means; and the principal means of achieving this end is to instruct you in my wishes, as you are Placed in charge (and over the welfare) of several thousands of lives. Let us win the affection of good men. All people are my children. Just as I desire on behalf of my own children that they should be fully provided with all kinds of comfort and enjoyment in this as well as in the other world, similarly, I desire the same (happiness and enjoyment in this world and in the next) on behalf of all people. Perhaps, you may not grasp the full significance of my desire. Or, perhaps, there may be one who may grasp the significance; even he may understand only a part and not the whole.

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* It is *Samāpāyaṁ* in Jaugada edict.

Suvihitā pi niti, iyaṁ ekapulise pi athi ye baṁdhanaṁ vā palikilesaṁ vā pāpunāti, tata hoti (8);

akasmā tena baṁdhanaṁtika; Aṁne ca bahujane daviye dukhīyati Tata ichitaviye (9);

Lines 8-9: You note this: Although the laws are well laid down, there may be an individual who undergoes imprisonment or suffering and, by some accident, he may see the end of his imprisonment; and many persons (similarly placed) are still undergoing the suffering.

tuphe hi kiṁti, majhaṁ paṭipāda yemā ti Imehi cu jātehi no saṁpaṭipajati isāya āsulopena (10);

nithūliyena tūlānāya anāvūtiya ālasiyena kilamathena, Se ichitaviye, kiṁti, etc (11);

lines 10-11: Therefore, what you should strive for, is the middle path. This middle path is not possible to attain for those who are slaves of envy, non-exertion, harshness, hurry, want of practice, sloth and undue weariness. Hence, each one of you should strive to see that these do not get hold of you.

jātā no huvevu mamā ti Etasa ca savasa mūle anāsulope atūlanā ca Nitiyam e kilaṁte siyā (12);

na te ugache, Saṁcalitaviye tu vatitaviye etaviye vā Hevaṁmeva e dakhiye tuphāke tena vataviye* (13);

lines 12-13: At the root of all this lie the two qualities viz. steady action and acting without haste. In administration, those who get easily tired do not rise up to the level required. You ought to be up and moving and advancing.

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* Available words in the Sannati record are double underlined from here onwards.

Aṁnaṁ ne dekhata Hevaṁ ca hevaṁ ca devānaṁpiyasa anusathi, Se mahā (pha) le e tasa saṁpaṭipāda* (14)

mahā apāye asaṁpaṭipati, Vipaṭipādayamīne hi etaṁ nathi svagasa aladhi no lājāladhi (15);

Duāhale hi imasa kaṁmasa me kute mane atileke, Saṁpaṭipajamīne cu etaṁ svagaṁ (16);

lines 14-16: He who sees accordingly must preach thus : "Do you not perceive the command (of the King)? Such and such are the instructions of the beloved of the gods. It is highly fruitful to have faith in them and act accordingly and it is highly ruinous to have no faith and to act otherwise. Those who do not discharge their duties properly do not serve either Svarga (Heaven) or their King". Two kinds of fruits have been assigned by me to those who zealously discharge their duties. Understanding and acting accordingly. You attain Heaven and discharge your debt to the King.

ālādhayisatha ta (ha lāño) ānaniyaṁ ehatha Iyaṁ ca lipī tisanakhatena sotaviya (17);

aṁtalā pi ca tise khanasi khanasi ekena pi sotaviya (1) *Hevaṁ ca kalaṁtaṁ tuphe* (18); *caghatha saṁpaṭipādayitave;*

lines 17-19 : This edict is to be heard on Tiṣyanakṣatra days and also in the interval between Tiṣyas moment by moment, even by a single individual. Acting thus, you try to discharge your duty.

Etāye athāye iyaṁ lipi likhita hida ena (19);

nagalaviyohālakā sasvataṁ samayaṁ yujevū ti

Lines 19-20: This edict has been inscribed here, for this purpose, namely: that the City Judicial Officers shall always execute the laws properly, so that the citizens may not be subject to oppression or made to suffer otherwise.

(nagalaja) nasa akasmā palibodhe va (20);

akasmā palikilese va no siyā ti, Etāye ca aṭhāye hakaṁ (dhaṁ) mate paṁcasu paṁcasu vase (21):

su nikhāmayisāmi e akhakhase acaṁḍe sakhinālaṁbhe hosati,

Lines 20-22: For this purpose and for the upholding of Dharma, I shall send, once in every five years, a class of officers who are not harsh

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* It is *ānaṁne* in Jaugada edict.

(*akarkaśa*), not cruel (*acaṇḍa*), and are of gentle disposition (*ślakṣṇāraṁbha*).

Etaṁ aṭham jānitu ...... tathā (22);

Lines 22: Understanding this (the officers) shall act in conformity with my instructions.

kalaṁti atha mama anusathī ti
Ujenite pi cu kumāle etāye va athāve nikhāmayisa... (23);
hedisaṁ meva vágaṁ no ca atikāmayisati tiṁni*
vasāni Hevameva takhasilāte pi, Adā a ... (24);
te mahāmātā nikhamisaṁti anusayānaṁ
tadā ahāpayitu atane kamaṁ etaṁ pi jānisaṁti ... (25);
taṁ pi tatnā kalaṁti atha lājine anusathī ti ... (26);

Lines 23-26: For the same purpose, my son at Ujjain shall send similar officers, before the lapse of three years. In the same manner, from Takṣaśilā also. And when state officers go on their tours, they will, without neglecting their own work, attend to this work also and act according to the King's instructions.

VI. Synoptical Texts: Separate Rock Edict—II

Dhau. (1) *Devānaṁpiyas*(*a*) *vachanena Tosaliyaṁ kumāle mahāmātā cha*
*Jau.*** (1) *Devānaṁpiye hevaṁ ā* (*ha*) *Samāpāyaṁ*..........*mahamatā*
San. ....**

Dhau. ....*vataviya aṁ kichhi dakhām* (*i*) *h* (*akaṁ taṁ* (*i*).........
Jau. *l* (*ā*) *ja-vachanik* (*a*) *vataviyā aṁ kichhi dakh* (*ā*) *mi hakaṁ taṁ i*(*chh*) *āmi*
San. ....

Dhau. ....
Jau. ....*duvālate cha ālabhehaṁ esa*
hakaṁ k (*iṁ*) *ti kaṁ kamana paṭipātayehaṁ duvā* (*la*) *te cha ālabhehaṁ esa*
San. ....

Dhau. *cha me mokhya-mata duvālā etasi aṭhasi aṁ tuphe* (*s*) *u*...........
Jau. *cha me mokhiya-mat* (*a*) *duvāl* (*a*) *etasa a* (*tha*) *sa a* (*ṁ*) *t* (*uph*) *esu anusa* (*thi*)
San. ....
....

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* See Pl. 45.4.
** Missing text.

1. This passage is repeated by mistake in the original.

Dhau. (2) ....mama ath (a) pajāye ichhāmi hakaṁ ki (ṁ) ti
Jau. (2) sava-munisā me pajā atha pajāy (e) ichhāmi kiṁti me
San. ....

Dhau. savena hi (ta) sukhe) na..................hidalokika-pālalokikāye yujevū ti
Jau. savenā hita-su (kh) ena yu (je) yū* ti hidalogika-pālaloki (k) e (ṇa)
San. ....

Dhau. h(e)v(aṁ)................................ (3) siyā aṁtānaṁ avijitānaṁ
Jau hevaṁmeva me ichha sava-munisesu (3) siyā aṁtānaṁ (a) vijitānaṁ
San ....

Dhau ki-chha(ṁde) su lāja (aphesu)...........m(a)va ichha mama aṁtesu
Jau kim-chhāṁde su lājā aphesū ti etākā (vā) me ichha (a) ṁtesu
San. ....

Dhau ......i (p)ā(p) unevu te iti Devānaṁp (iy).........(anu)v(i)g(ina) mamāye
Jau ....pāpuneyu............lājā hevaṁ ichh (a)ti anu(v)i(g)ina hve(yū)
San. ....anuviga......................................

Dhau. huvevū......ti asvasevu cha sukhaṁmeva..............lahey(u) mamate
Jau mamiyāye...(a)svaseyu cha me sukhaṁ(m)ev(a) cha lahey(ū) mamate
San. ....sevu cha sukhameva cha rabhavu.......................

Dhau no dukha(ṁ) h(e)va(ṁ)...........un(e)vū iti khamisati ne
Jau (n)o kha(ṁ) hevaṁ cha pāpuneyu kha(m)i(sa)ti ne
San. ....yena cha hevaṁ pāpunevu rājāne khama (mi).

Dhau. Devānaṁpiye (aph)ākā ti e chakiye khamitave mama nimitaṁ (va)
Jau. lājā.......................... e s(a)kiye khamitave mamaṁ nimitaṁ
San. .... ve khamitave mamaṁ nimitaṁ

Dhau. cha dhaṁmaṁ chalevū hidaloka palaloka(ṁ) cha
Jau. cha dhaṁma(ṁ) chaley(ū) ti hidalog(aṁ) cha palalogaṁ cha
San. va dhaṁmam charevu hida(lokaṁ) cha paralokaṁ cha

Dhau. ālādhayevū (4) etasi aṭhasi haka(ṁ) anusāsāmi tuphe
Jau. ālādhayey(ū) (4) etaye cha athaye hakaṁ tupheni anusāsāmi
San. ārāḍhayevu (4) etāya cha aṭhāye haka(ṁ) tuphe anusāsāmi

Dhau. ana(n)e (e)takena hakaṁ anusāsitu chhaṁdaṁ cha veditu
Jau. ana(ne eta) kena (ha)kaṁ tupheni a(nu)sāsitu chhaṁda(ṁ cha) vedi(t)u
San. anvno hakaṁ tupheni anusāsita chhamdaṁ cha ditu

Dhau. *ā(hi) dhi(t)i paṭiṁñā cha mamā (a) jalā (e) hevaṁ kaṭu*
Jau. *ā mama dhiti paṭiṁnā cha .... achala ca hevaṁ (ka) ṭu*
San. *yāhi mama dhiti paṭini cha achalā sāti hevaṁ kaṭu*

Dhau. *kaṁme chal(i)t(a)v(i)ye asv(āsa)...........i (cha) tāni ena*
Jau. *k(aṁ)me (cha)litaviye asvāsa(n)iyā ch(a) te en(a) te*
San. *kaṁme charitaviye āsvāsetaviya cha toyana cha te*

Dhau. *pāpunevū itiatha pitā tatha Devānaṁpiy(e) aphāka athā cha*
Jau. *pāpuneyu a(th)ā pita (h)evaṁ (n)e lājā ti atha*
San. *hevaṁ Pāpunevu athā Pita hevaṁ rājā yathā cha*

Dhau. *atānaṁ hevaṁ Devānaṁpiye (a) nukaṁpati aphe athā cha pajā*
Jau. *(a)tānaṁ anukaṁpati hevaṁ a(ph)eni anuka (ṁpa)ti thā pajā*
San. *atānaṁ anukaṁpati hevaṁ apheniva(ṁ) chaka pajā*

Dhau. *hevaṁ may(e) D(e)vānaṁpiyasa se (5) hakaṁ anusāsitu (chha)ṁda(ṁ)*
Jau. *hevaṁ (may)e lā(j)ine (5) tupheni hakaṁ anusāsita(chh)āṁdaṁ*
San. *hevaṁ mayā sehakaṁ (5) tupheni anusāsitu chhaṁdaṁ*

Dhau *ch(a) veditu tu)phāk(a)..desāvuṭike*
Jau *(cha v)e(di)ta (ā ma) ma dhiti paṭi(ṁ)nā chā achala (saka)la*
desā-āy(ut)ike
San *cha tu Desāvatuke etasi athasi*

Dhau *hosāmi etāye athāye paṭibalā hi tuph(e) asvāsanāye hita-*
Jau *hosāmi et(a)si (a)thas(i) (a)lam (h)i tuphe asvāsa(nā)ye hi(ta)*
San *hohāmi alaṁhi tuphe āsvāsanāye (hi) ta*

Dhau *sukhāye cha (tesa) hidalokika-pālalo(ki)kāye.........hevaṁ cha*
Jau *sukhāye (cha te)sa(ṁ) hidalogi(ka)p(ā)lal(o)ki(k)ā(y)e hevaṁ cha*
San *sukhāye cha tesaṁ hidaloka ka(ṁ) pāralokikāye etaṁ chha hevaṁ*

Dhau *kalaṁtaṁ tuphe svagaṁ ....ālādha(vi)satha mama ch(a) ānaniyaṁ*
Jau *kalaṁtaṁ.........svaga(ṁ cha...ā) lādhavisa(tha) mama cha āna(n)eyaṁ*
San *Karaṁtaṁ svagaṁ cha arodhesatha mama cha anāniyaṁ*

Dhau. *ehatha (6) etāya cha athāye iyaṁ lipi likhitā hida e(na)*
Jau. *es(a)tha (6) etāye cha a(th)āye i(va)ṁ lipī li(kh)i ta hi da e(na)*
San. *ehathaṁ (6) eta.........yā......iyam lipi hida likhita atha*

Dhau. *(ma) hāmāta svasata(ṁ) sa ma yujisanti as(vā)s(a)nāye dhaṁma*
Jau. *(ma)h(ā)mātā sāsvataṁ samaṁ yujeyū asvāsanāye cha dhaṁma*
San. *mahāmāta sāsvataṁ...........yavujevu āsvāsasanīya dhaṁma*

Dhau. *chala(n)āye cha tes(a) aṁtānaṁ iyaṁ cha lipi (anu)chātuṁmāsaṁ*
Jau. *chala(nā)ye (cha).........aṁtā(na)ṁ iyaṁ cha lipī a(nu)ch(ā)tuṁ(m)āsaṁ*
San. *charanāyacha aṁtā.............................cha lipi anechātu māmi*

Dhau. *tisena nakhatena sotaviyā kāmaṁ chu....(kha)ṇas(i) khanasi*
Jau. *s(ota)viyā..............tisena aṁta(lā) pi......cha.........sotaviyā*
San. *sotayi....................sehi......................................*

Dhau. *aṁtalā pi tisena ekena (p)i (so)taviya hevaṁ kala(ṁ)taṁ*
Jau. *...khane samtam eke(na) pi (sota)v(i)yā heva(m) cha (ka)lam(ta)m*
San. *aṁtalā pi.........hi.........sarena (...slot.........) taviyā hevaṁ*

Dhau. *(t)uphe chaghatha saṁpatipādayitave*
Jau. *......chaghatha saṁpaṭipātayit(av)e*
San. *.........ghaṭa saṁpāṭi (...slot......)*

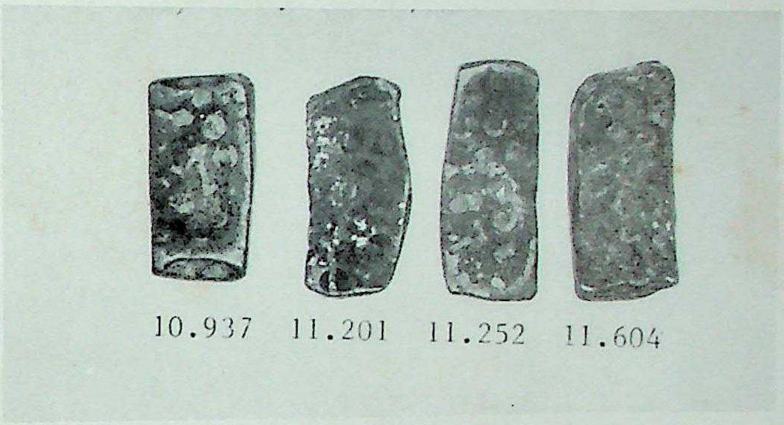
Notes and References

1. I.K. Sarma, R. Sivasarma and J. Varaprasada Rao, "Rock Edicts of Aśoka from Sannati, Chitapur Taluk, Gulbarga District, Karṇāṭaka", *Bulletin Indian Museum* (Calcutta, 1989).
2. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1965). p. 44 note 1.
3. E. Hultzch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. I (New Edition, 1925), pp. 115-118 and 213-218.
4. D.C. Sircar, *Aśokan Studies* (Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1979).
5. G. Srinivasa Murti, (Ed.) *Edicts of Aśoka* (*Priyadarśin*), *The Adayar Library Series* no. 72, (Madras, 1951) pp. xv, 60-67.
6. E. Hultzsch, *op. cit.* pp. 213-218

Acknowledgement

I am thankful to Shri A.P. Sagar, Superintending Archaeologist, Hyderabad Circle, ASI for prompt supply of the photographs and estampages of the record for my study. I am grateful to Shri Jagat Pati Joshi, D.G., ASI for permitting me to write on these inscriptions. I am deeply beholden to Shri M.C. Joshi, Addl. D.G. for his scholarly discussions on the subject. I thank my colleagues Sh. S.K. Sharma and Smt. C.K. Sanduja for their manifold assistance.

Illustrations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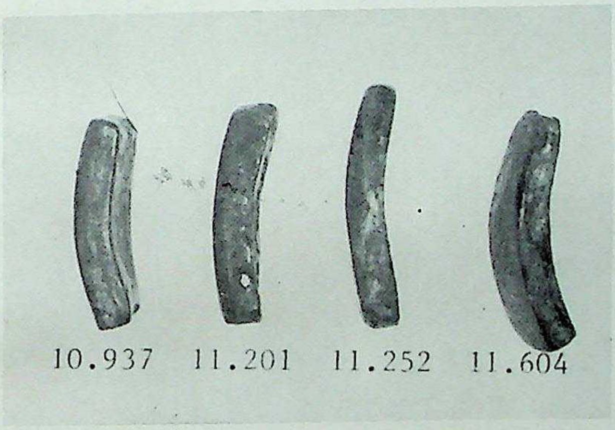
Pl. 6.1. Bent-bar coins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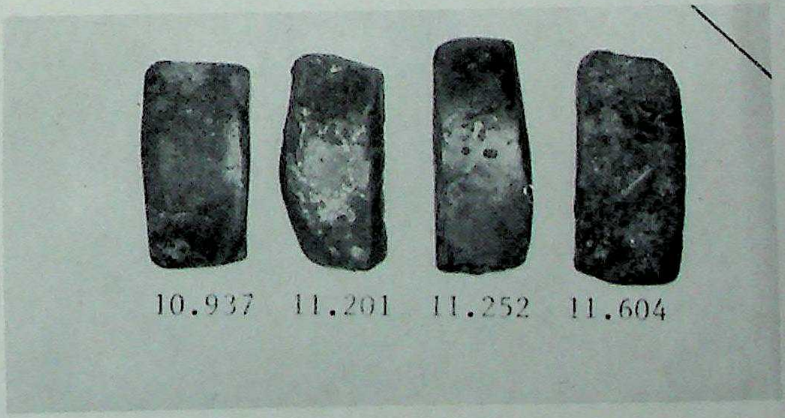
Pl. 6.2. Bent-bar coins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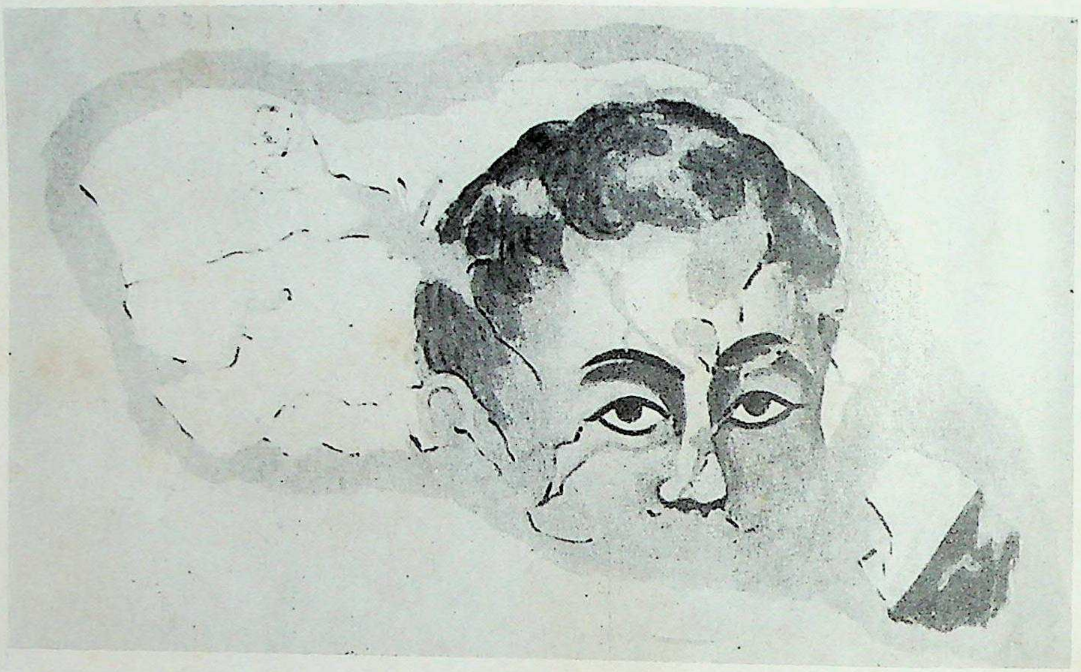
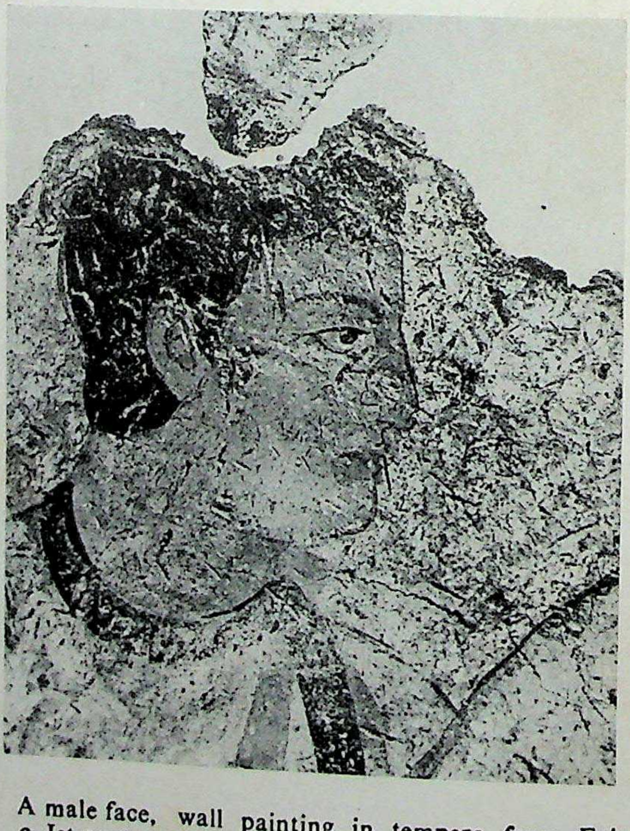
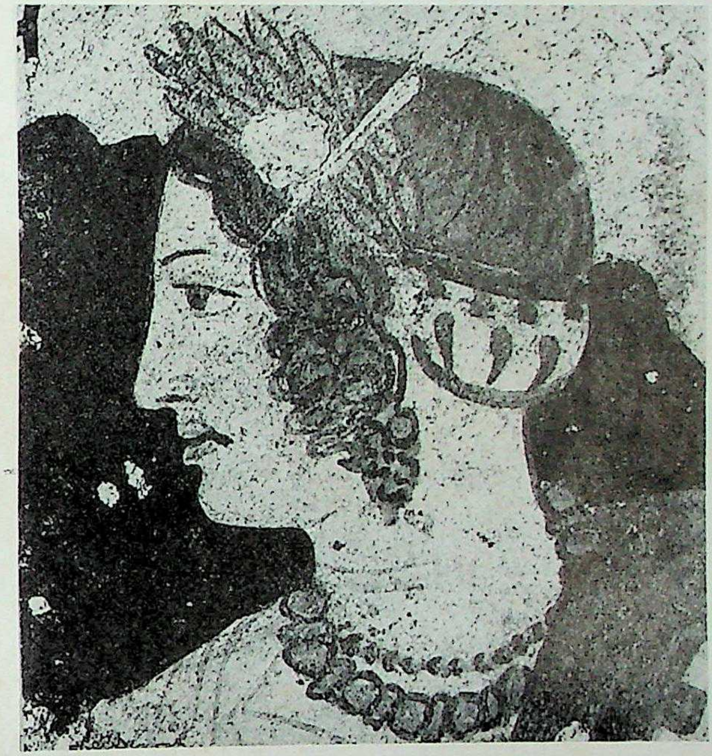
Pl. 6.3. Bent-bar coins



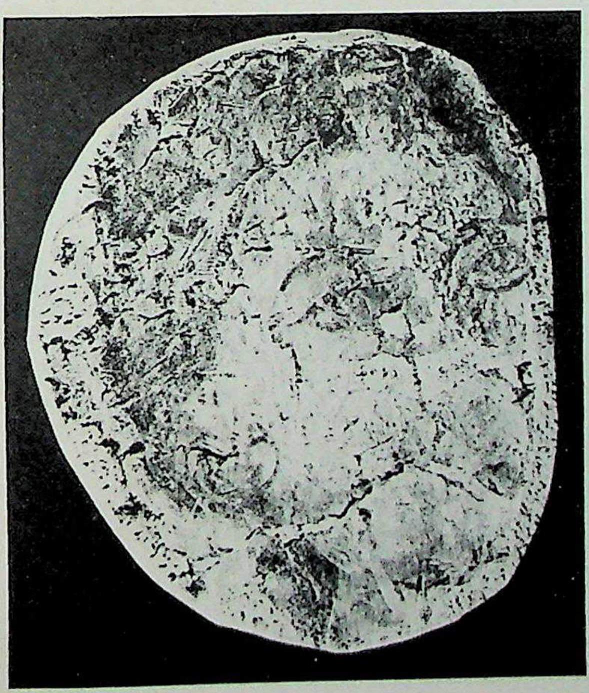
Pl. 13.1. Face of a youngman, wall painting in tempera from Khalachyan, c. early Ist century A.D.



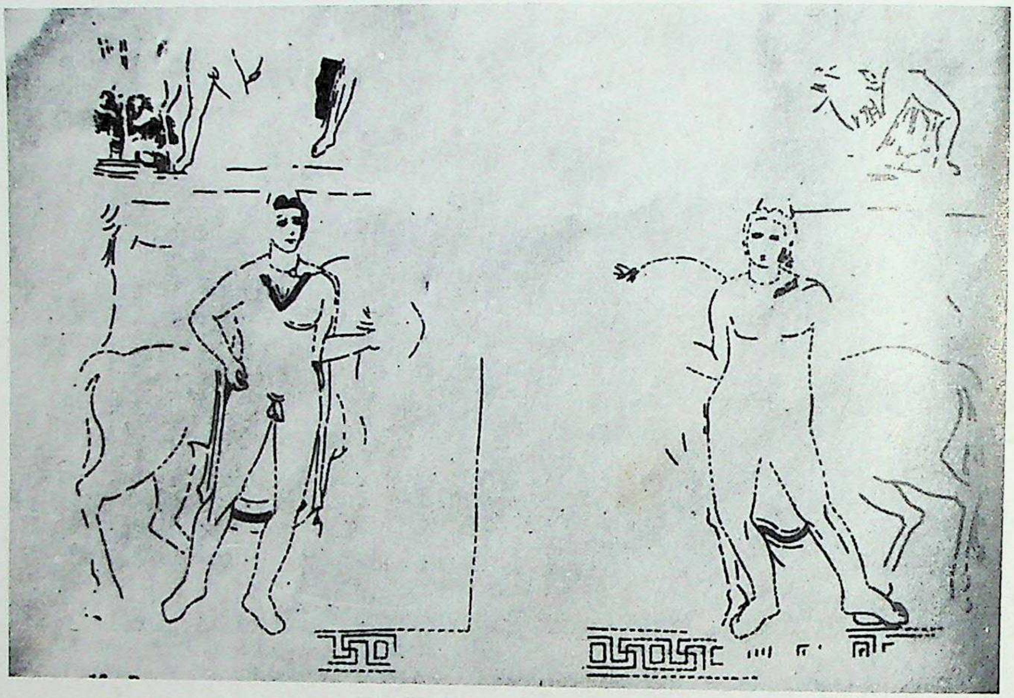
Pl. 13.2. A male face, wall painting in tempera from Faiaz Tepe, c. Ist century A.D.



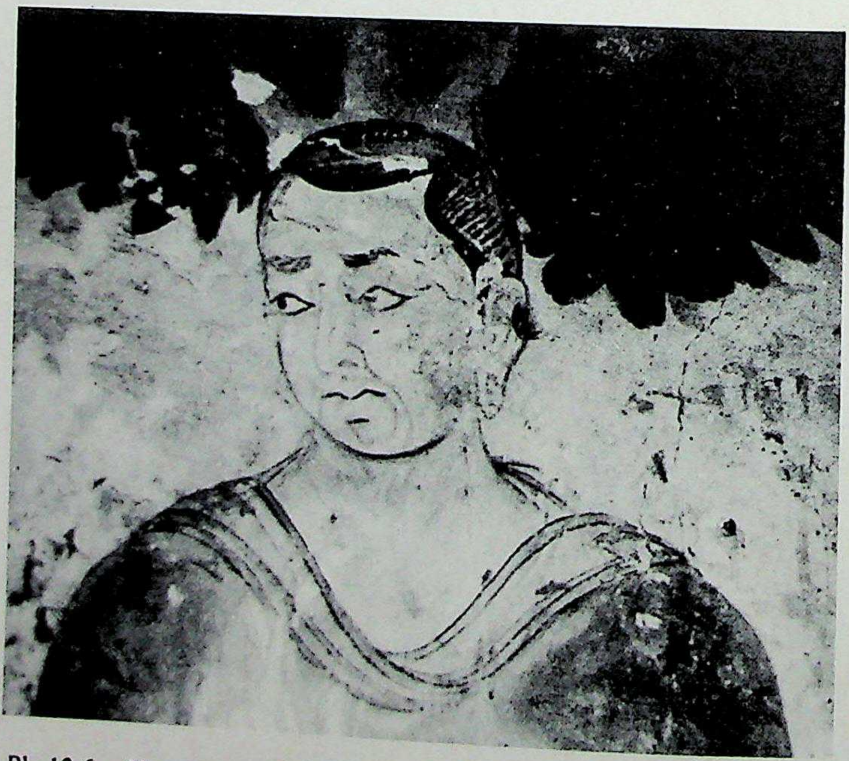
Pl. 13.3. Famous Etruscan portrait of Veliā painted in the tomb of Orcus at Tsarquinia, c. 4th century B.C.



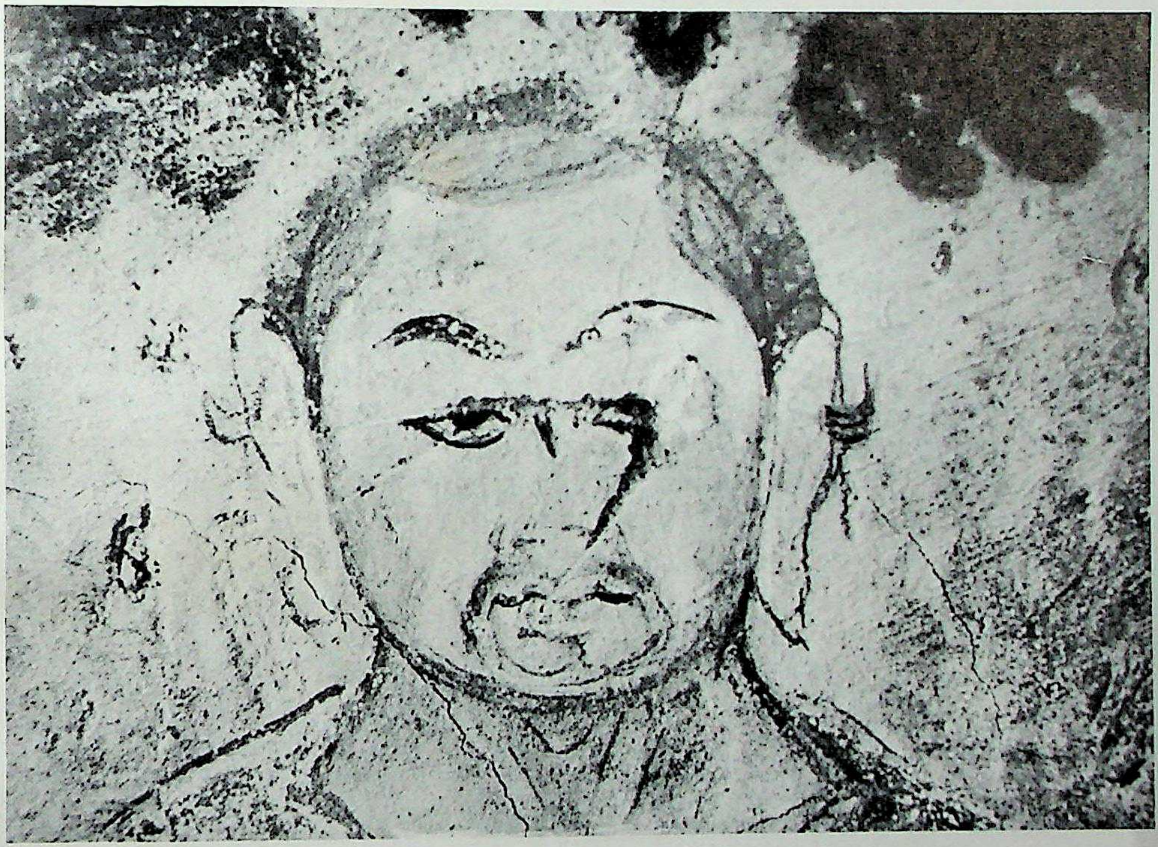
Pl. 13.4. Fragment of a painted face (in tempera) from Dalverzin Tepe (DT-7), c. early 2nd century A.D.



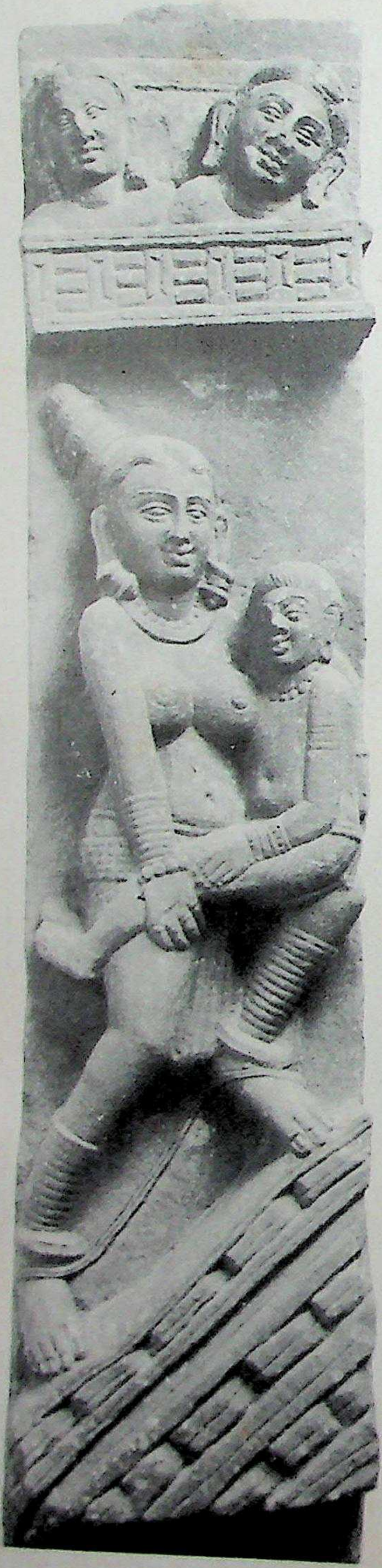
Pl. 13.5. Dioscuri (son of Zeus and Leda), painted in tempera on the front wall of the temple at Dalverzin, mid Ist century A.D.



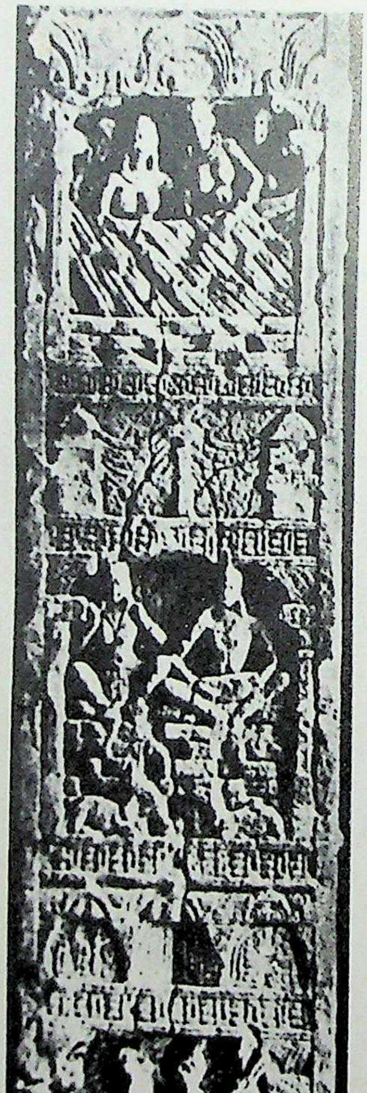
Pl. 13.6. Upper part of Buddha, wall painting in tempera from Cave Monastery 1 at Tepa Shotore, Hadda, c. Ist century A.D.



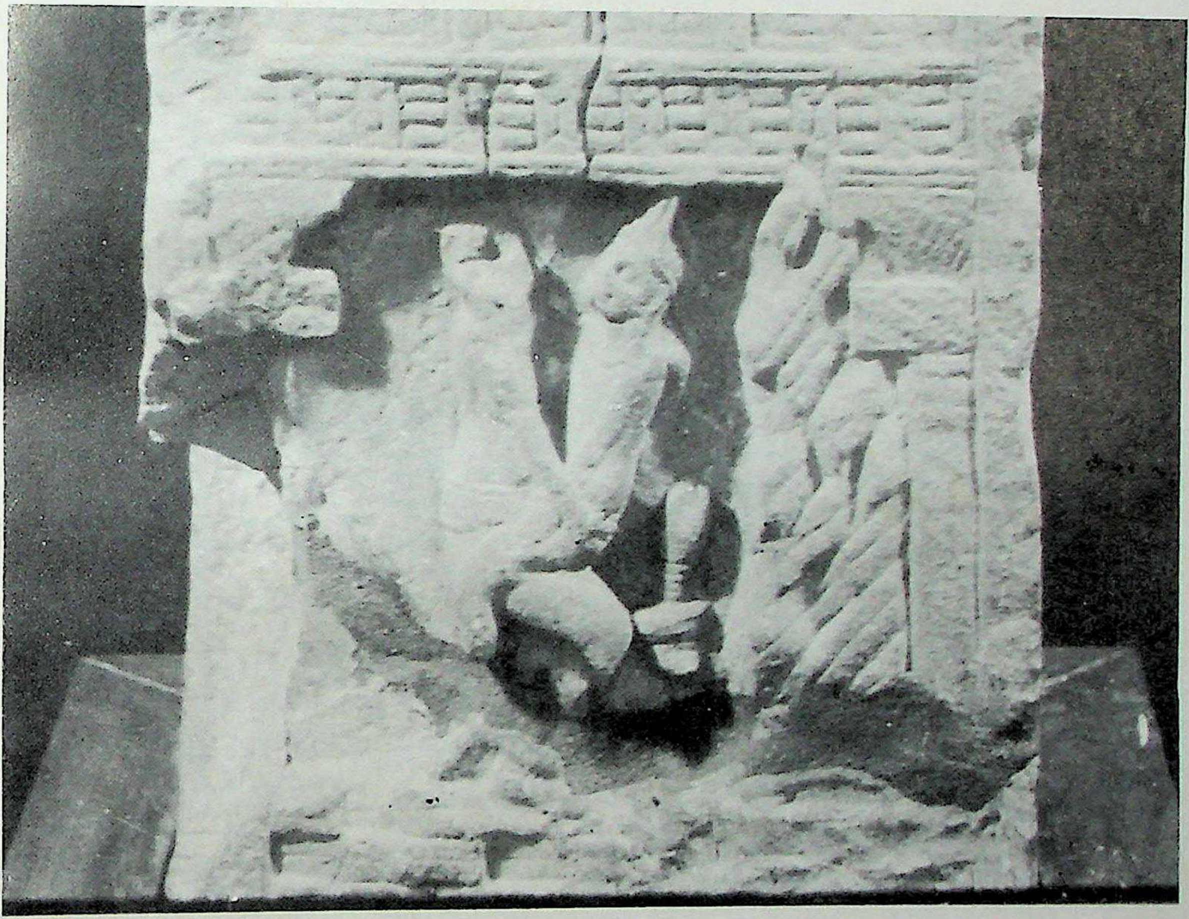
Pl. 13.7. Head of Buddha, painting from Cave Monastery 1 at Tepe Shotore, Hadda, c. 1st century A.D.



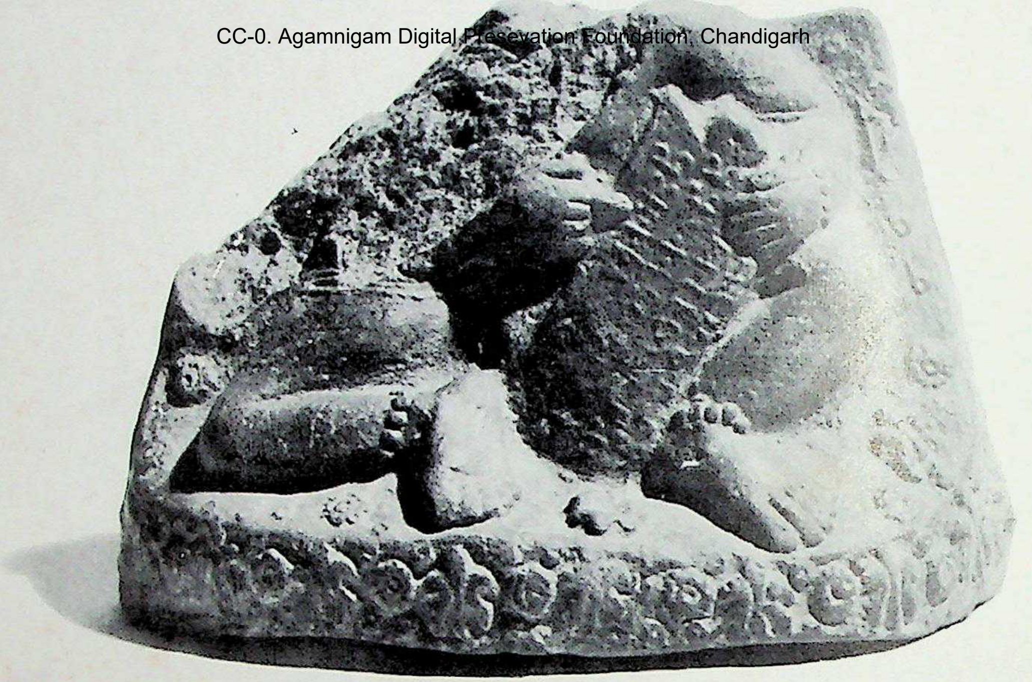
Pl. 15.1. The seduction of Ṛishyaśṛiṅga by a courtesan of Aṅga, Sanghol, Kushāṇa, 2nd century A.D. (*Copy right* : National Museum, New Delhi)



Pl. 15.2. The Bhūteśvara Pillar in the Mathura Museum, showing three scenes from the Ṛishyaśṛiṅga story (*Copy right* : Govt. Museum, Mathura)

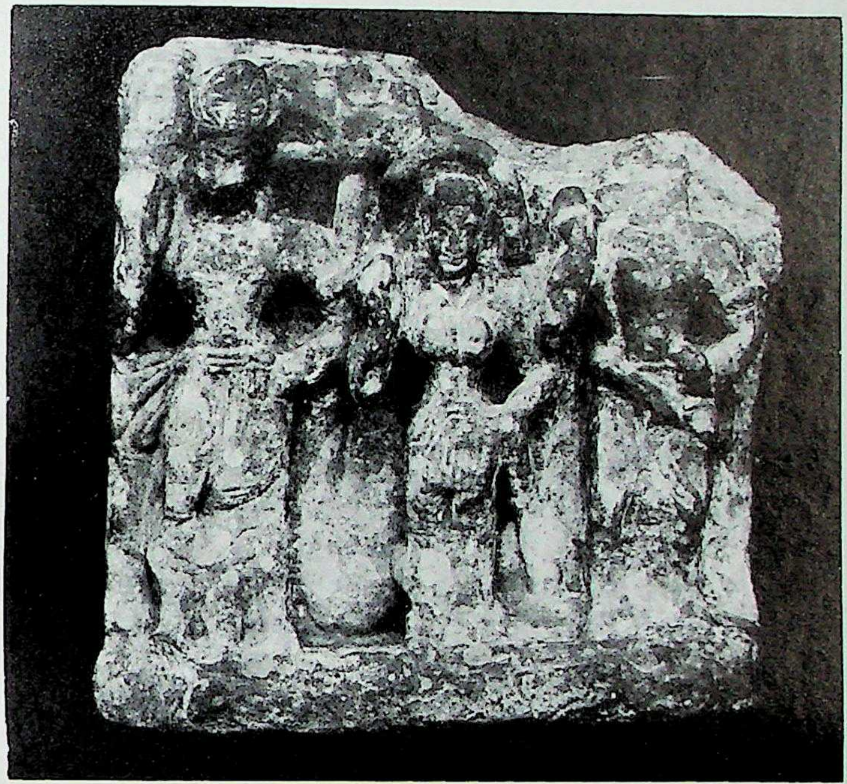


Pl. 15.3. Detail of the Bhūteśvara panel showing the actual seduction of Ṛishyaśṛiṅga (*Copy right*: Govt. Museum, Mathura)

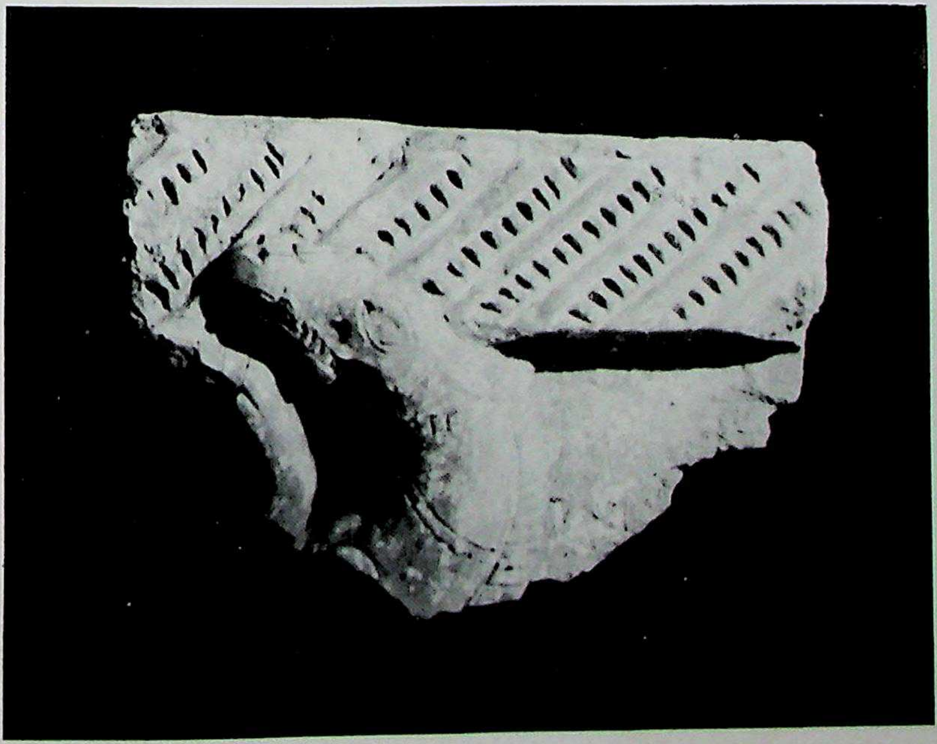


Pl. 16.1. Terracotta from Sugh depicting a child (Kṛishṇa ?) learning the alphabets (*Copy right* : National Museum, New Delhi)

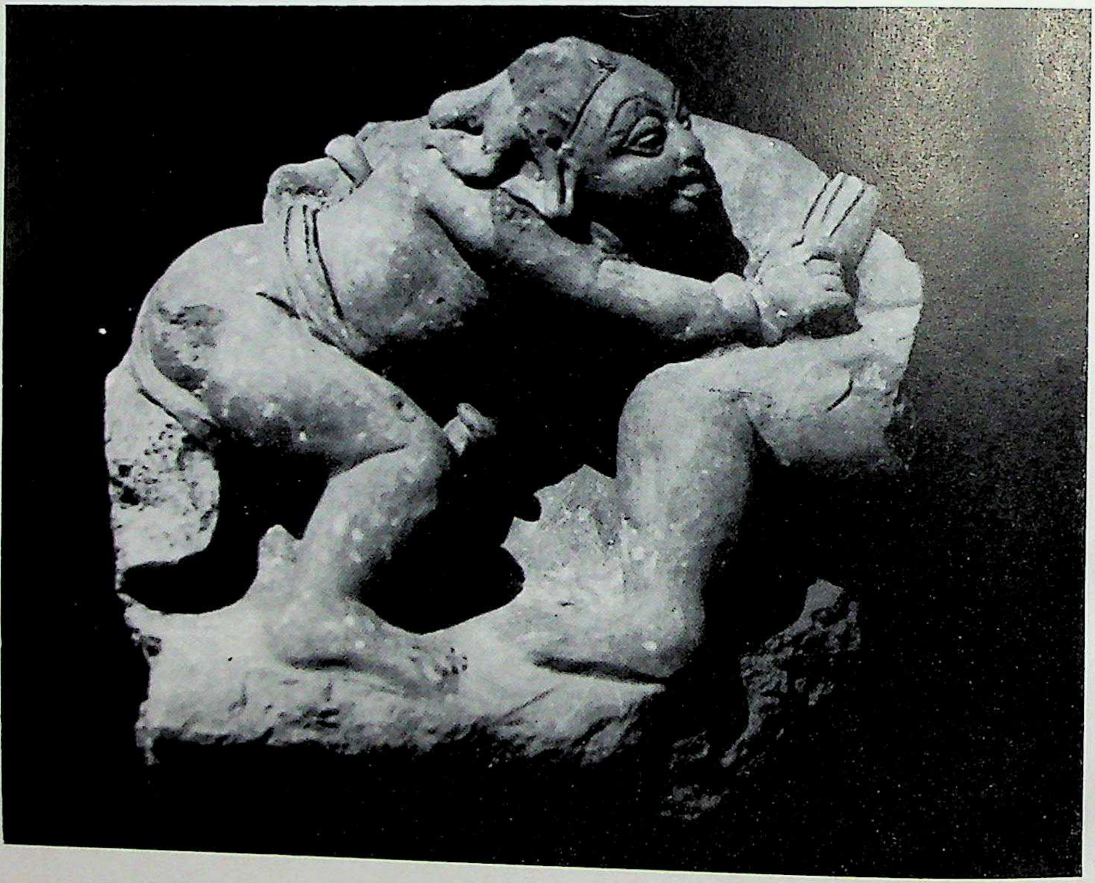
Pl. 16.2. Fragmentary relief, Sondh (after Punia)



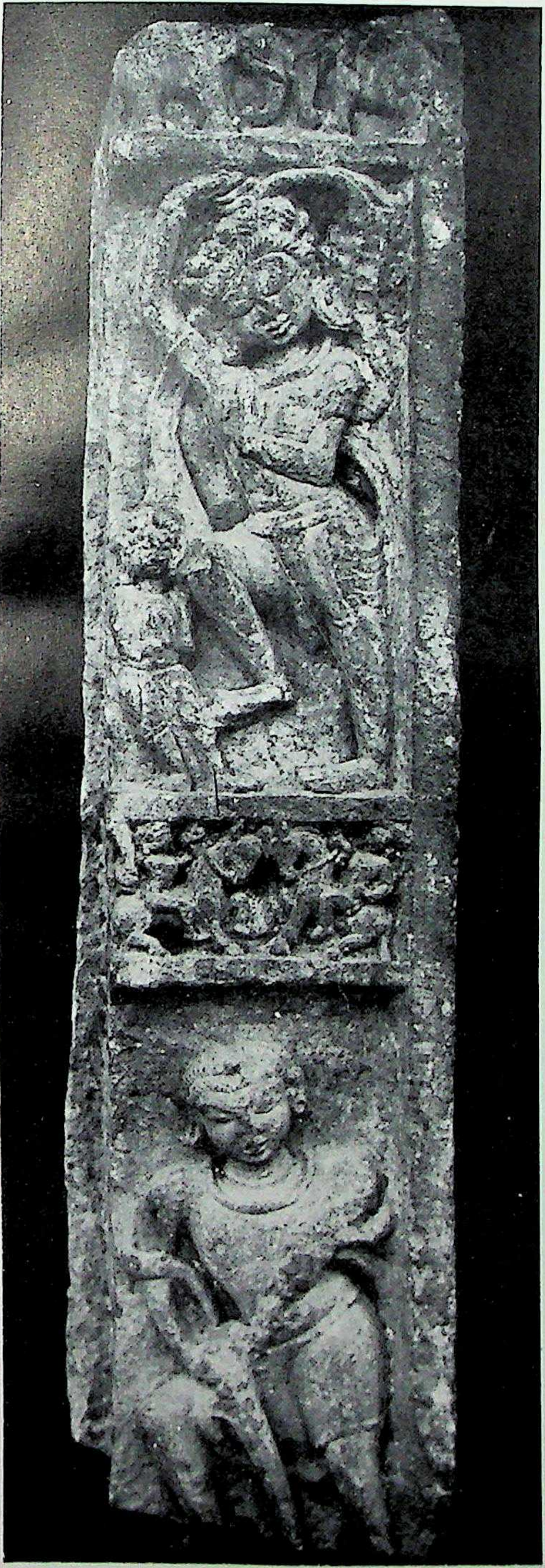
Pl. 16.3. Ekānaṁśā from Sanghol



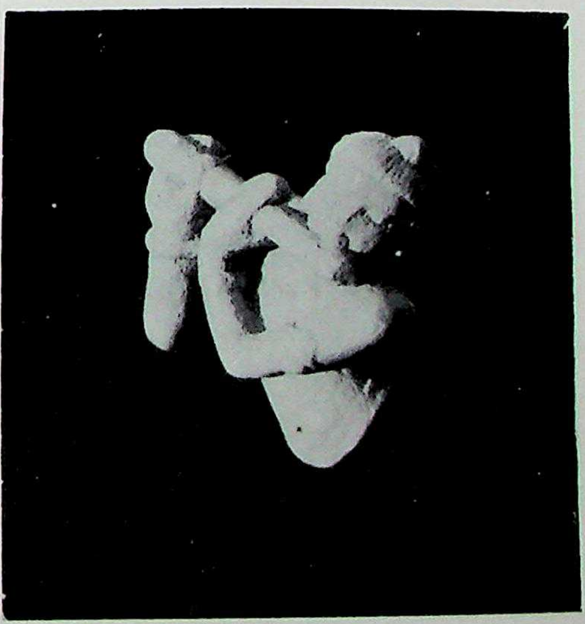
Pl. 16.4. Terracotta representing Keśī (?), Agroha



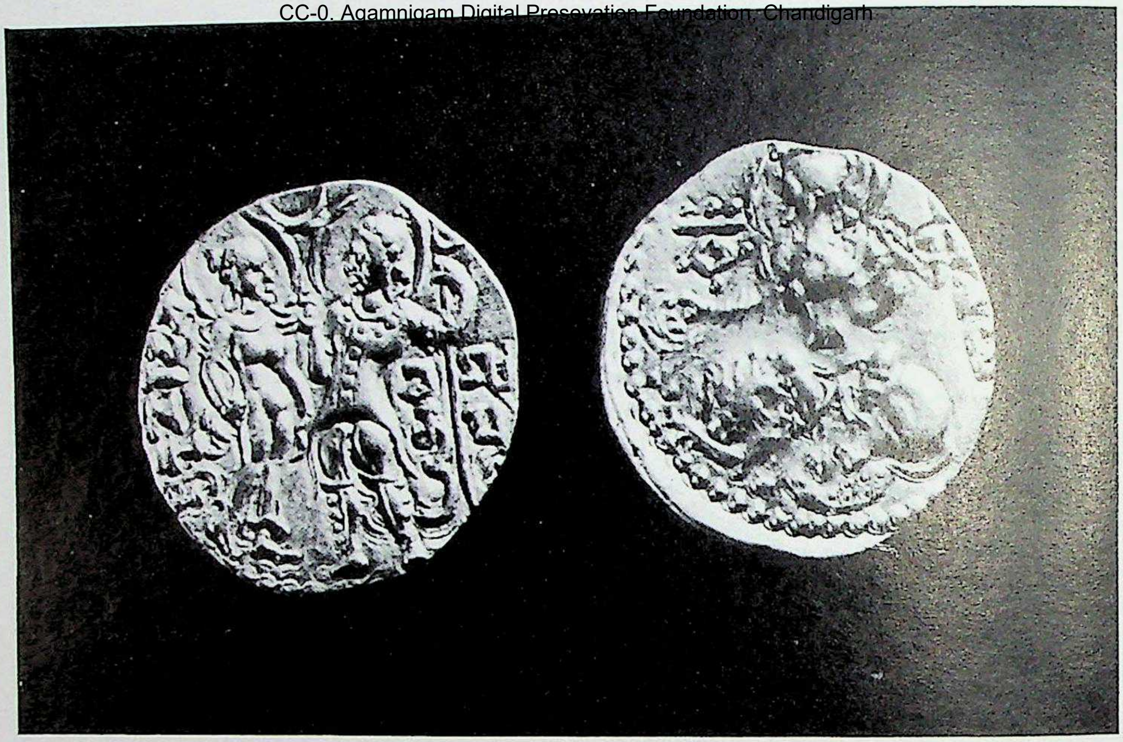
Pl. 16.5. Terracotta, depicting Śālavadha or a wrestling bout, Agroha



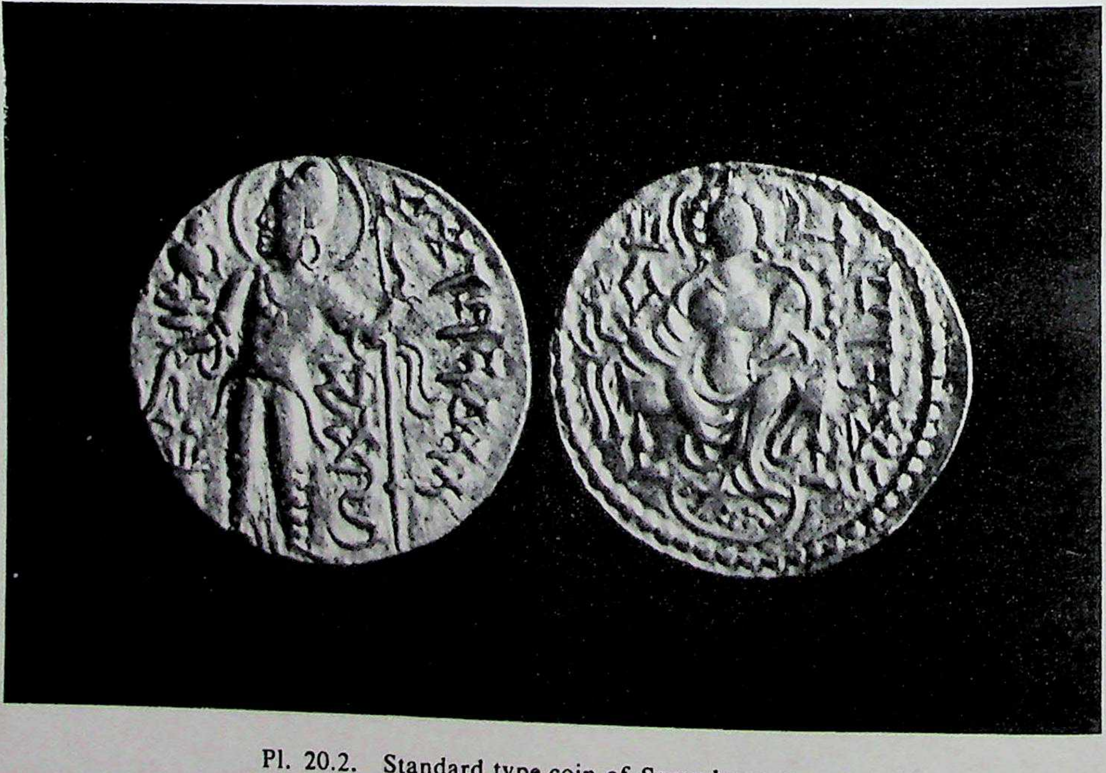
Pl. 16.6. Jamb with probable Kṛishṇa-*līlā* scenes, Gujar Kheri



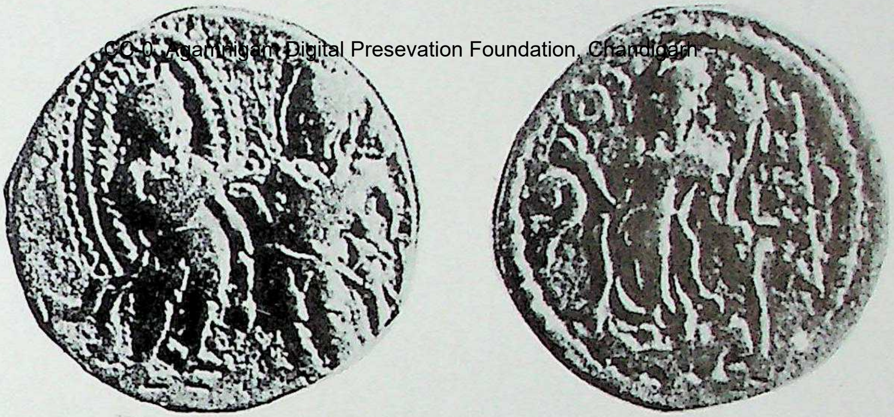
Pl. 16.7. Veṇu-Gopāla, Gujar Kheri



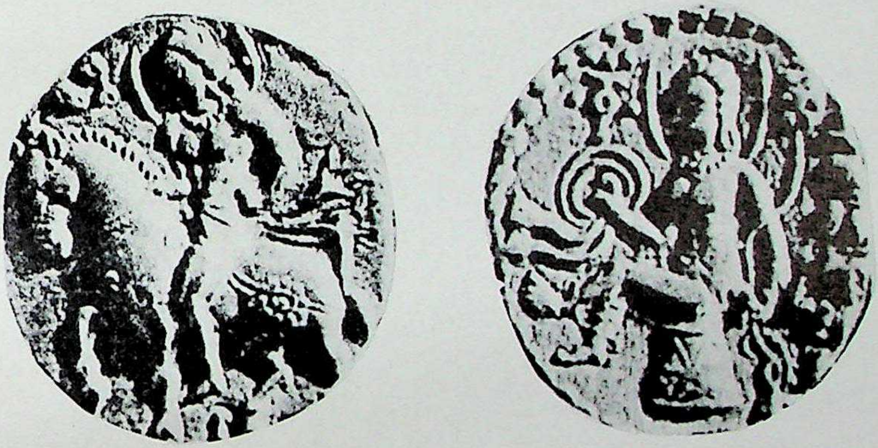
Pl. 20.1. King & Queen type coin of Chandragupta I *(Copy right:* National Museum, New Delhi)



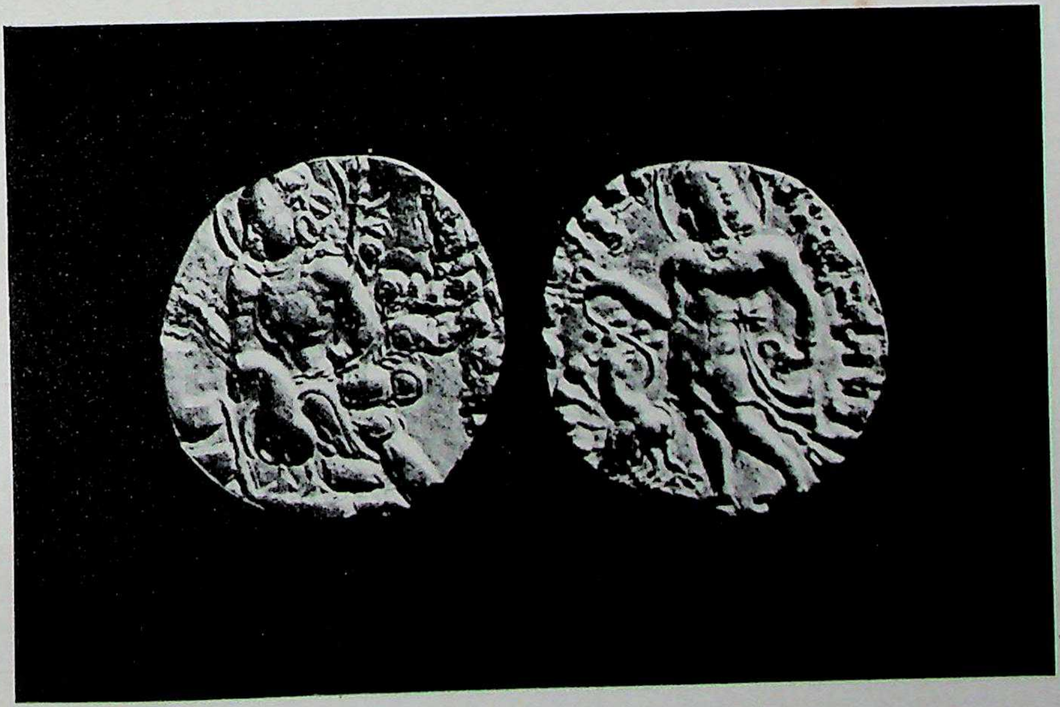
Pl. 20.2. Standard type coin of Samudragupta



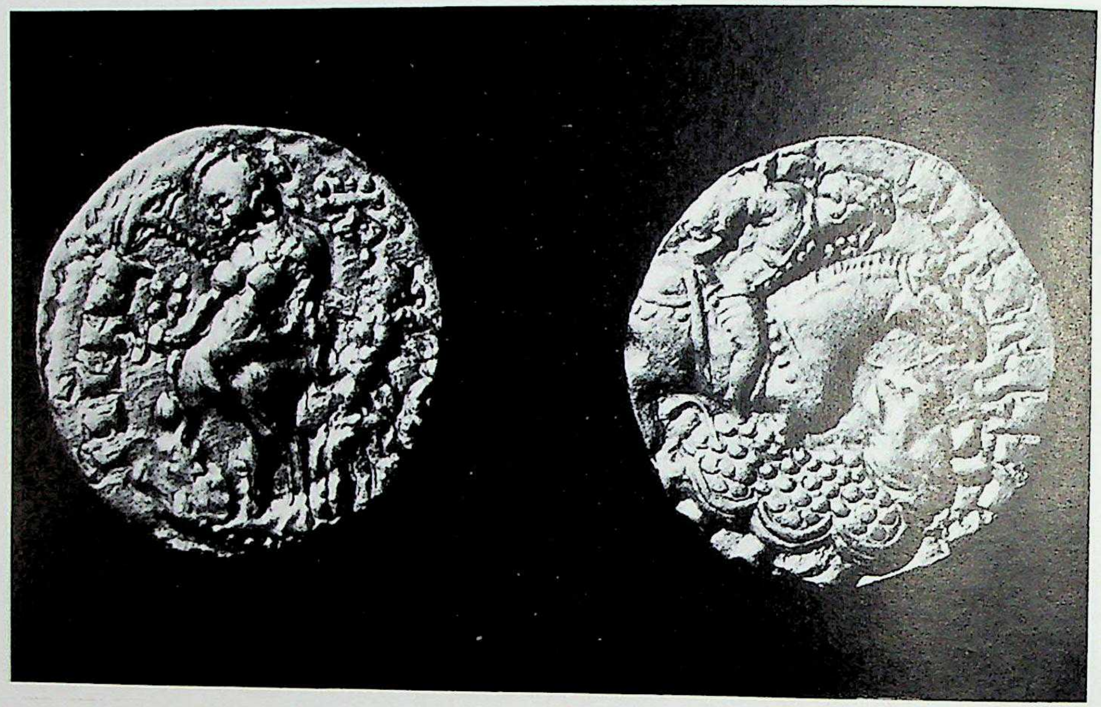
Pl. 20.3. Chakravikrama type coin of Chandragupta II (*after* Altekar)



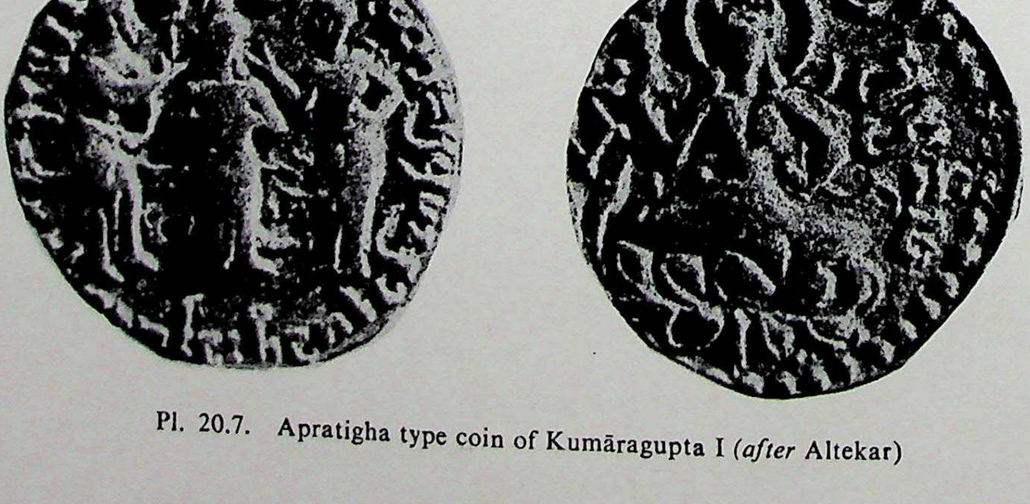
Pl. 20.4. Horseman type coin of Chandragupta II (*Ibid.*)



Pl. 20.5. Kārttikeya type coin of Kumāragupta I (*Copy right :* National Museum, New Delhi)

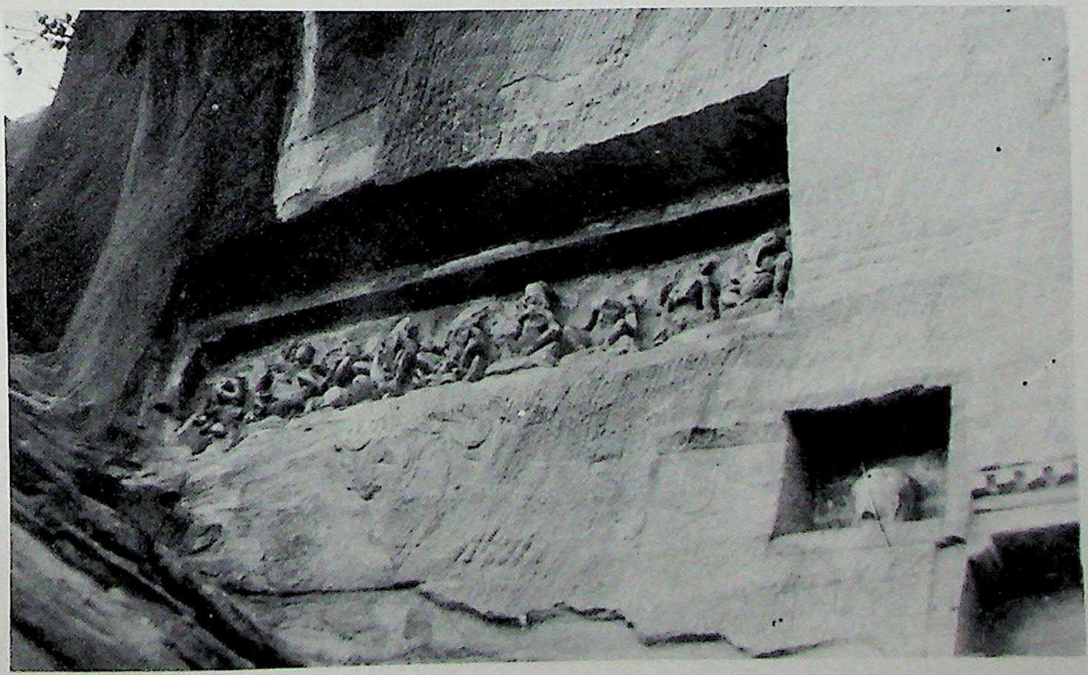


Pl. 20.6. Khaḍgatrāta type coin of Kumāragupta I *(Ibid.)*

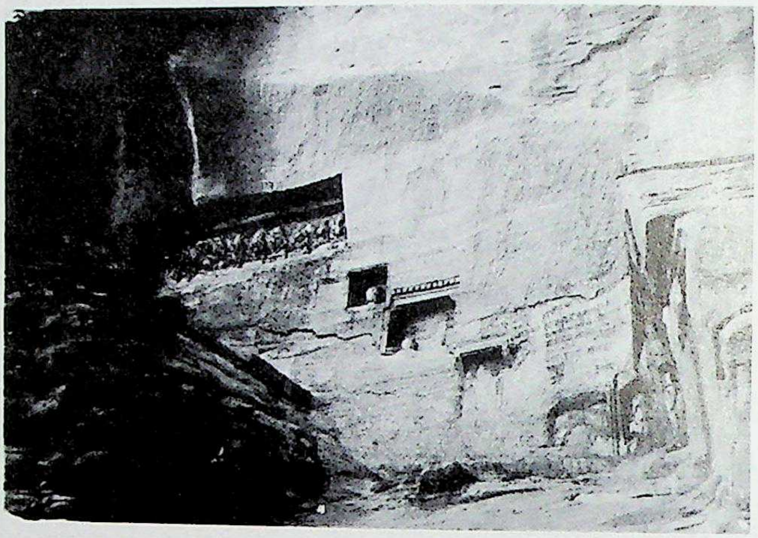


Pl. 20.7. Apratigha type coin of Kumāragupta I (*after* Altekar)

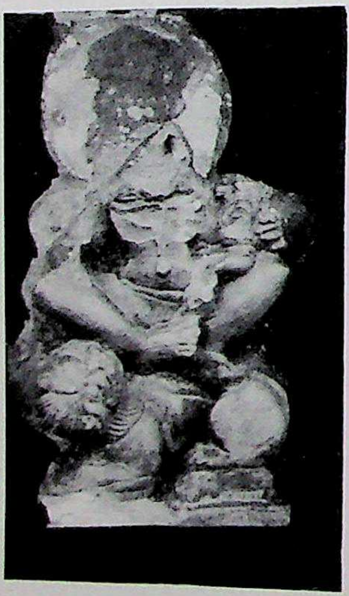
Pl. 21.1. Sh. R. C. Agrawal on the site, Nāharghāṭī



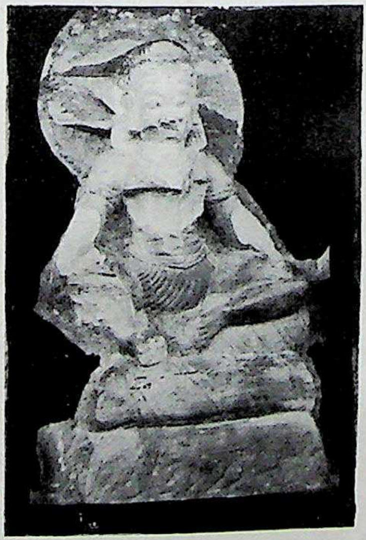
Pl. 21.2. Mātrkā panel and *Ekamukha-liṅga*, Nāharghāṭī



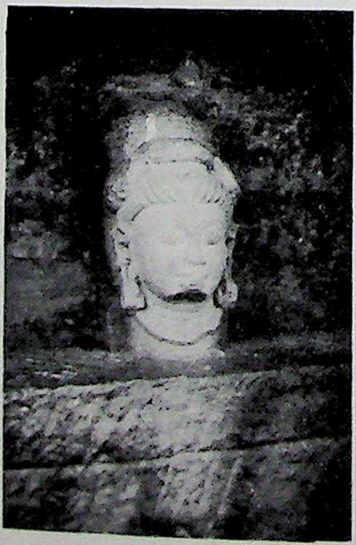
Pl. 21.3. General view, Nāharghāṭi



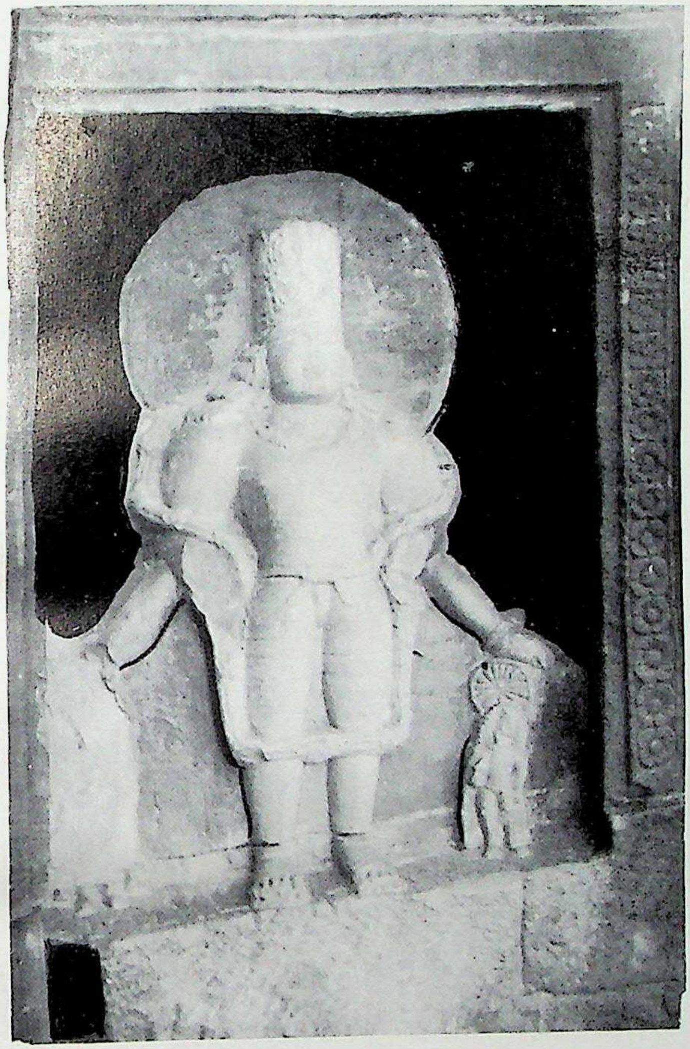
Pl. 21.4. (a) Vārāhī &



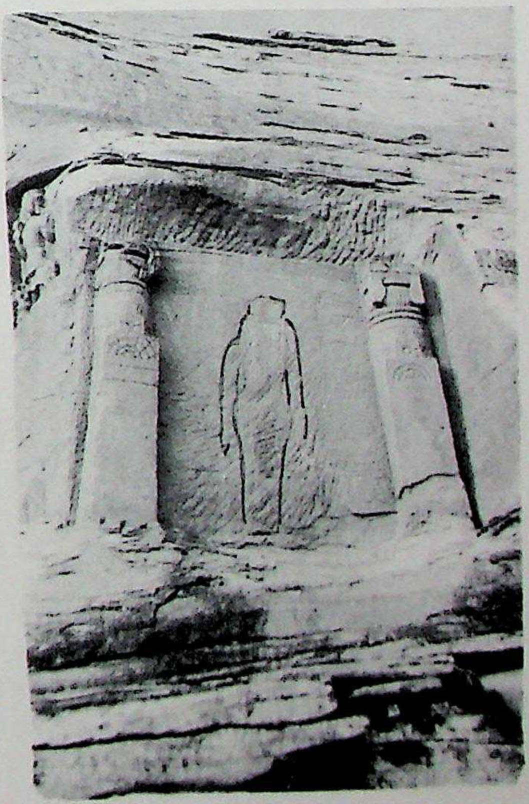
(b) Māheśvarī, Nāharghāṭī



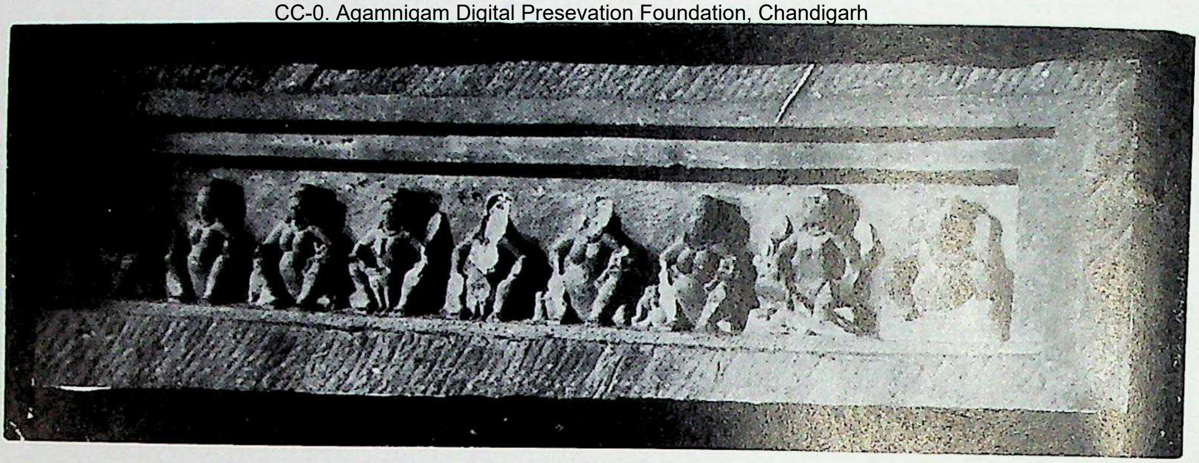
Pl. 21.5. *Ekamukha-linga*, Nāharghāṭī



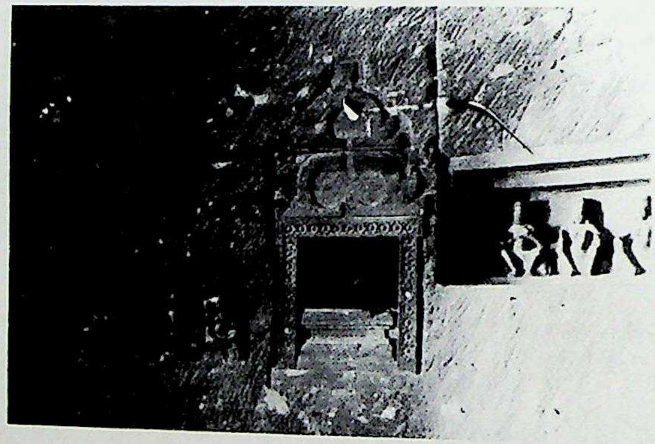
Pl. 21.6. Viṣṇu in *pralamba-bāhu-mudrā*, Nāharghāṭi



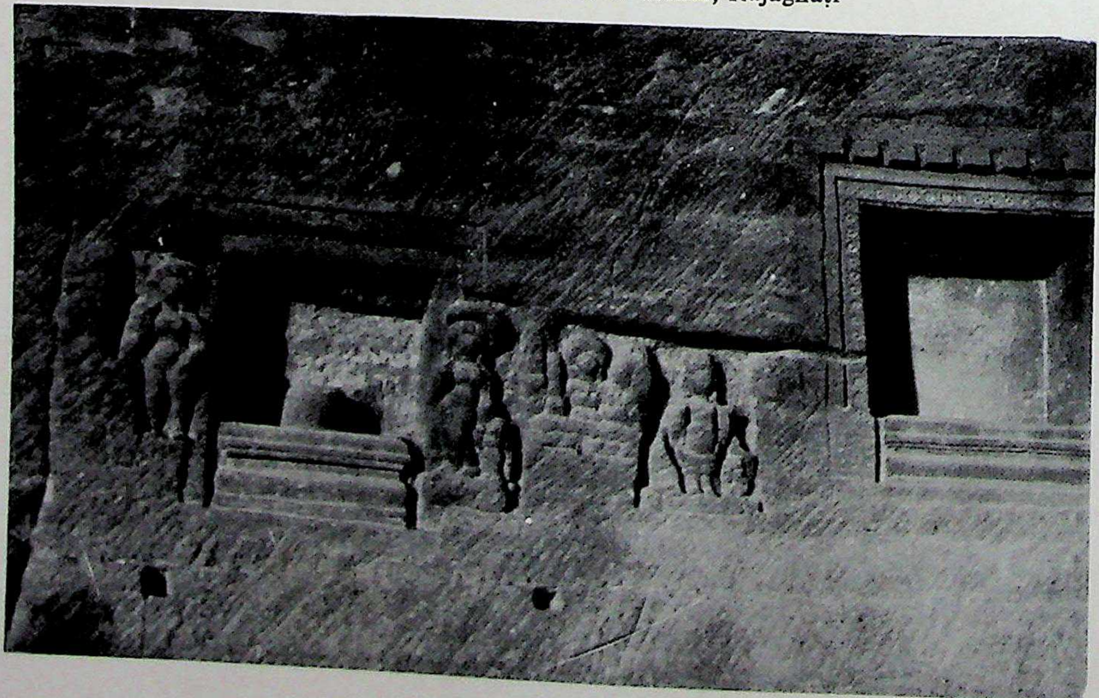
Pl. 21.7. Niche with line sketch of a Tīrthaṅkara, Nāharghāṭī



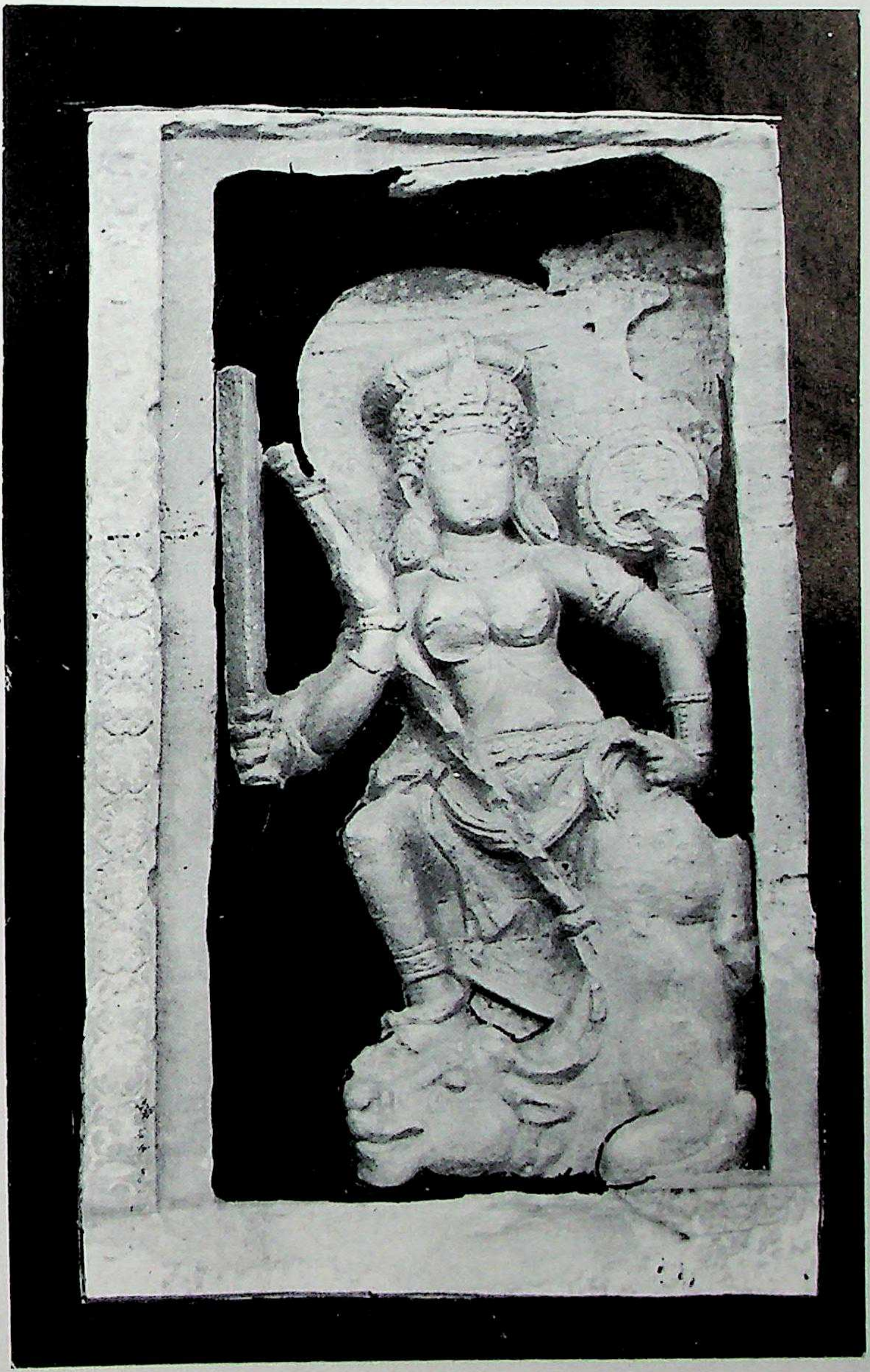
Pl. 21.8. Mātṛkā panel, Rājaghāṭī



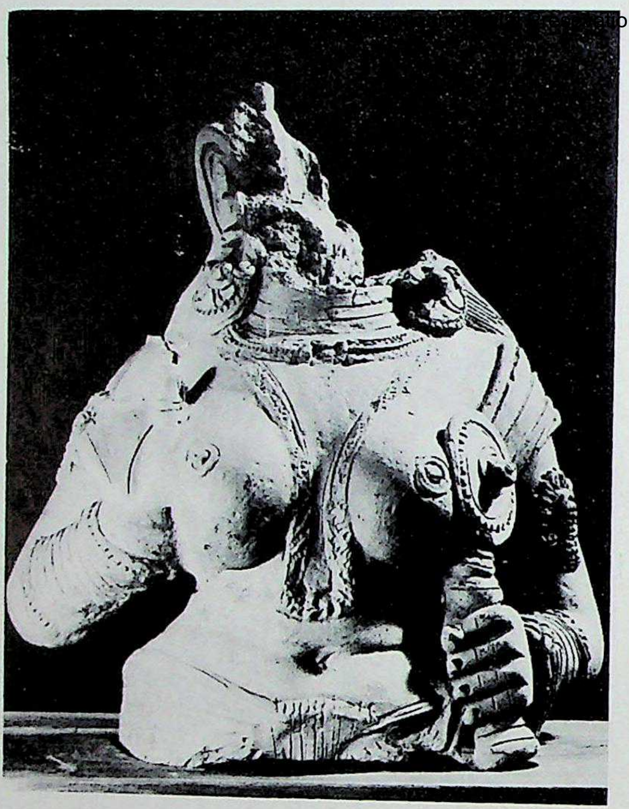
Pl. 21.9. Mātṛkā panel and other niches, Rājaghāṭī



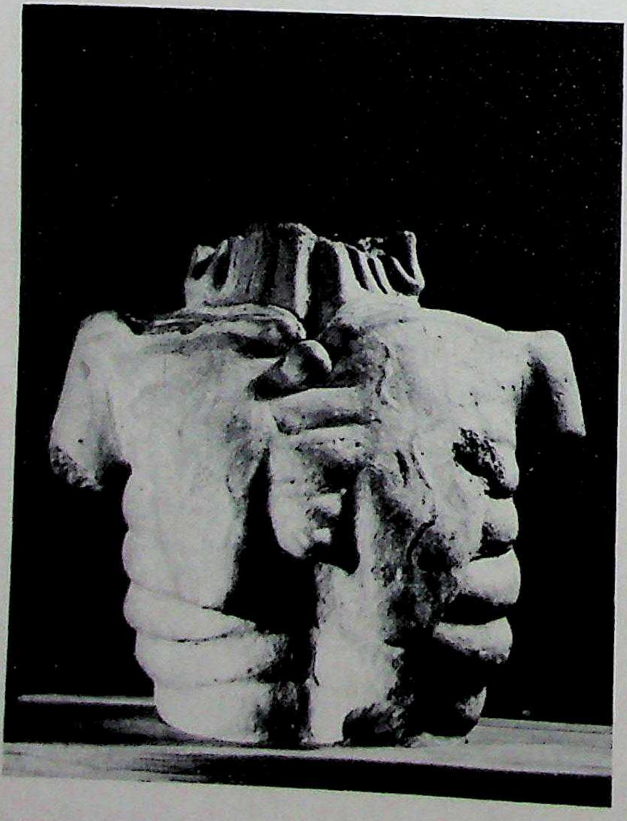
Pl. 21.10. A few more niches, Rājaghāṭī



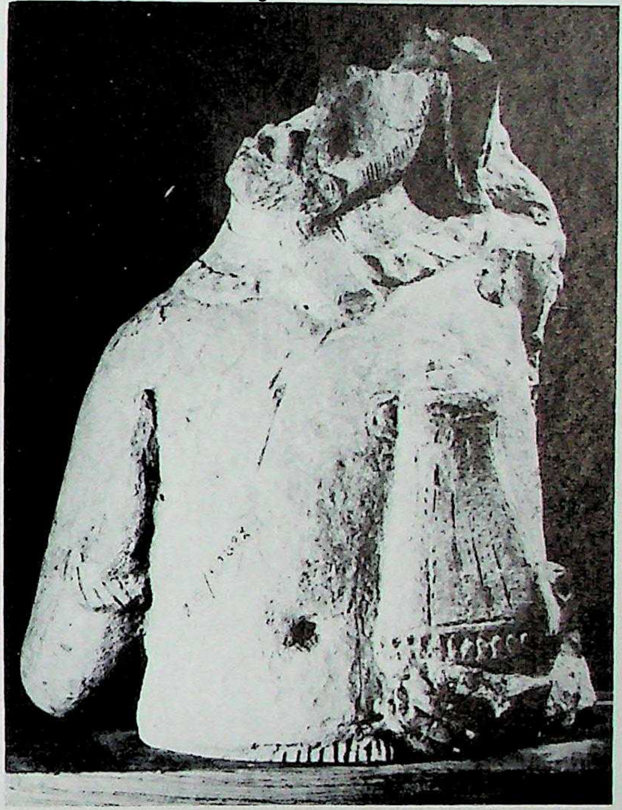
Pl. 21.11. Mahiṣamardinī, Siddha kī Guphā, Deogarh



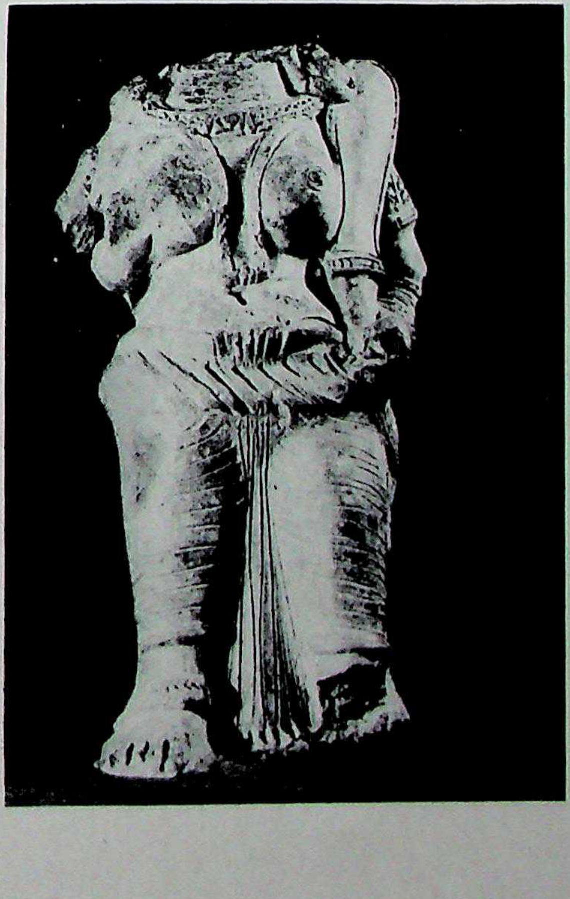
Pl. 22.1. Gaurī, Bharat Kala Bhawan, Varanasi



Pl. 22.2. Cāmuṇḍā, BKB, Varanasi

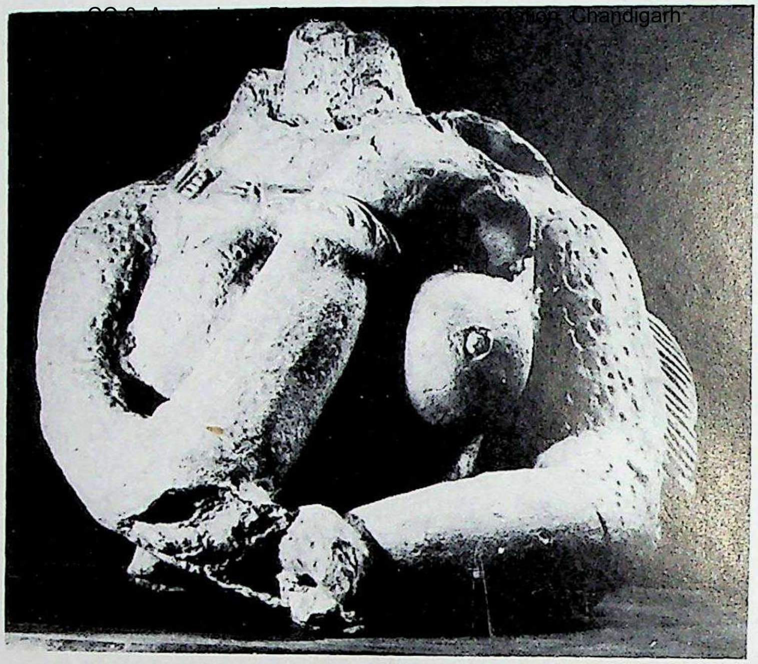


Pl. 22.3. Agni (?), BKB, Varanasi

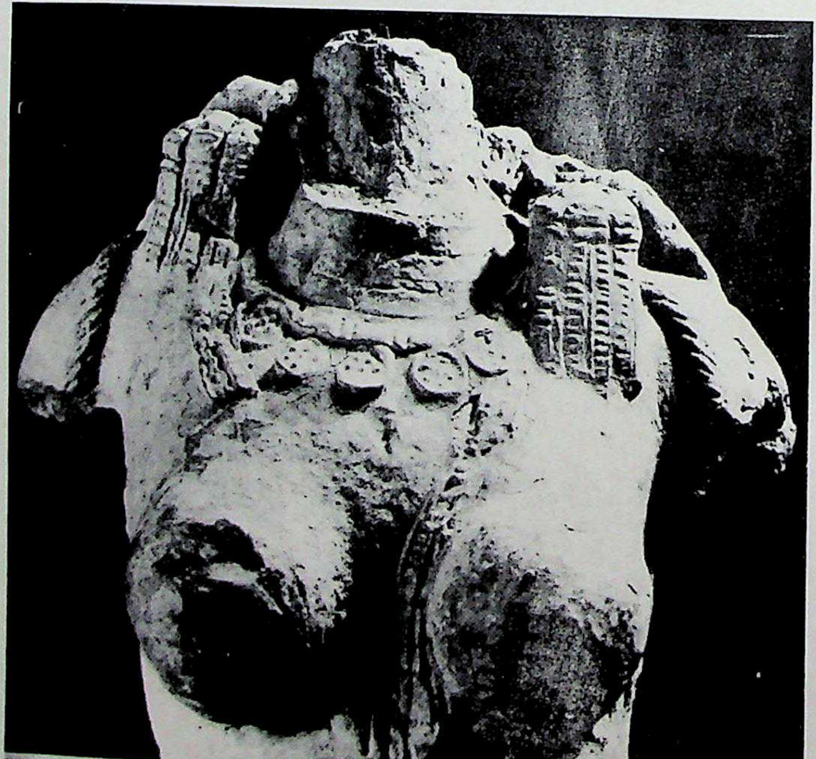


Pl. 22.4. Hāritī, BKB, Varanasi

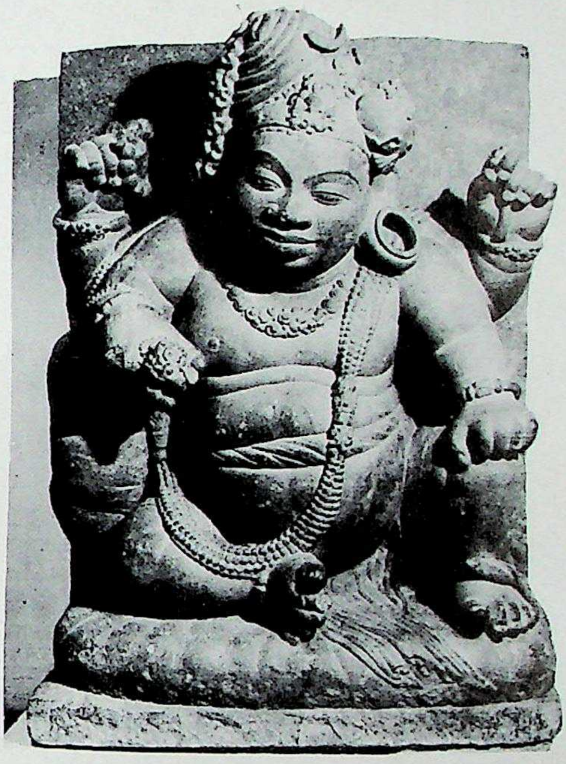
CC-0. [illegible] Digital [illegible] ndation, Chandigarh



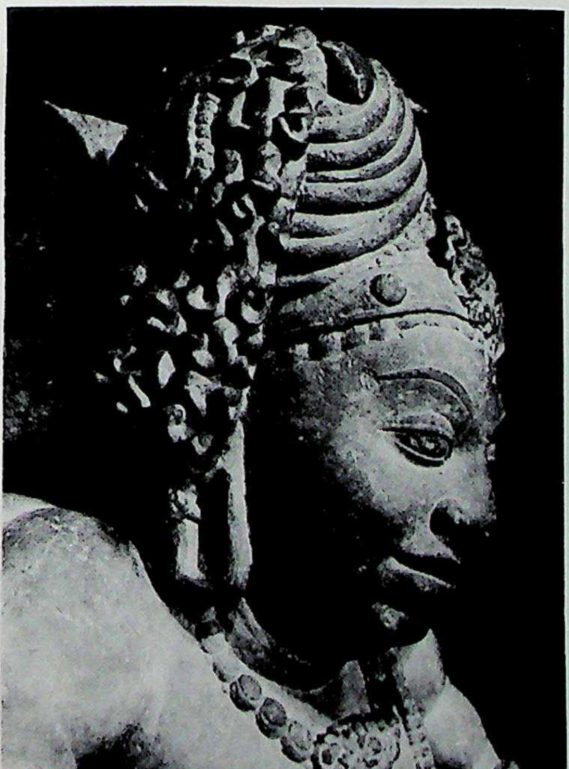
Pl. 22.5. Winged Yakṣī, BKB, Varanasi



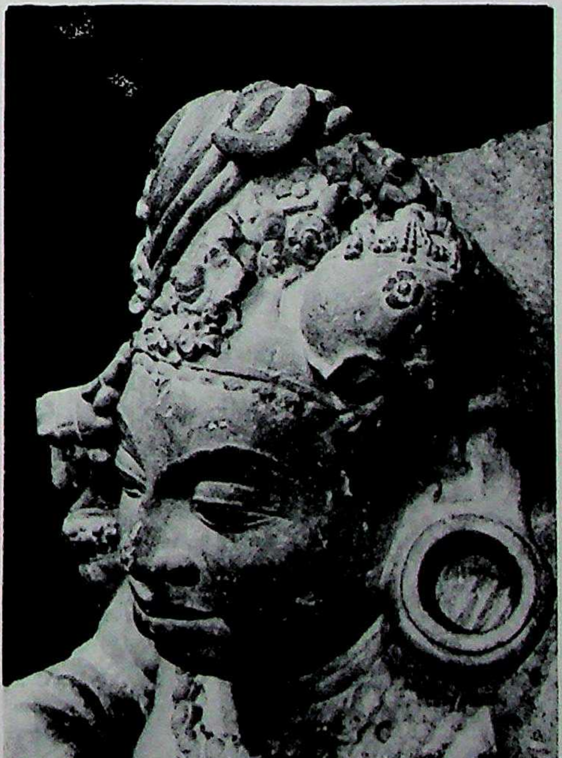
Pl. 22.6. Bust of a female, BKB, Varanasi



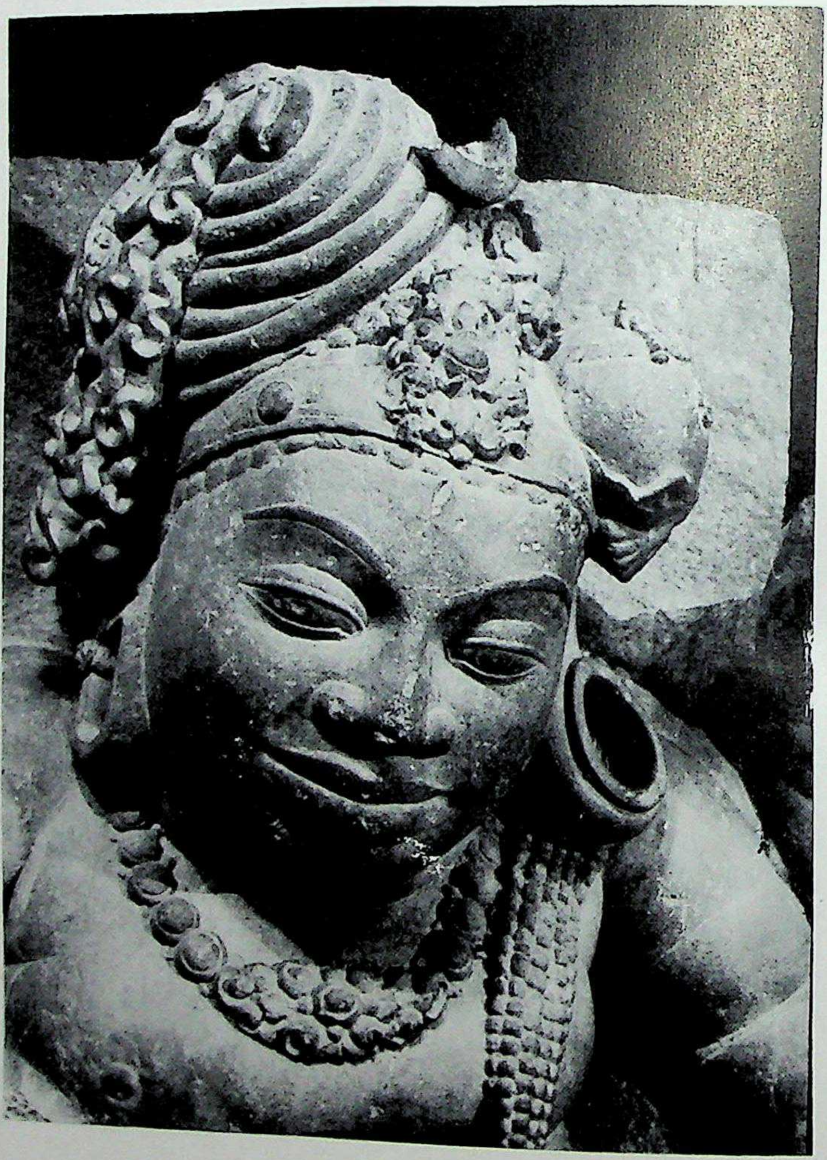
Pl. 23.1. Śiva from Mansara



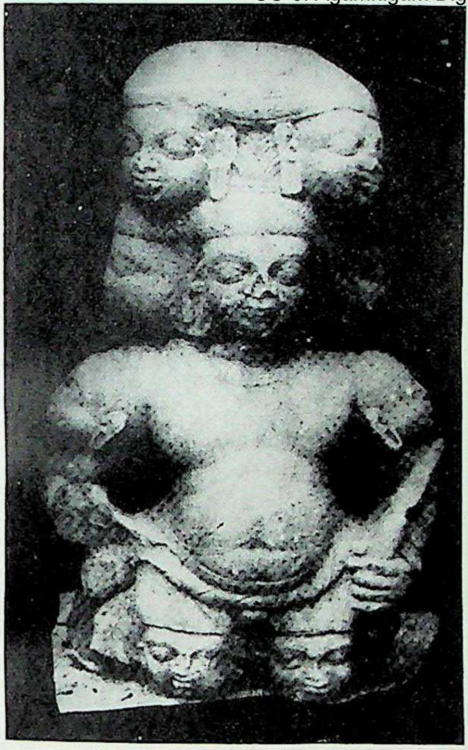
Pl. 23.2. Same, right side view



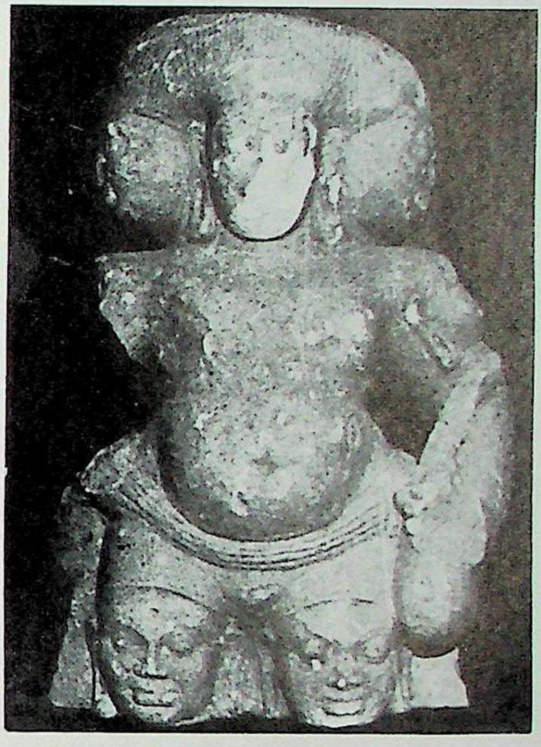
Pl. 23.3. Same, left side view



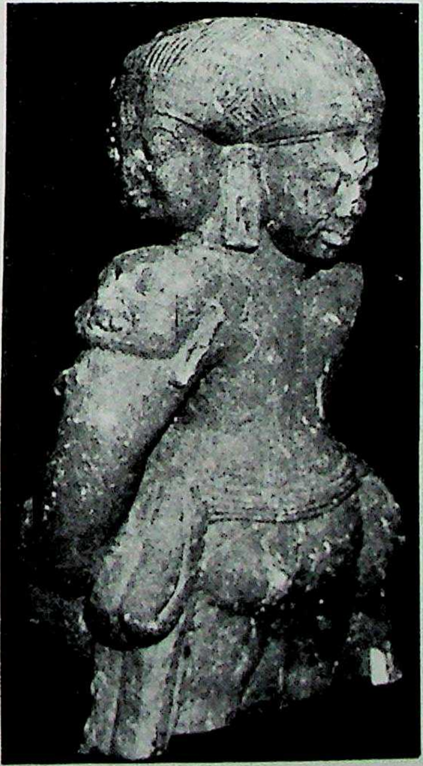
Pl. 23.4. Same, a closer view of the bust



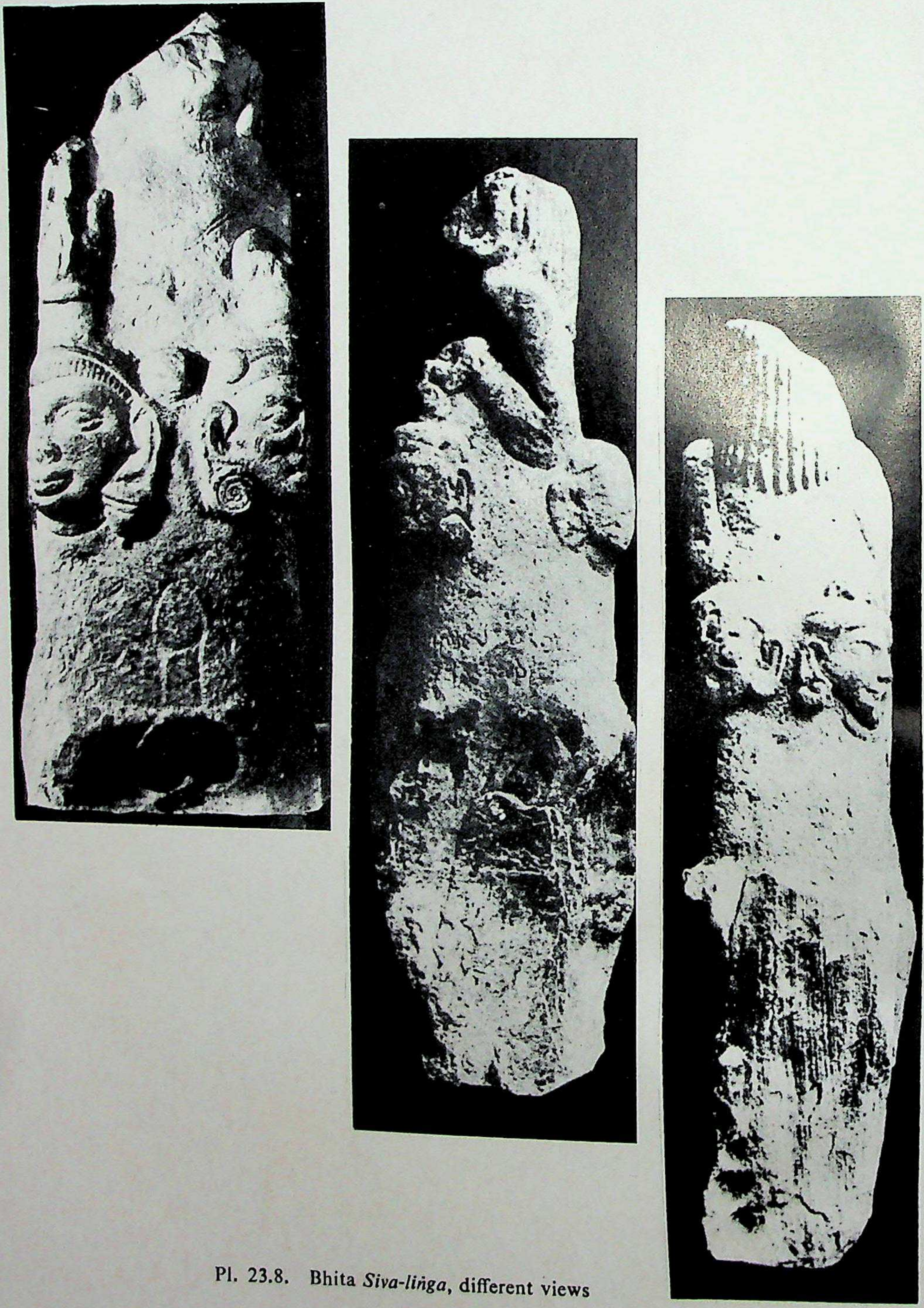
Pl. 23.5. Twelve-headed Śiva, Mandhal



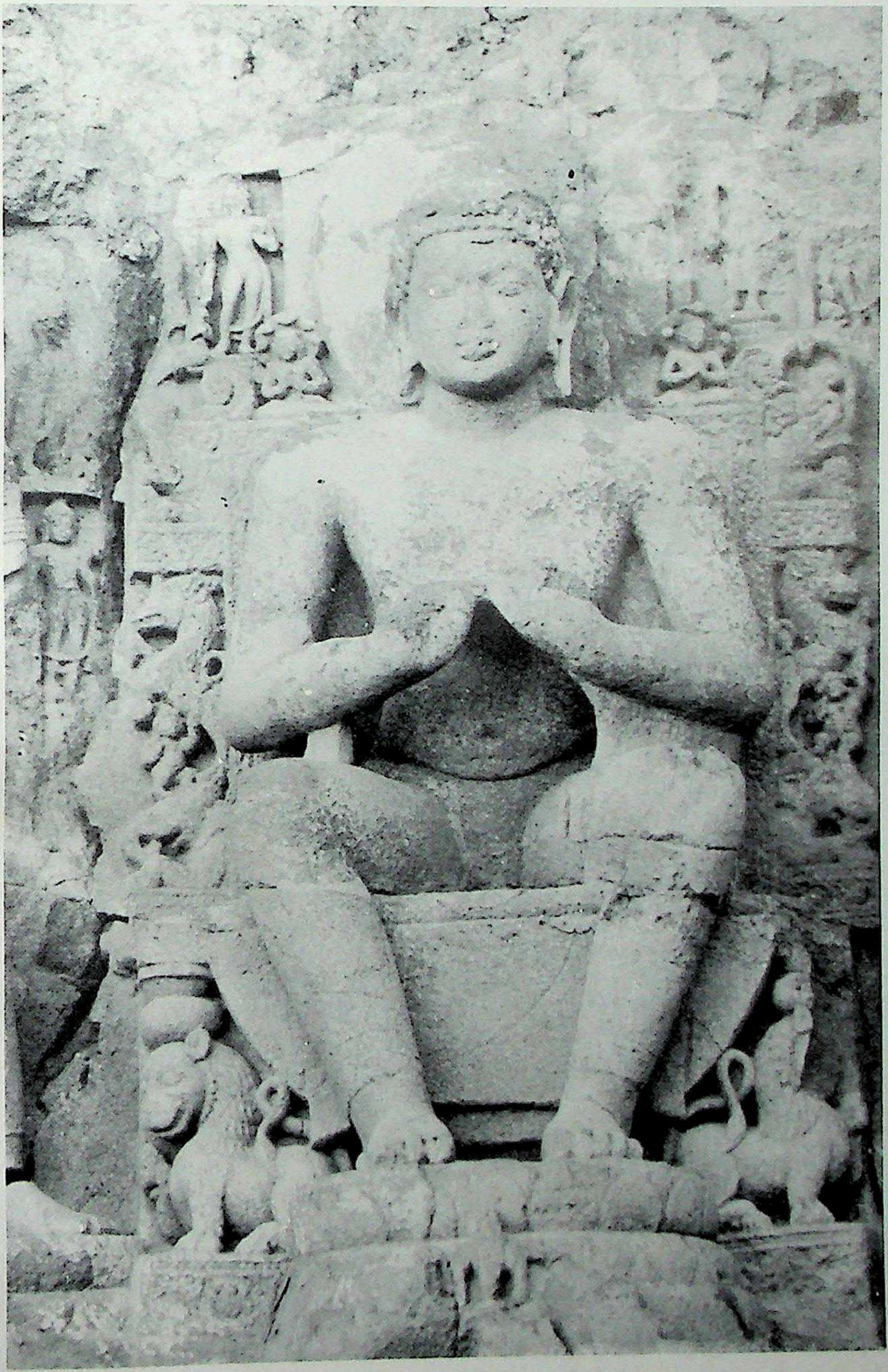
Pl. 23.6. Eight-headed Śiva, Nagpur University Museum



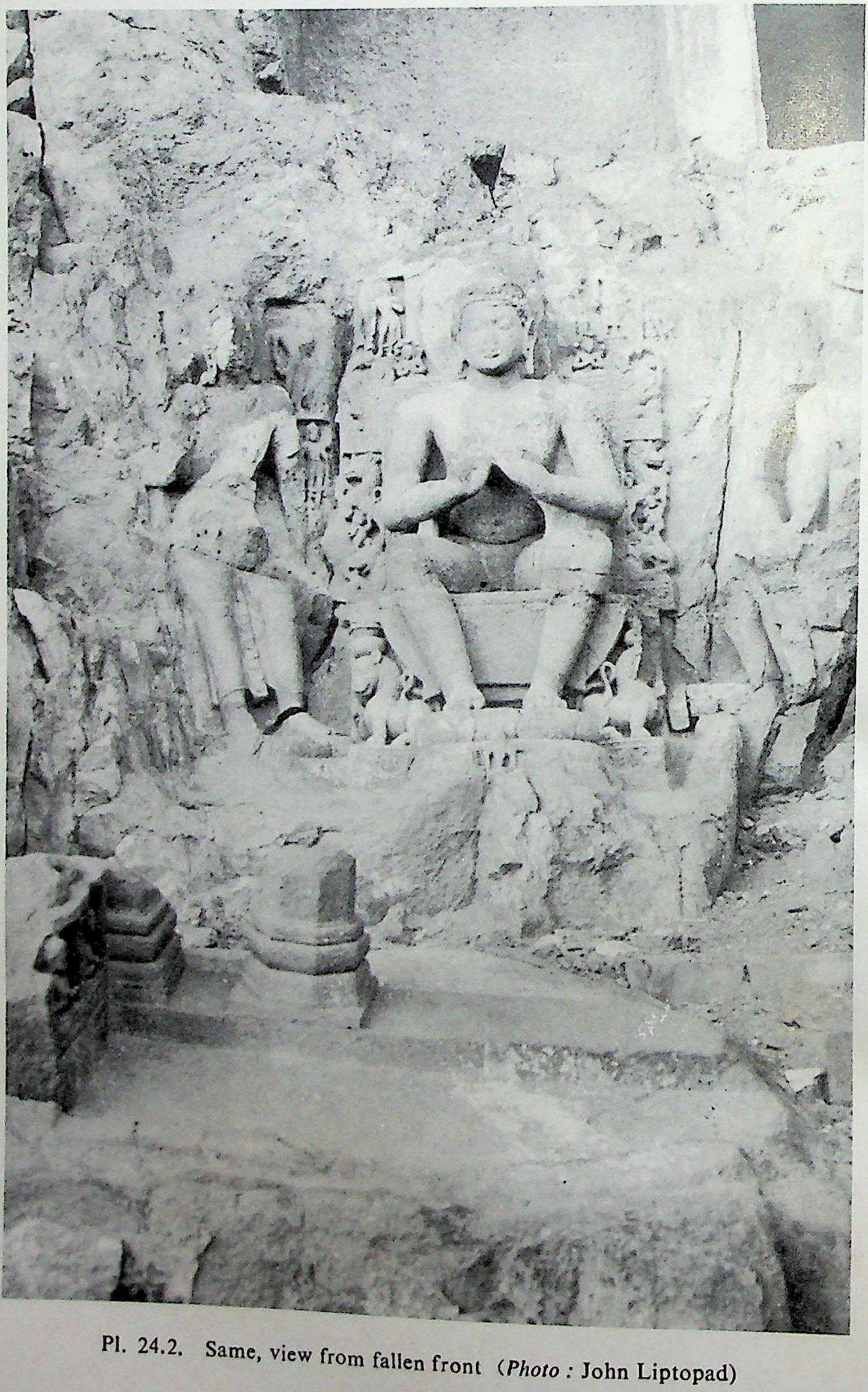
Pl. 23.7. Same, back view



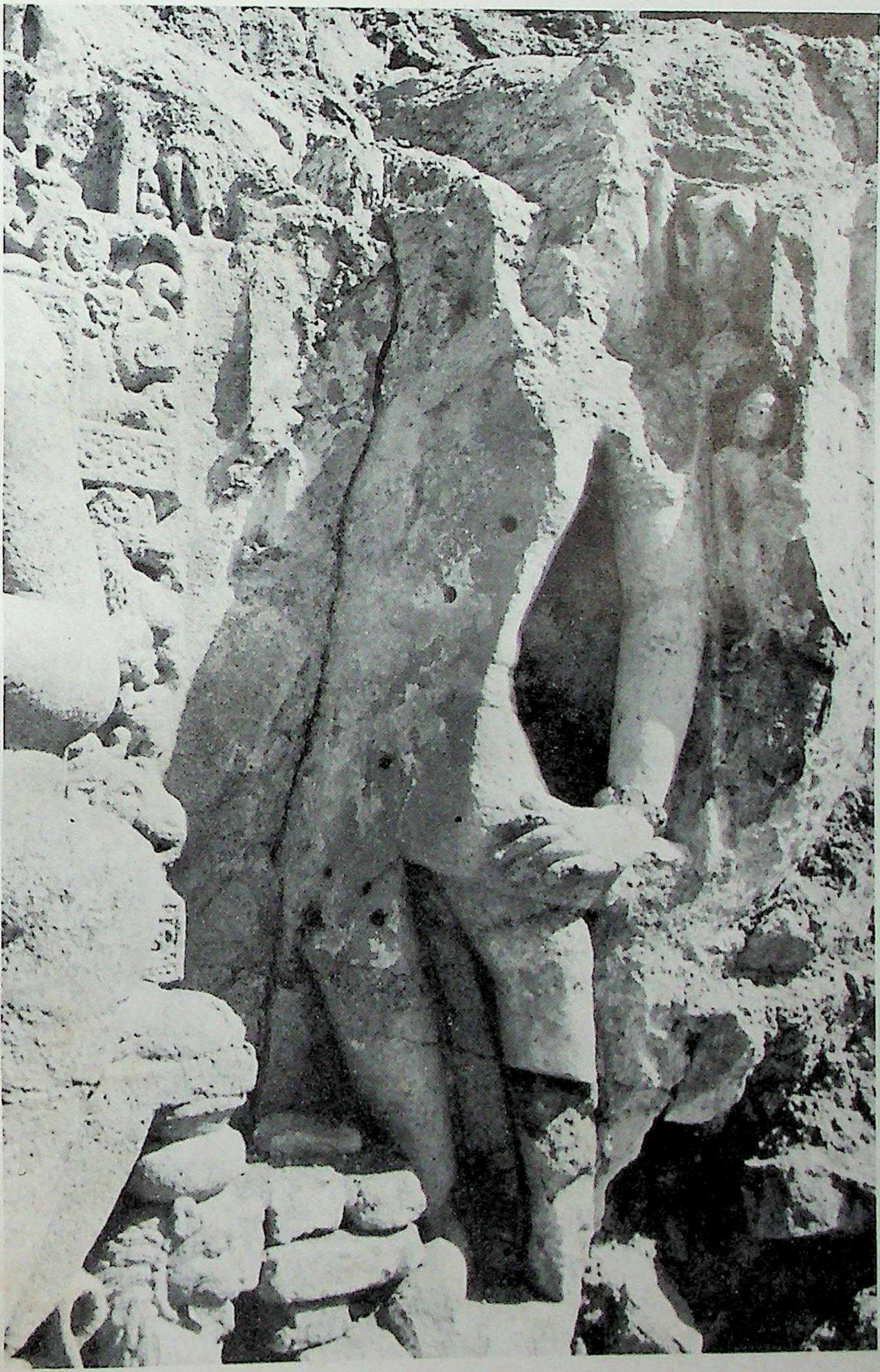
Pl. 23.8. Bhita *Siva-linga*, different views



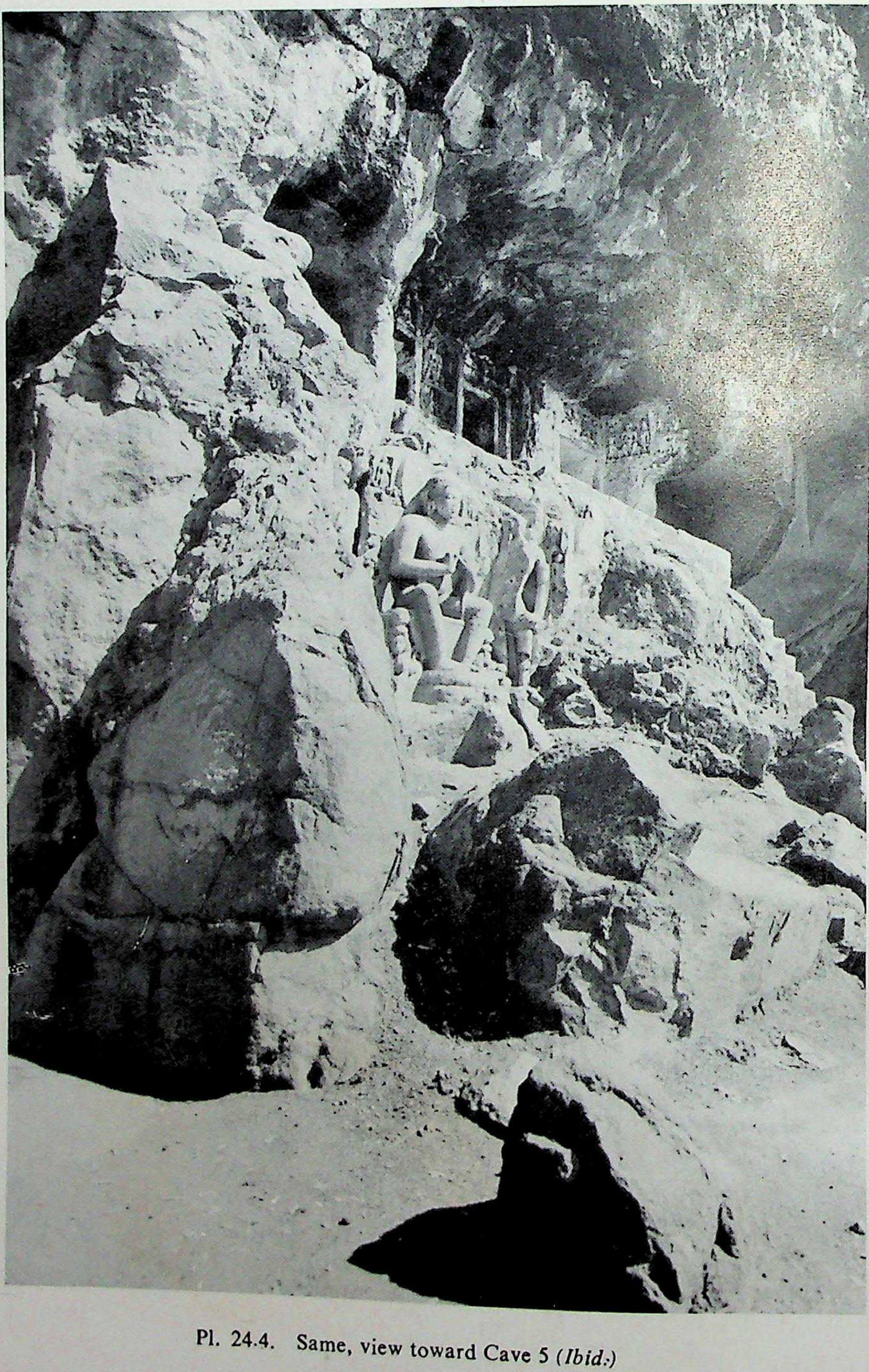
Pl. 24.1. Aurangabad Cave 4A, Buddha, c. 478 A.D. (*Photo* : John Liptopad)



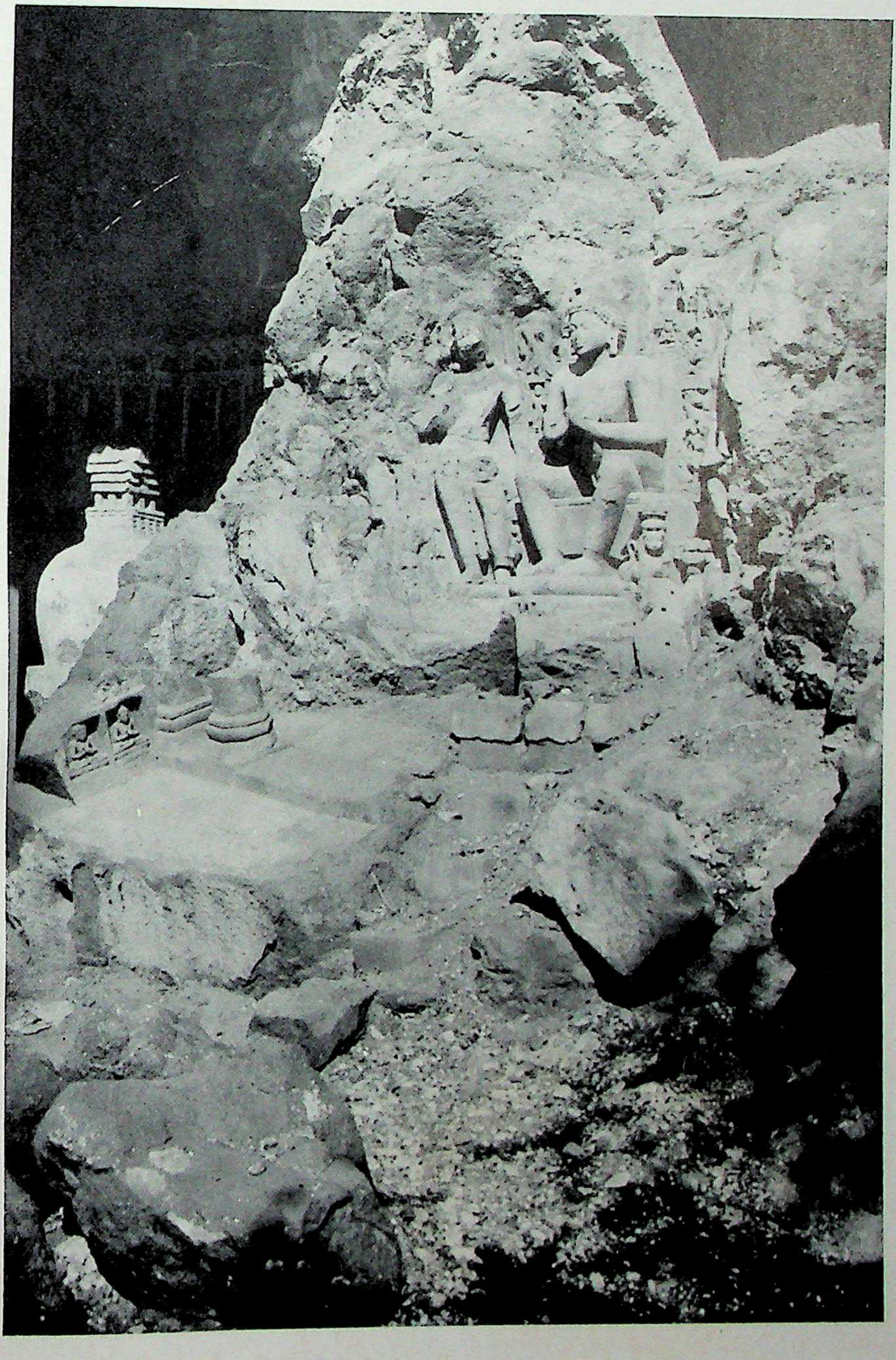
Pl. 24.2. Same, view from fallen front (*Photo :* John Liptopad)



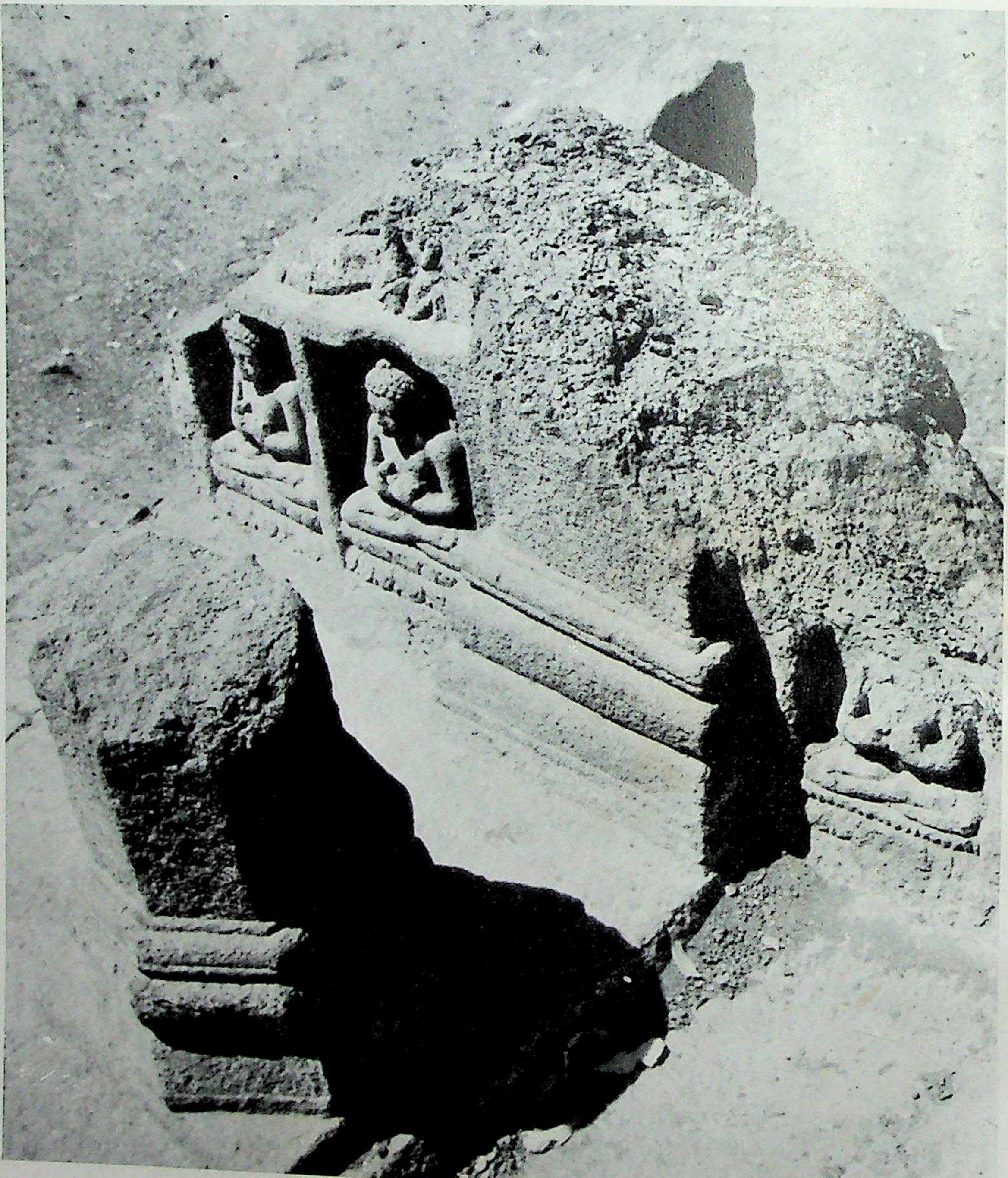
Pl. 24.3. Same, details at right (*Photo* : AAAUM)



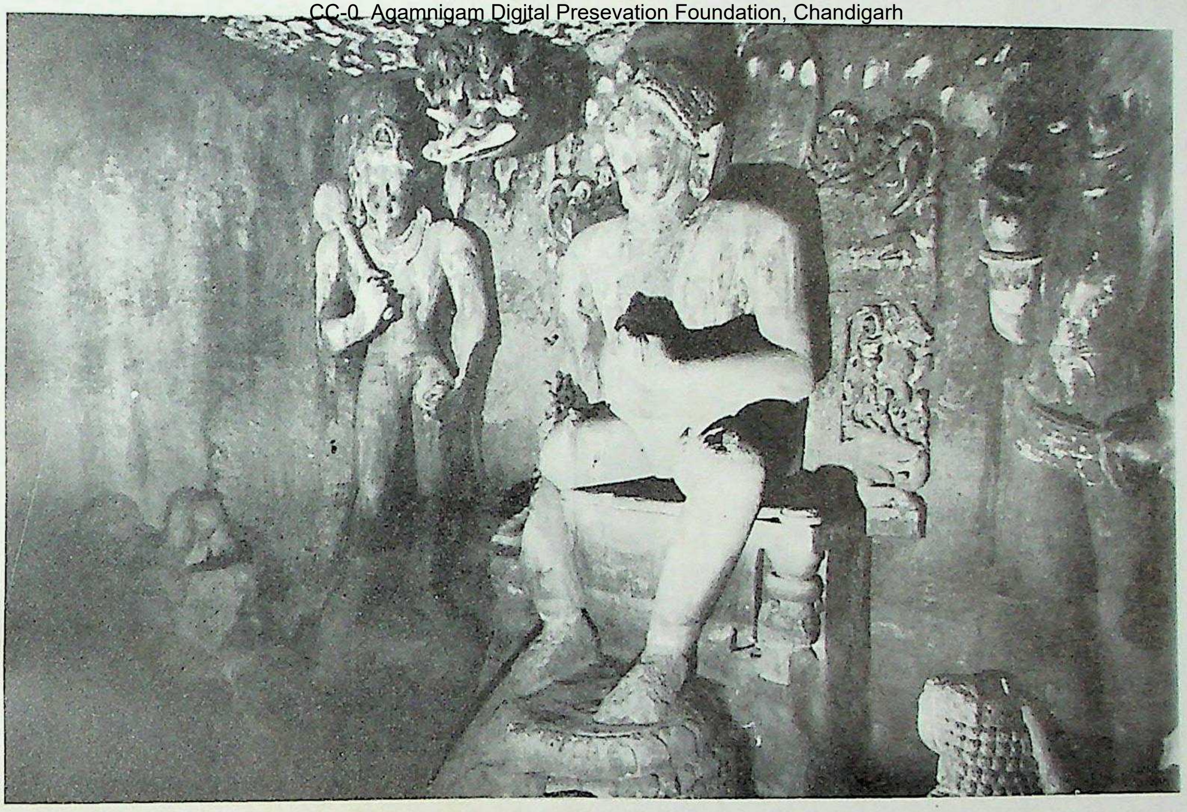
Pl. 24.4. Same, view toward Cave 5 *(Ibid.)*



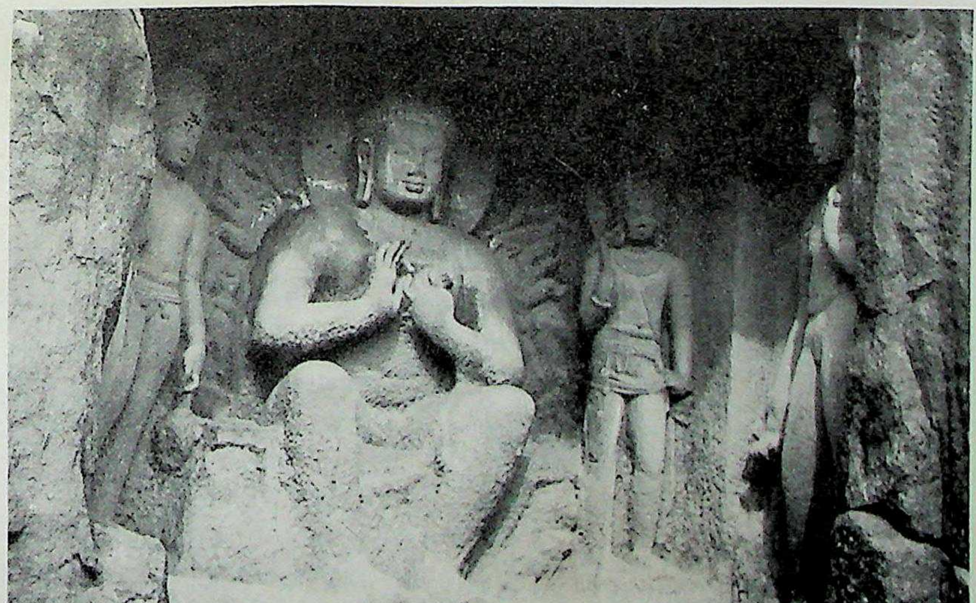
Pl. 24.5. Same, view toward Cave 4 (*Ibid.*)



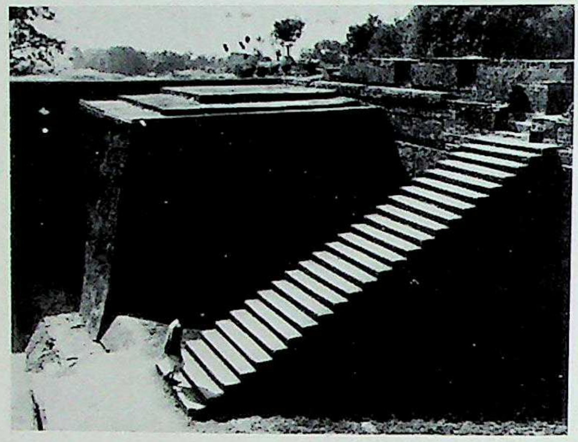
Pl. 24.6. Same, intrusive images at left of broken porch c. 479 A.D. (*Ibid.*)



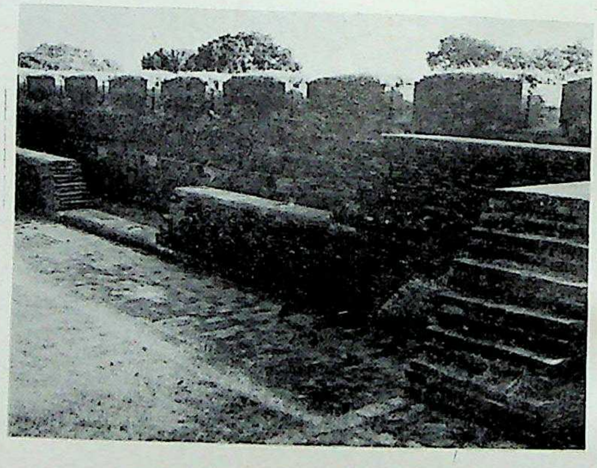
Pl. 24.7. Aurangabad Cave 3 shrine



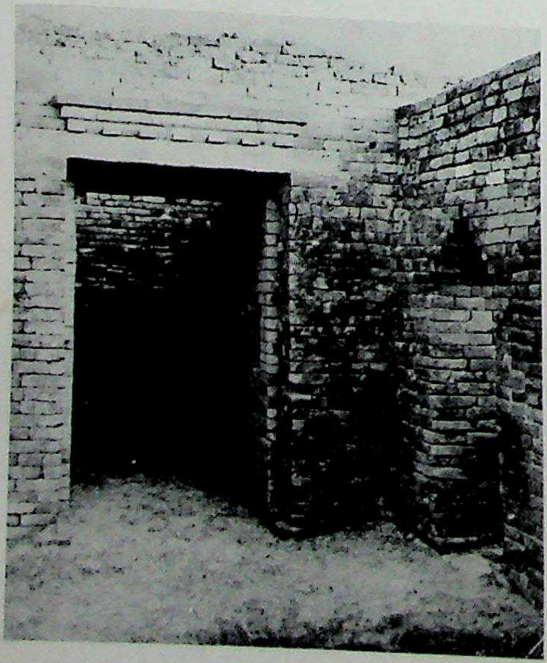
Pl. 24.8. Ajanta Cave 9B



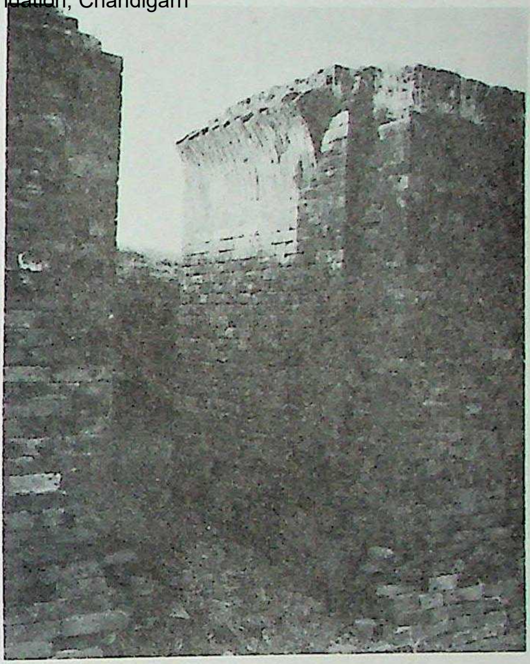
Pl. 25.1. Three upper levels and staircase, Mon. 1, Nālandā



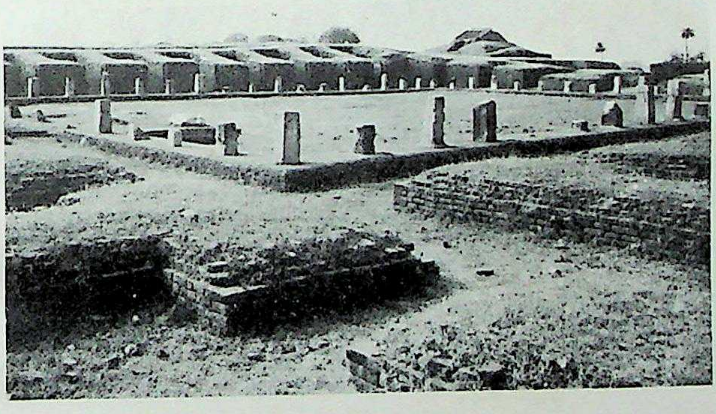
Pl. 25.2. Successive levels, Mon. 7, Nālandā



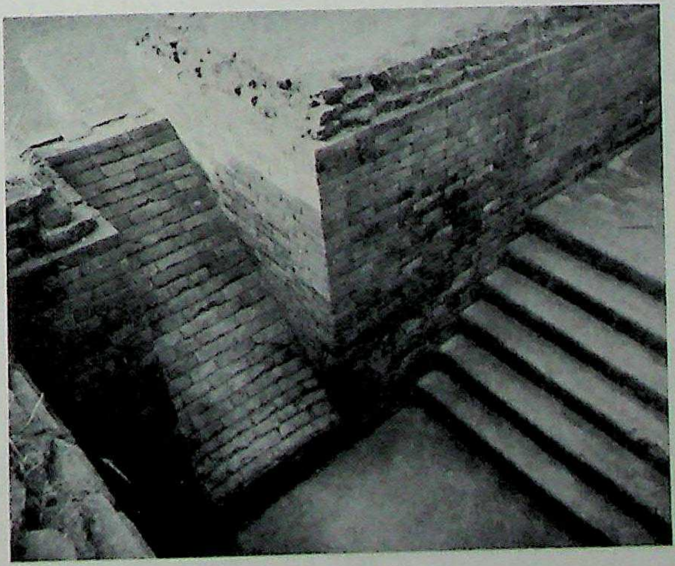
Pl. 25.3. Cornice above entrance, Mon. 8, Nālandā



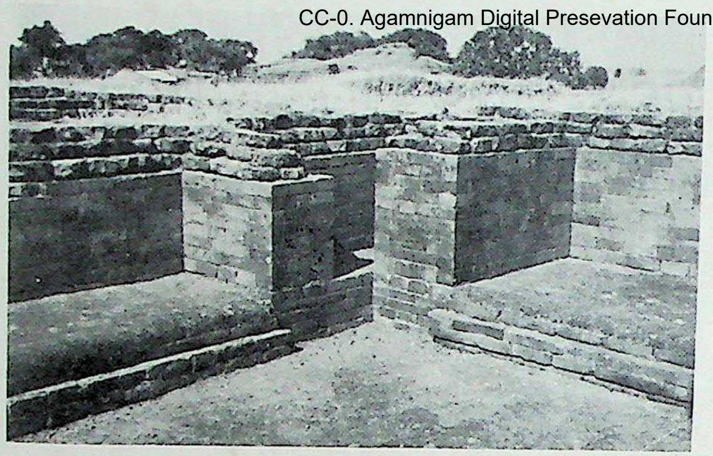
Pl. 25.4. Arched doorways, Mon. 10, Nālandā



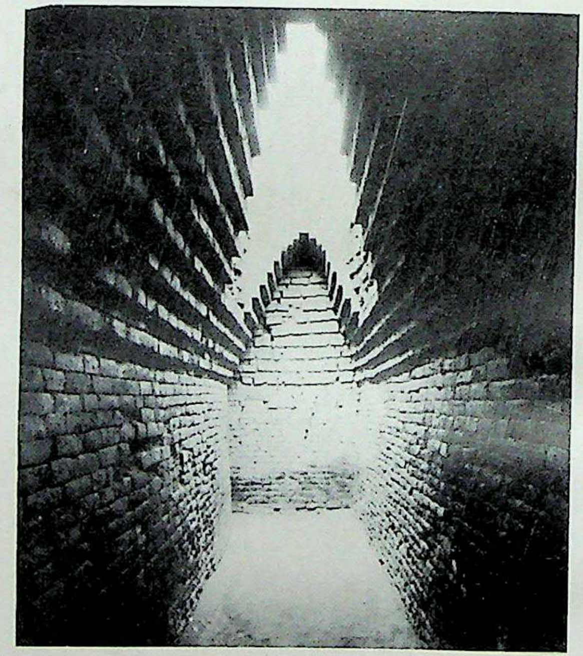
Pl. 25.5. General view, Mon. 11, Nālandā



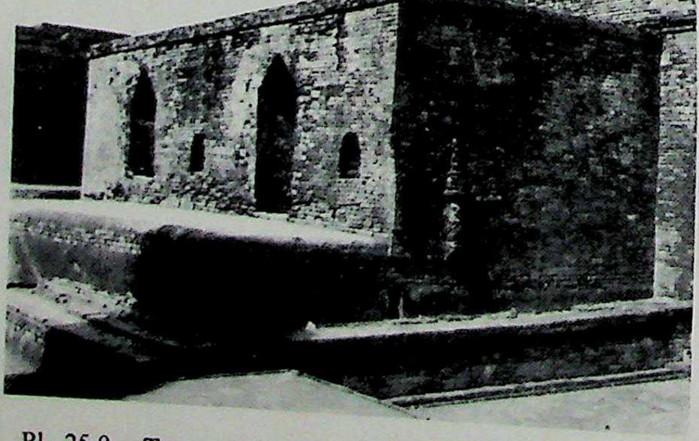
Pl. 25.6. Sky-light windows & staircase, Mon. 4, Nālandā



Pl. 25.7. Double-bed...recesses and niches, Mon. 1, Nālandā

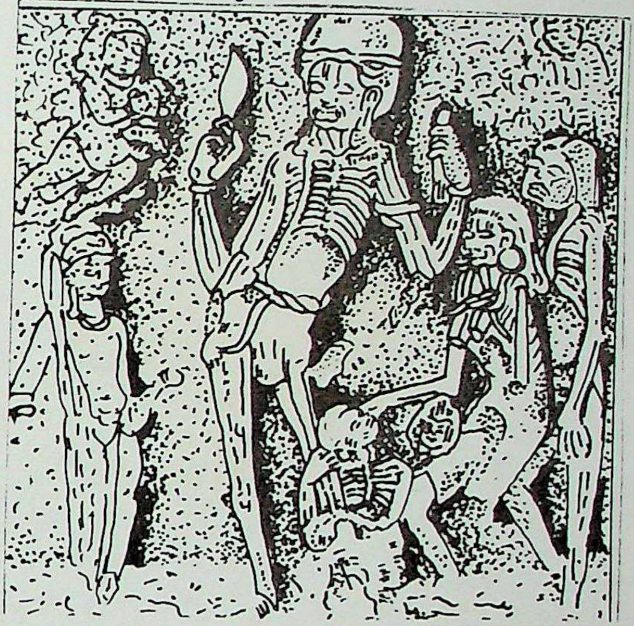


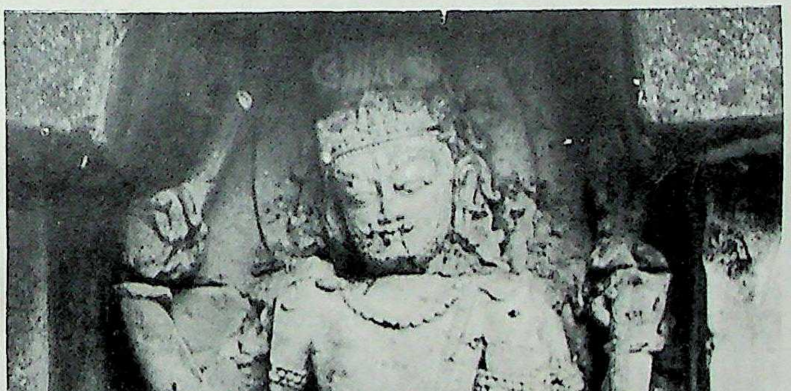
Pl. 25.8. Circumambulatory passage with corbelling, Mon. 4, Nālandā



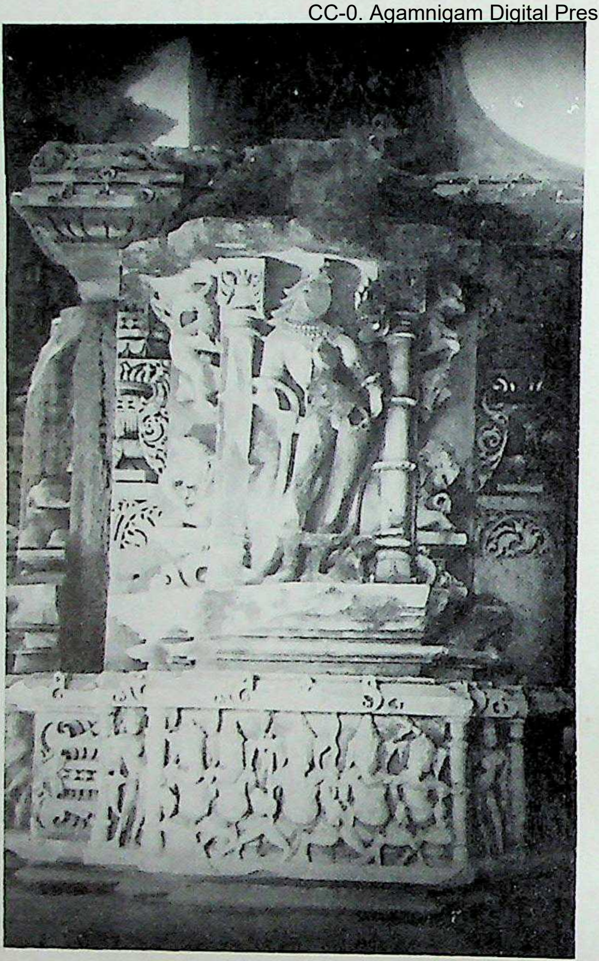
Pl. 25.9. Two meditation chambers, Mon. 1, Nālandā

Pl. 28.1. Panel showing Atiriktāṅga Bhairava, Ellora

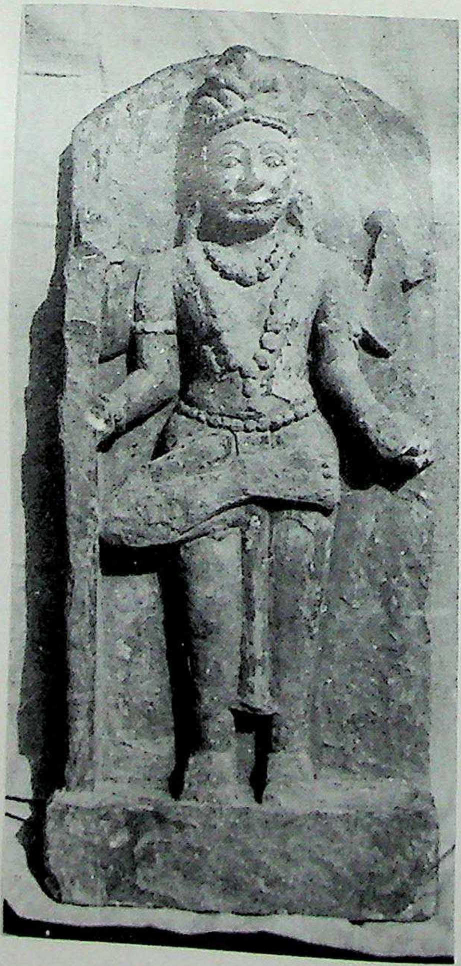




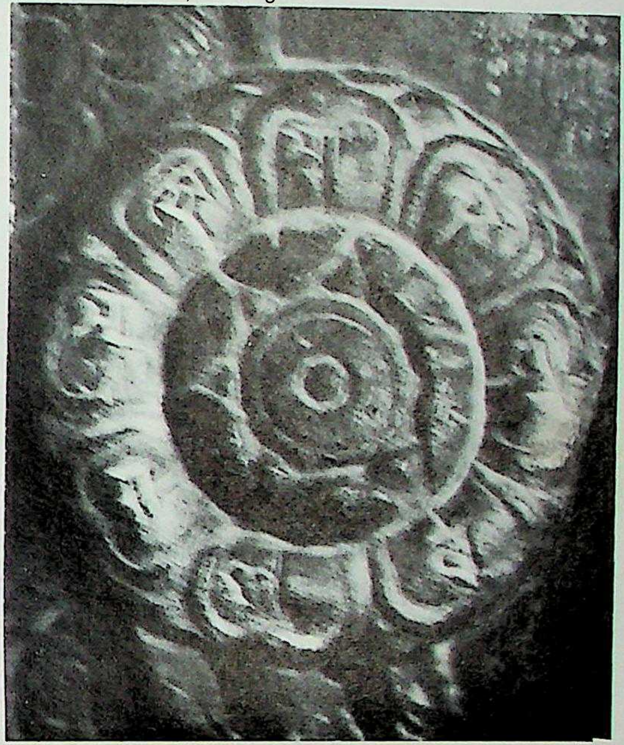
Pl. 28.2. Standing deity identified as Atiriktāṅga Bhairava, Mukhaliṅgeśvara Temple



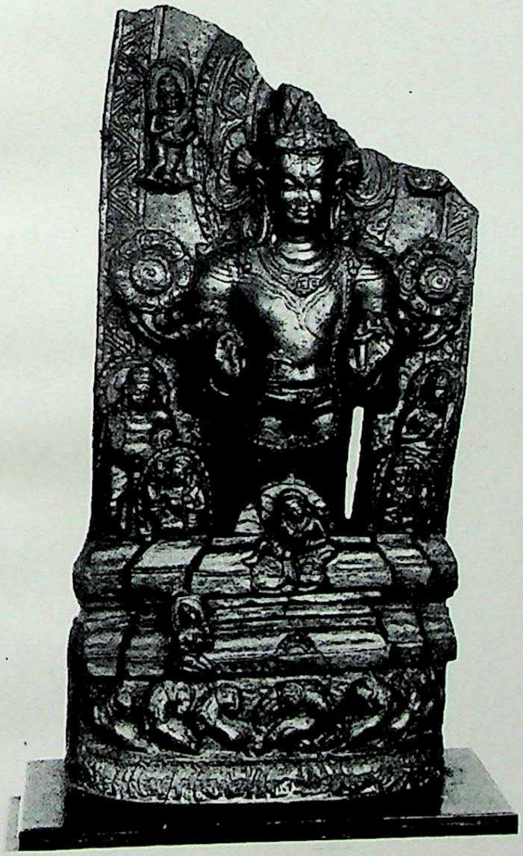
Pl. 28.3. Three-legged goddess, Temple No. 1, Kiradu



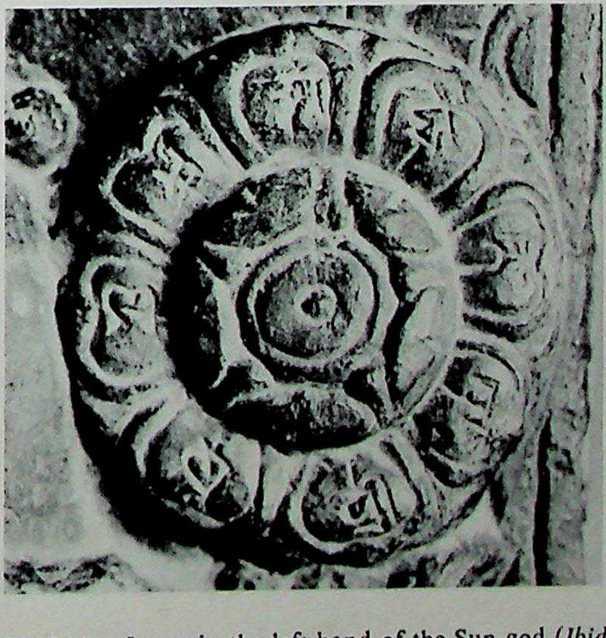
Pl. 28.4. Image of Atiriktāṅga Bhairava, Delhi



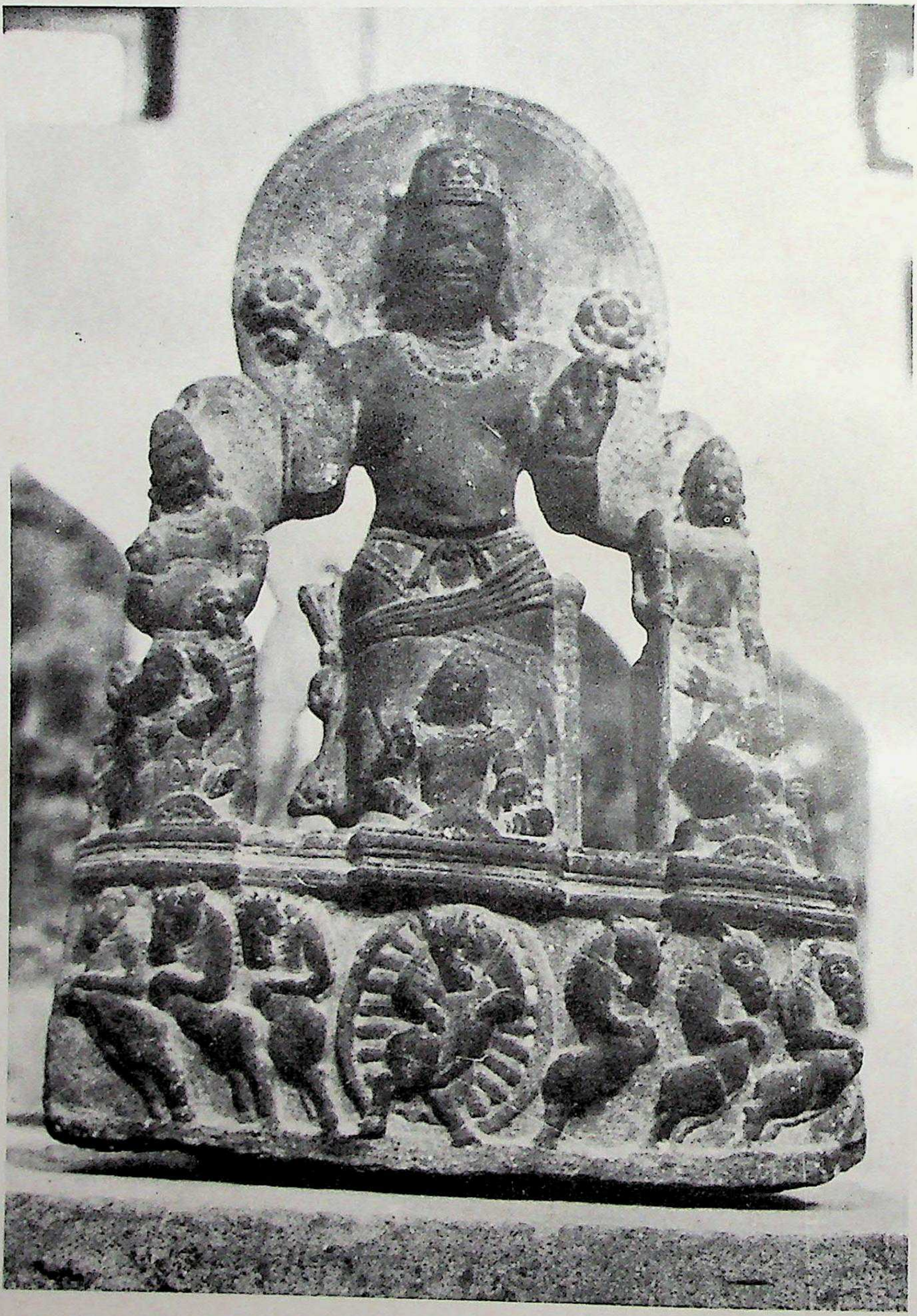
Pl. 31.2. Lotus in the right hand of the Sun-god (*Copy right:* State Directorate of Archaeology, West Bengal)



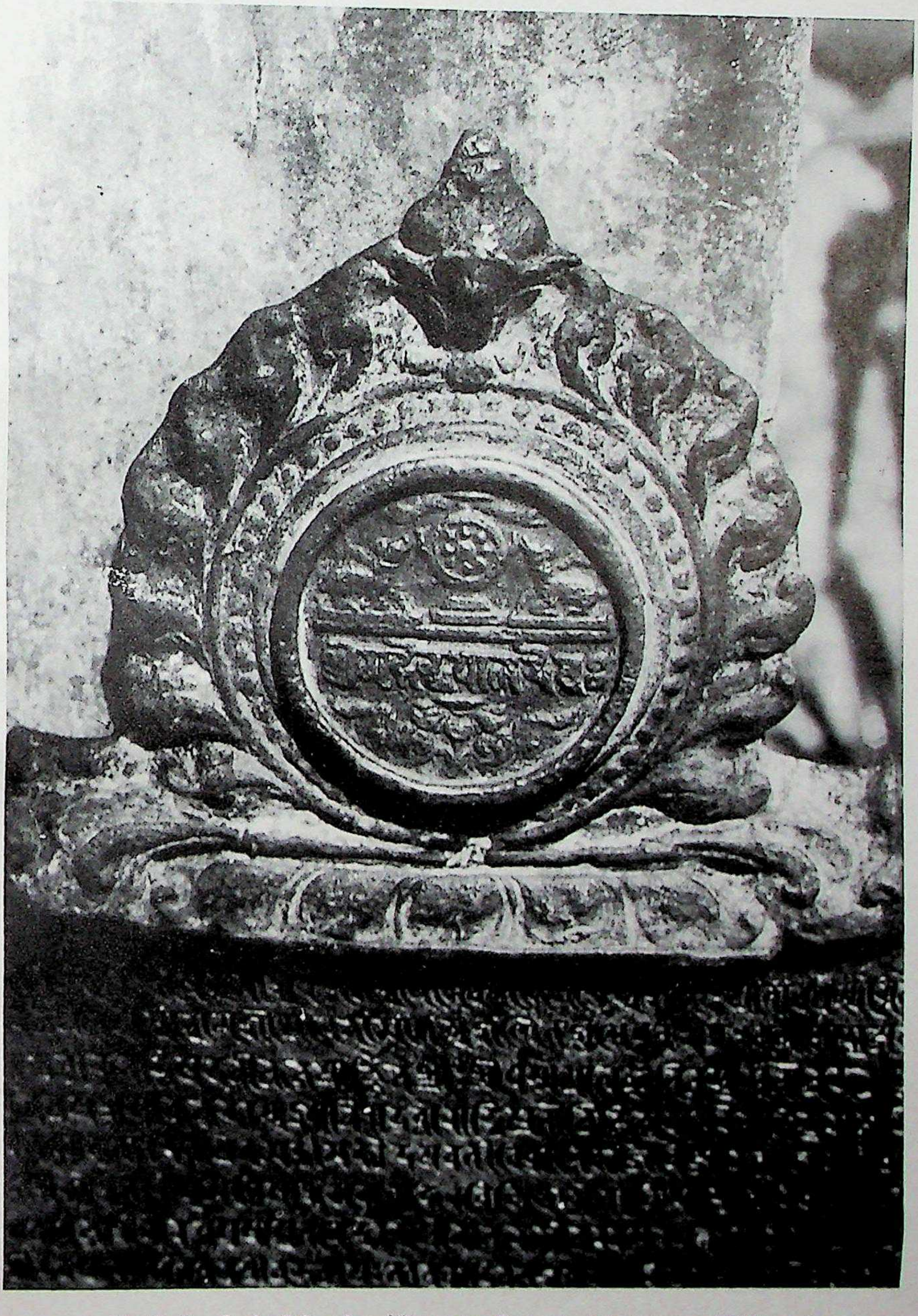
Pl. 31.1. Mahisantosh image of the Sun-god, c. 9th century A.D. State Arch. Gallery, West Bengal, Calcutta



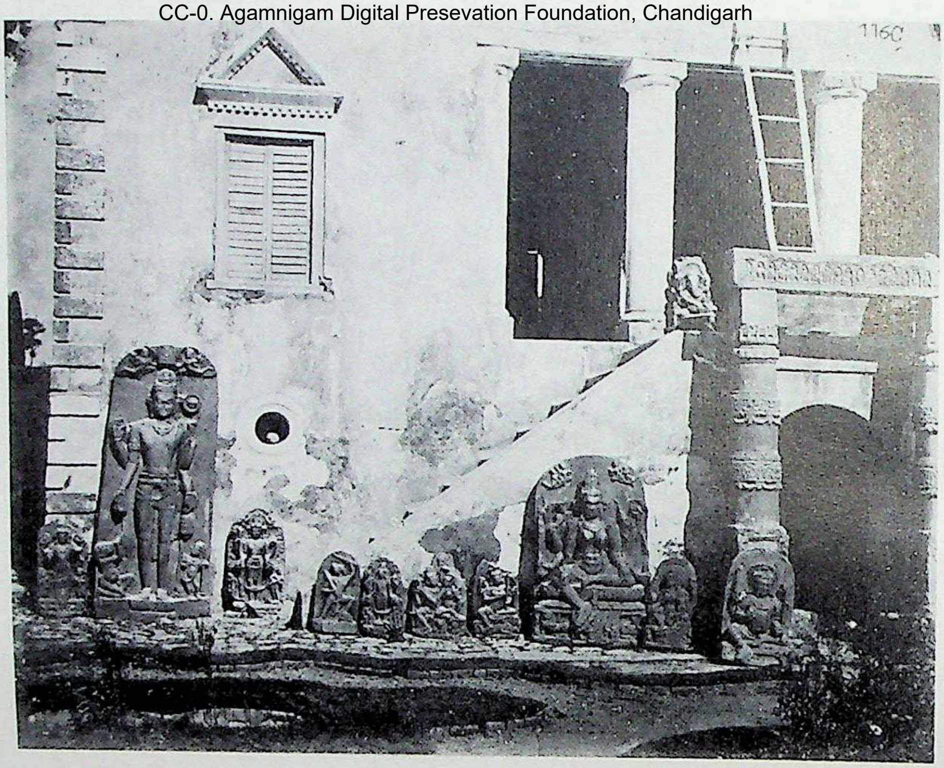
Pl. 31.3. Lotus in the left hand of the Sun-god (*Ibid.*)



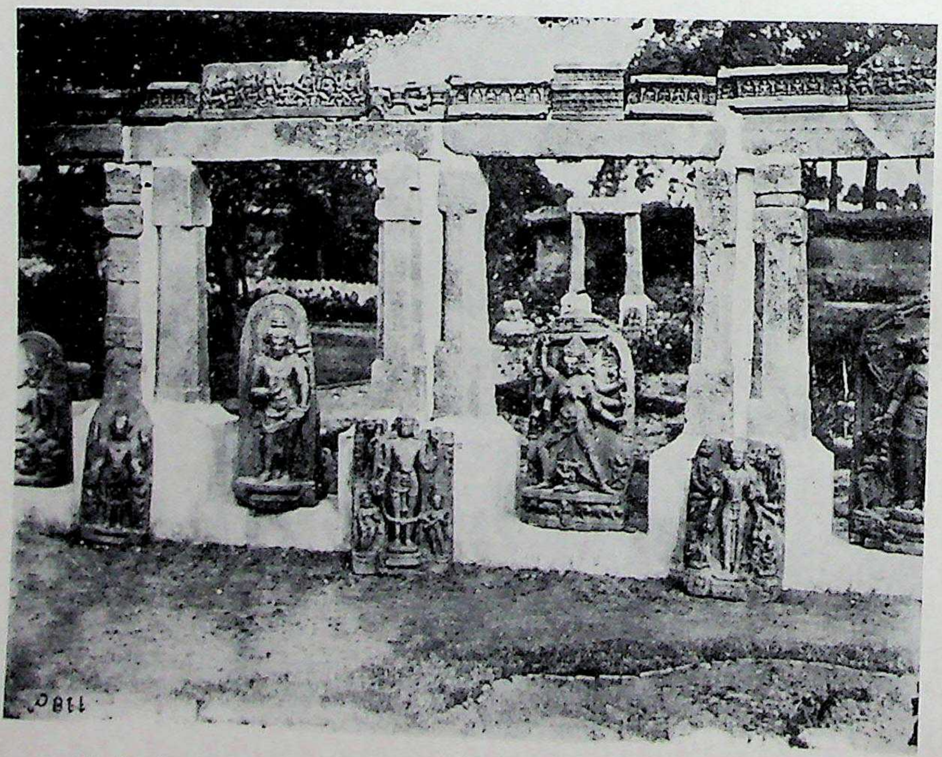
Pl. 31.4. Deora image of the Sun-god, c. 7th century A.D. *(Courtesy :* V. R. Museum, Rajshahi)



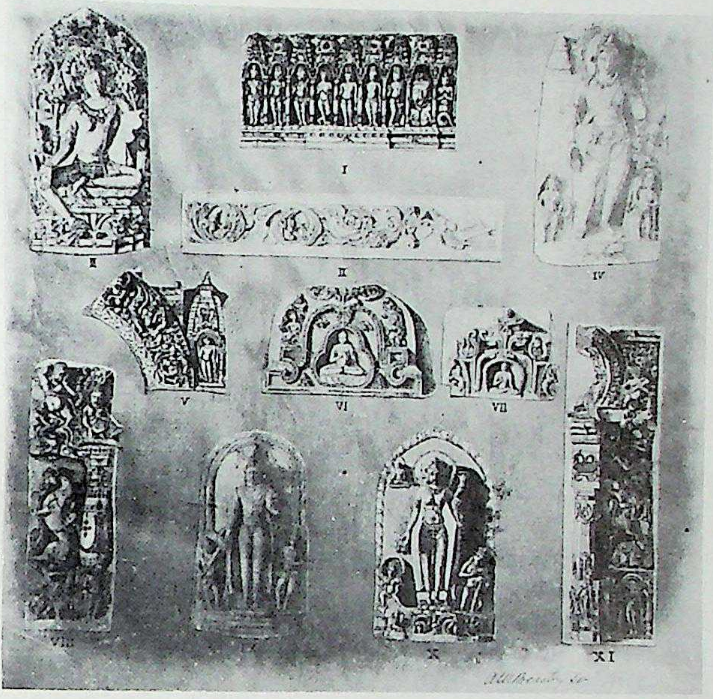
Pl. 31.5. Seal of the Jagajjibanpur Copper-plate grant of Pāla ruler Mahendrapala, regnal year 7 (*Courtesy:* Malda Museum, West Bengal)



Pl. 32.1. The Broadley Collection (*Copy right:* IOLR, London)



Pl. 32.2. The Broadley Collection (*Copy right:* IOLR, London)


I
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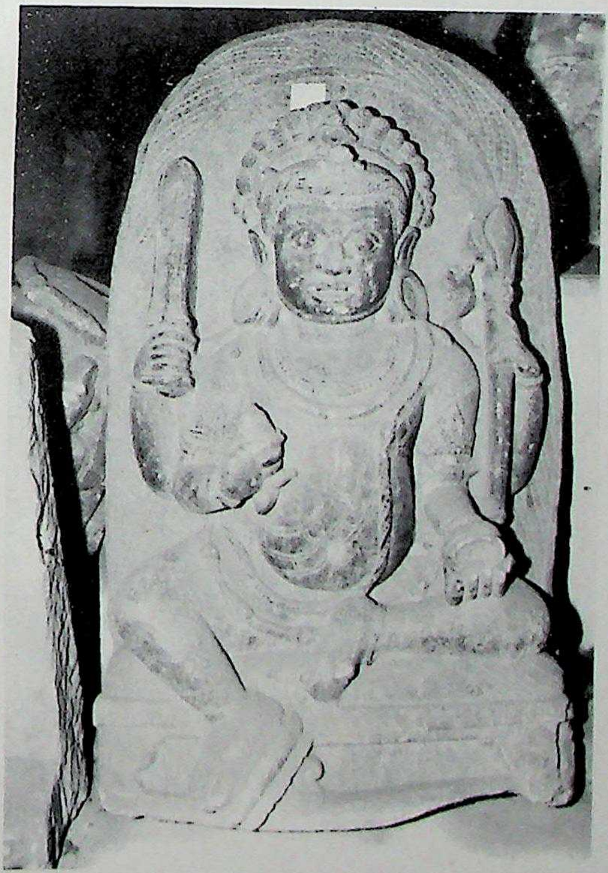
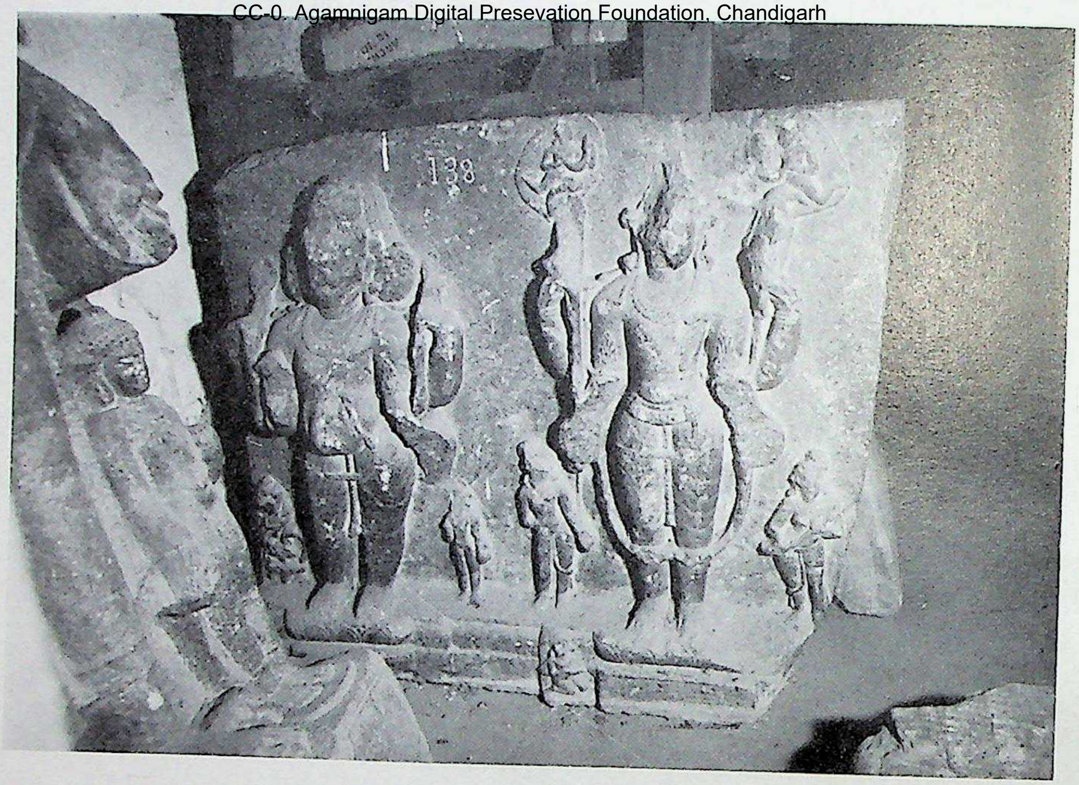
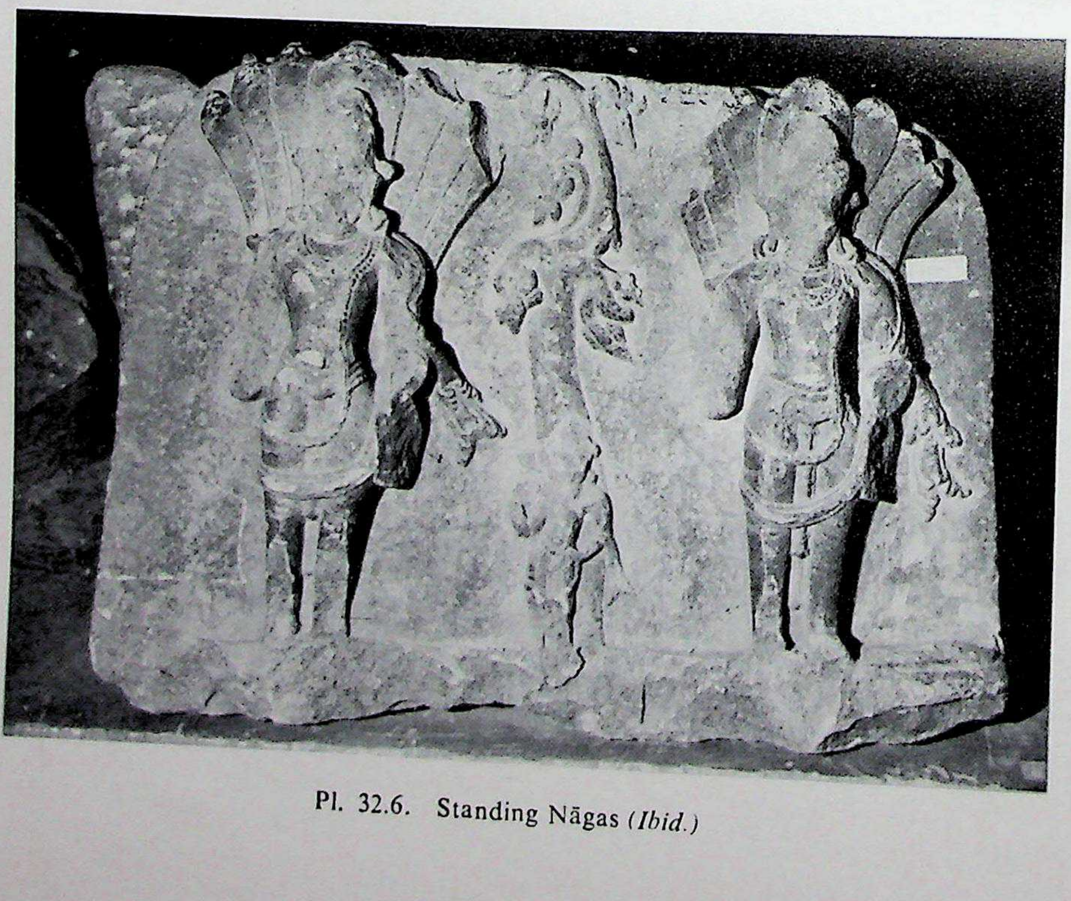
Pl. 32.3. The Broadley Collection *(Copy right:* IOLR, London)



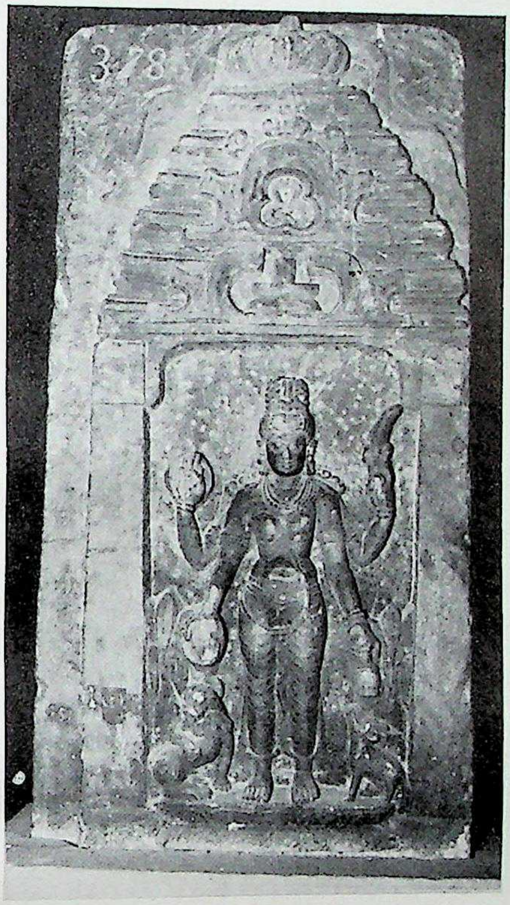
Pl. 32.4. Bhairava *(Copy right:* Joachim Bautze)



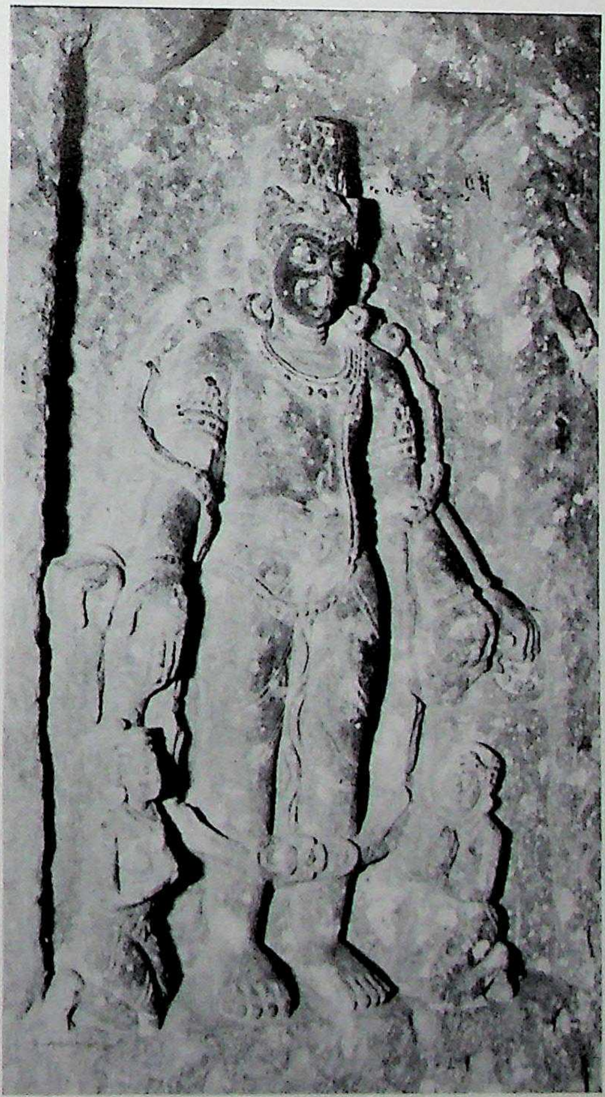
Pl. 32.5. Brahmā and Viṣṇu *(Ibid.)*



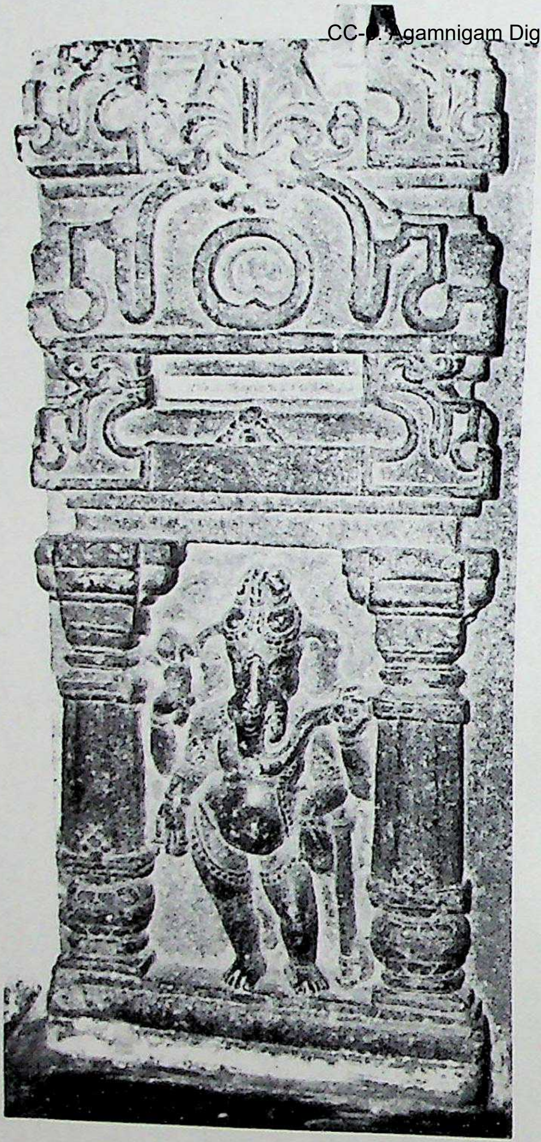
Pl. 32.6. Standing Nāgas *(Ibid.)*



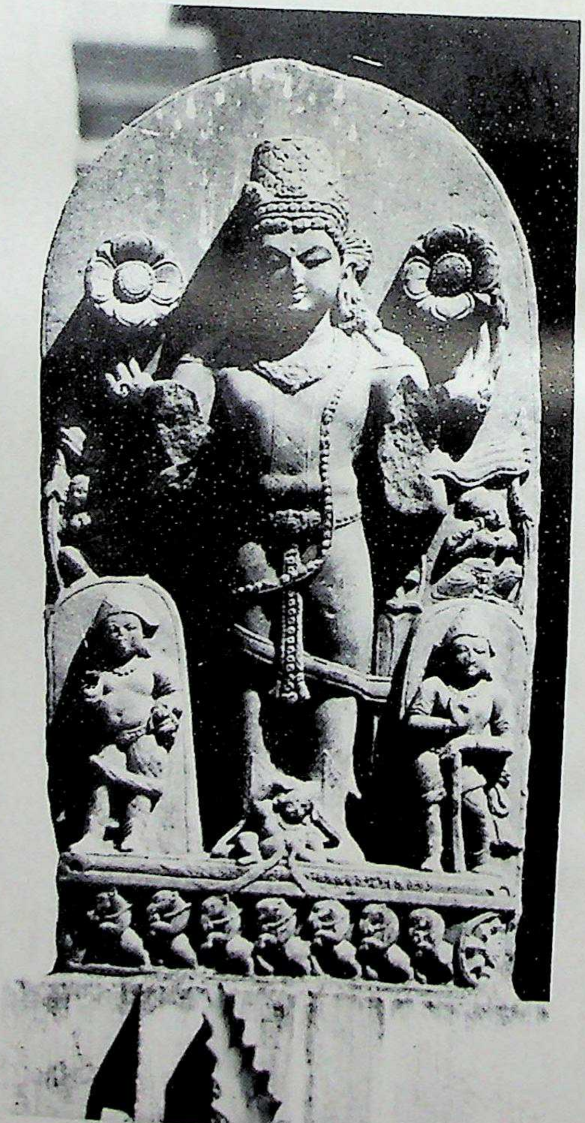
Pl. 32.7. Slab showing Devī



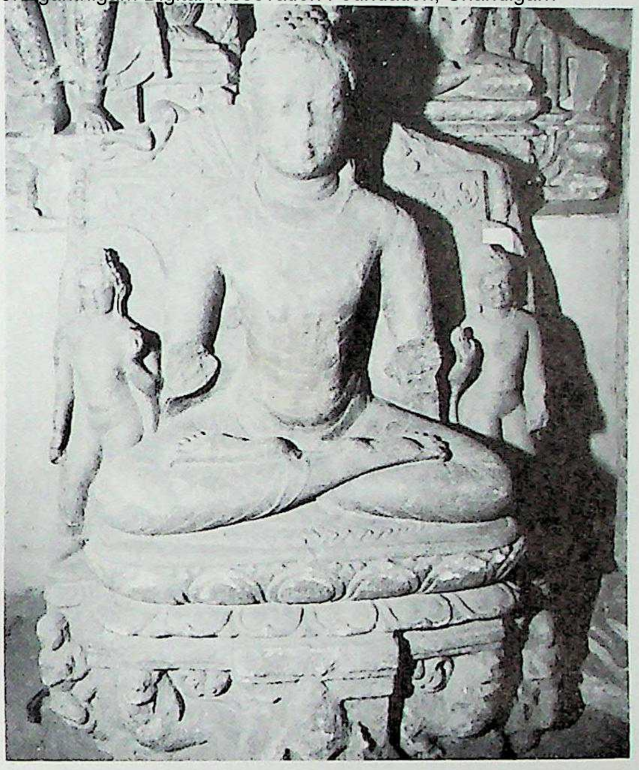
Pl. 32.8. Slab showing Viṣṇu



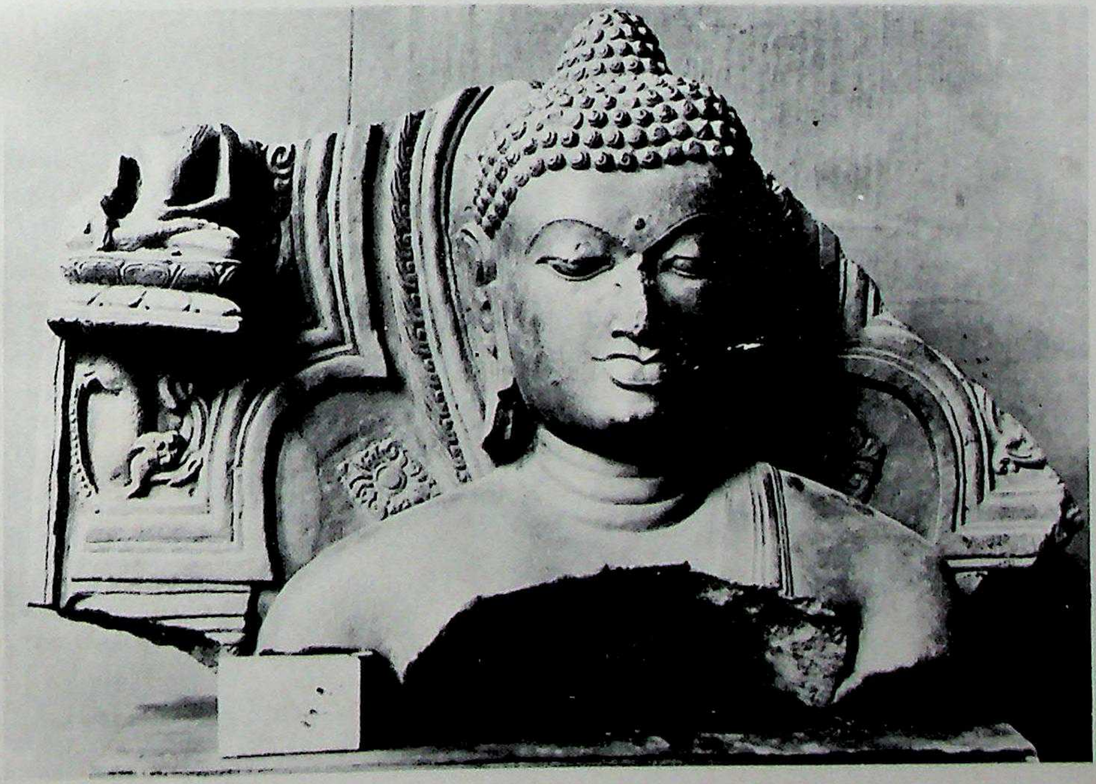
Pl. 32.9. Slab showing Gaṇeśa



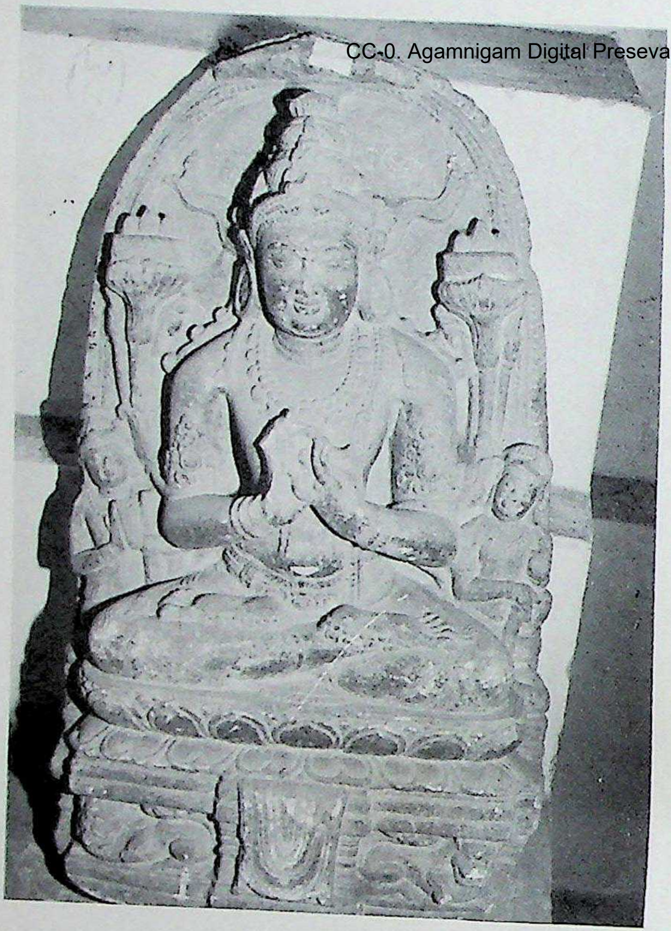
Pl. 32.10. Sūrya *(Copy right:* Joachin Bautze)



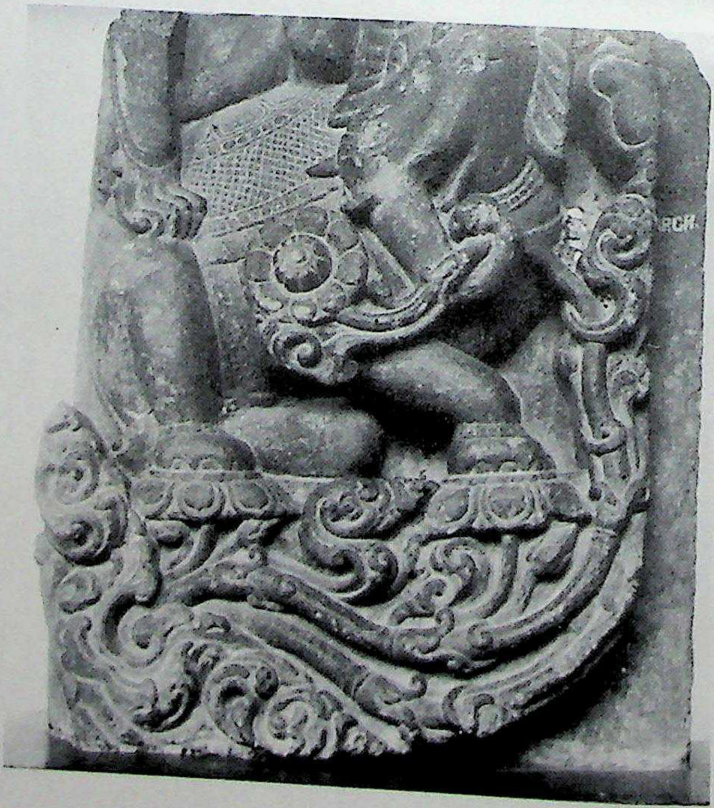
Pl. 32.11. Buddha *(Ibid.)*



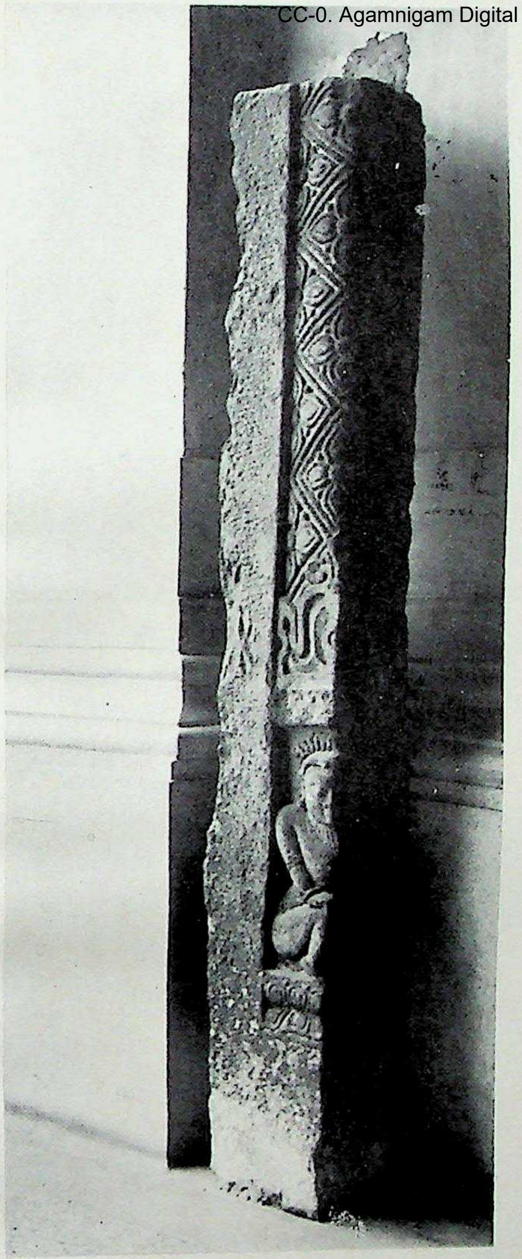
Pl. 32.12. Buddha's head *(Copy right :* MIK, Berlin)



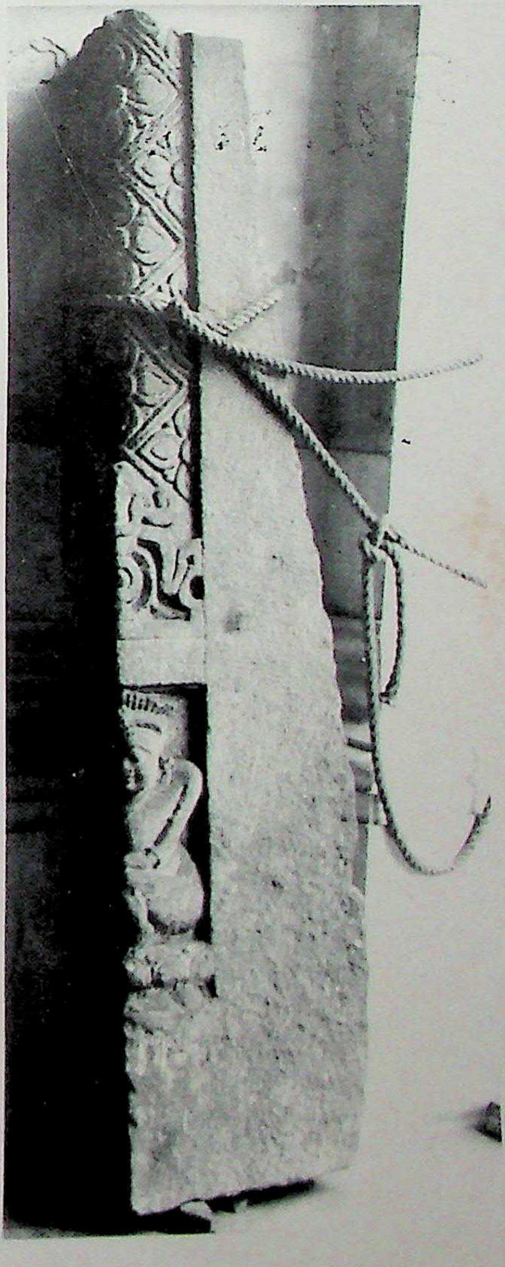
Pl. 32.13. Mañjuśri (*Copy right*: Joachim Bautze)



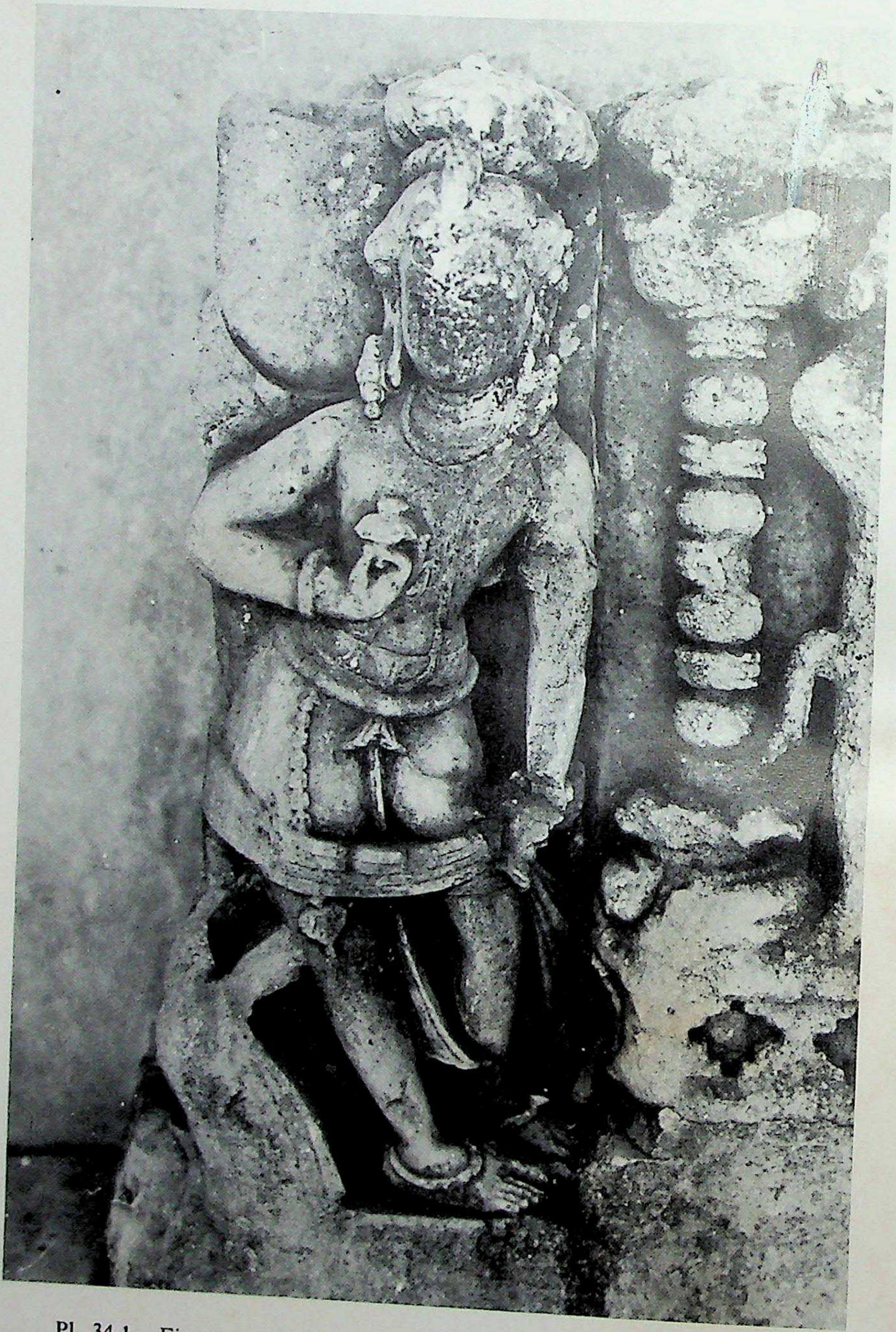
Pl. 32.14. Architectural fragment



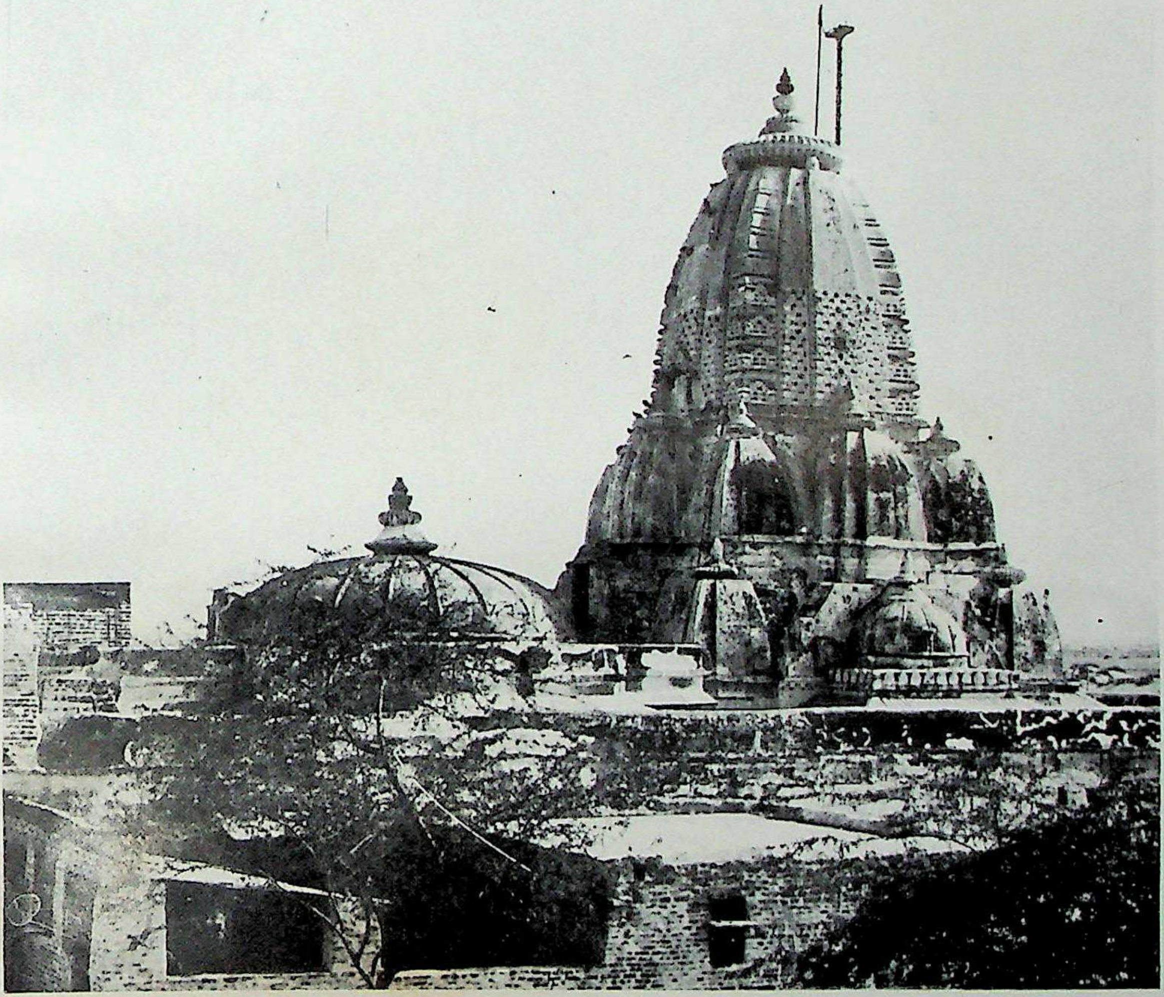
Pl. 32.15. Door jambs (*Copy right:* Joachim Bautze)



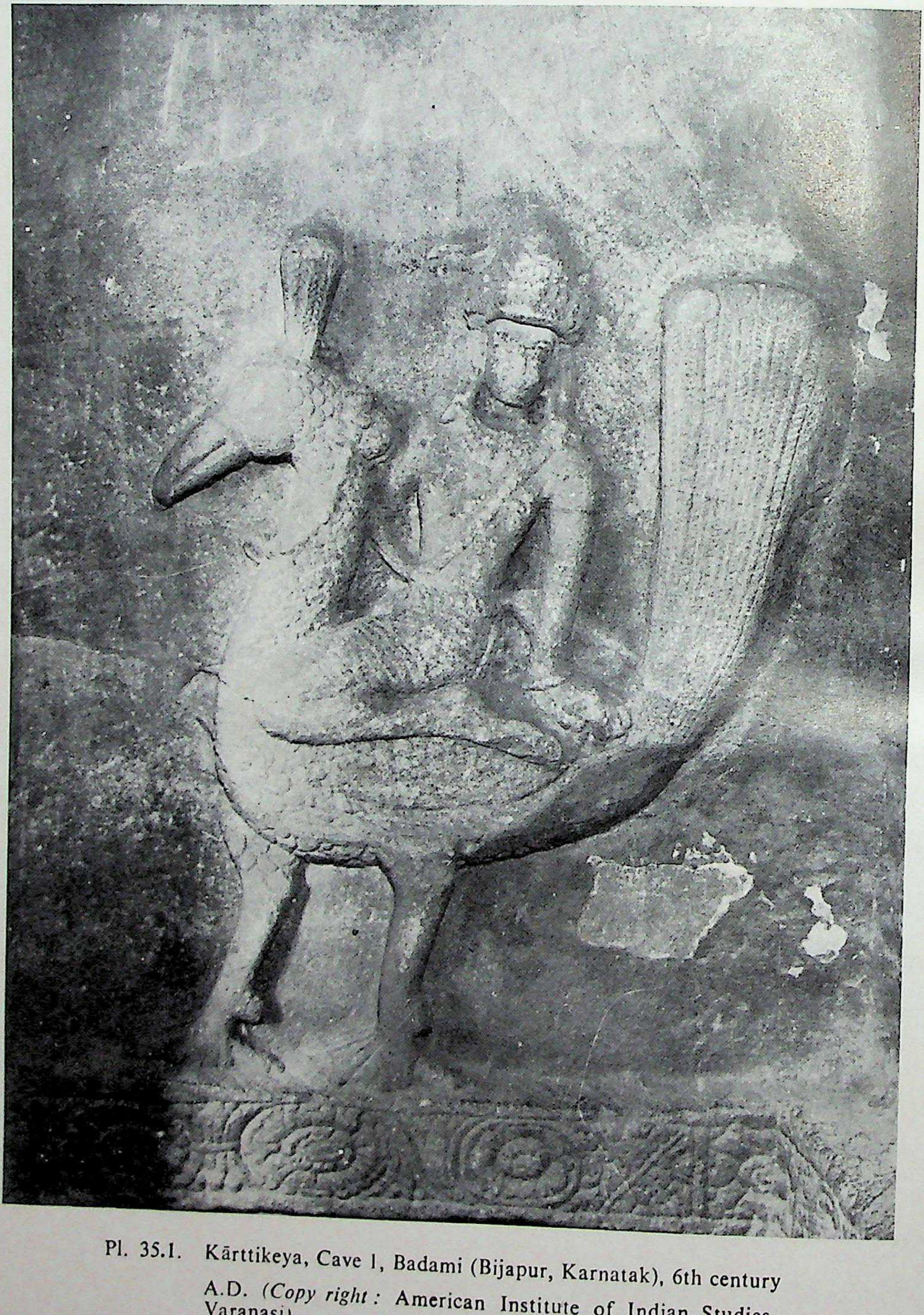
Pl. 32.16. Door jambs (*Ibid.*)



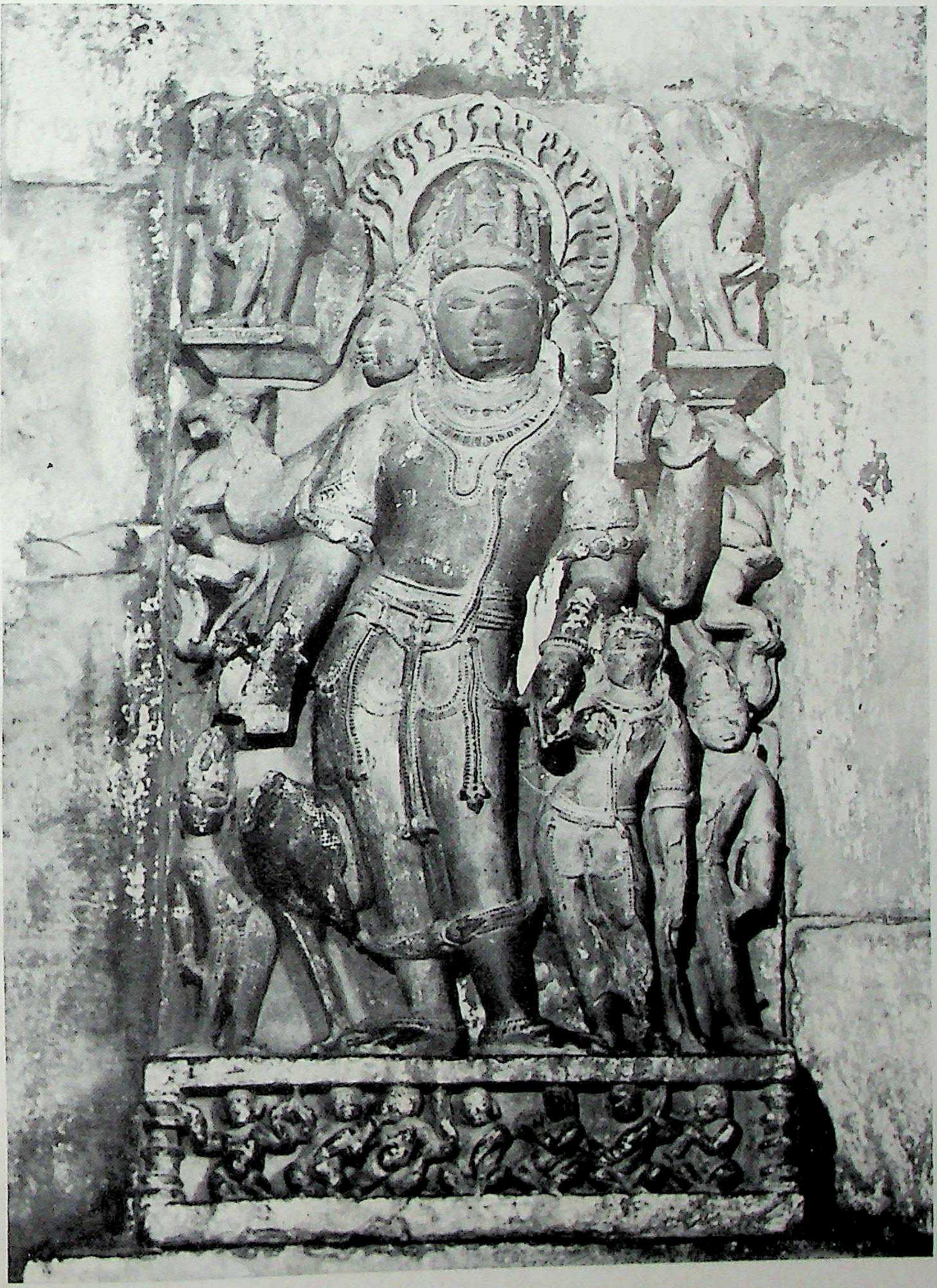
Pl. 34.1. Figure worshipped as Śītalā-mātā, Ambikeśvara Temple Amber



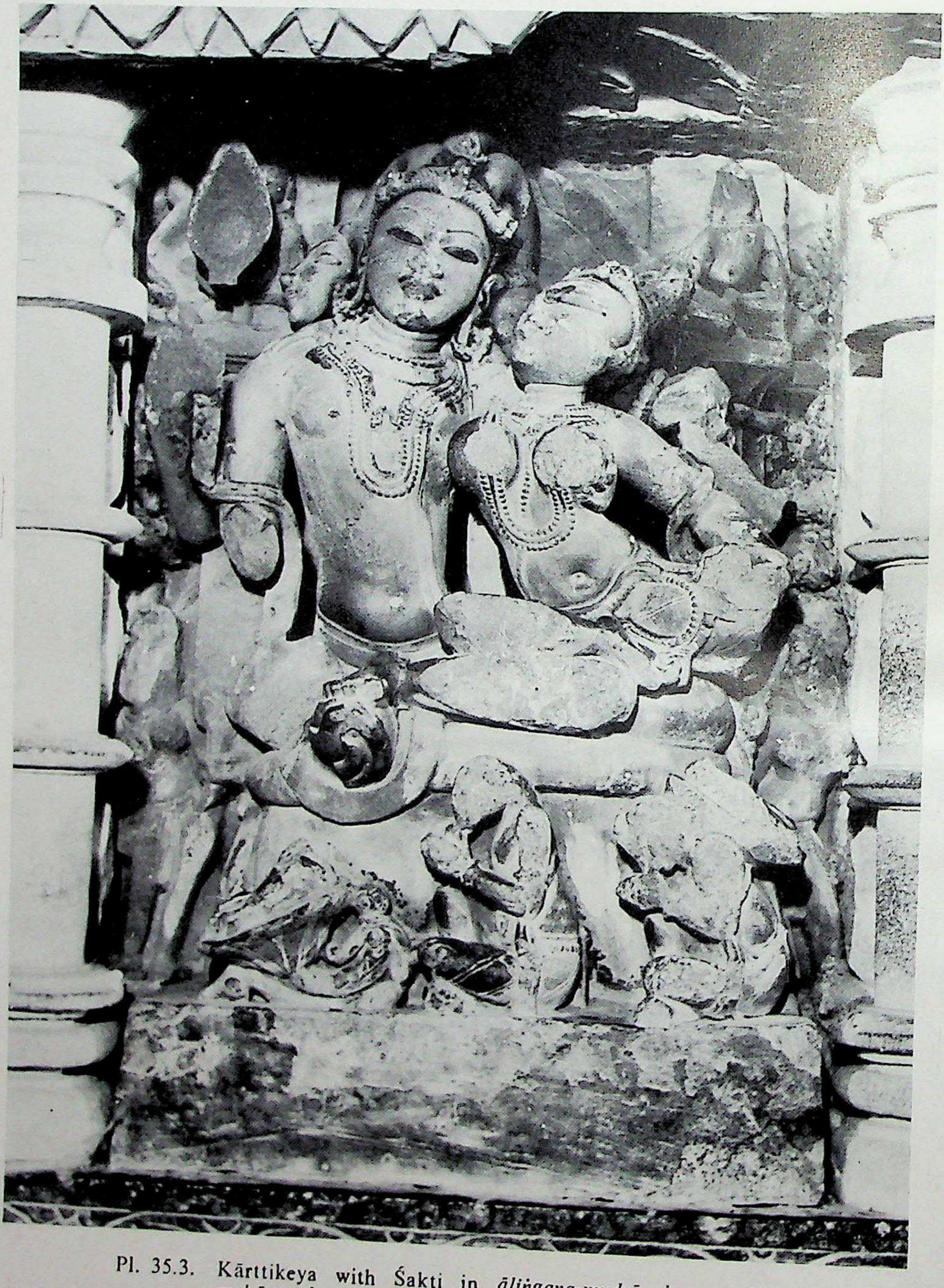
Pl. 34.2. Ranchhodji Temple, Khed, Barmer District



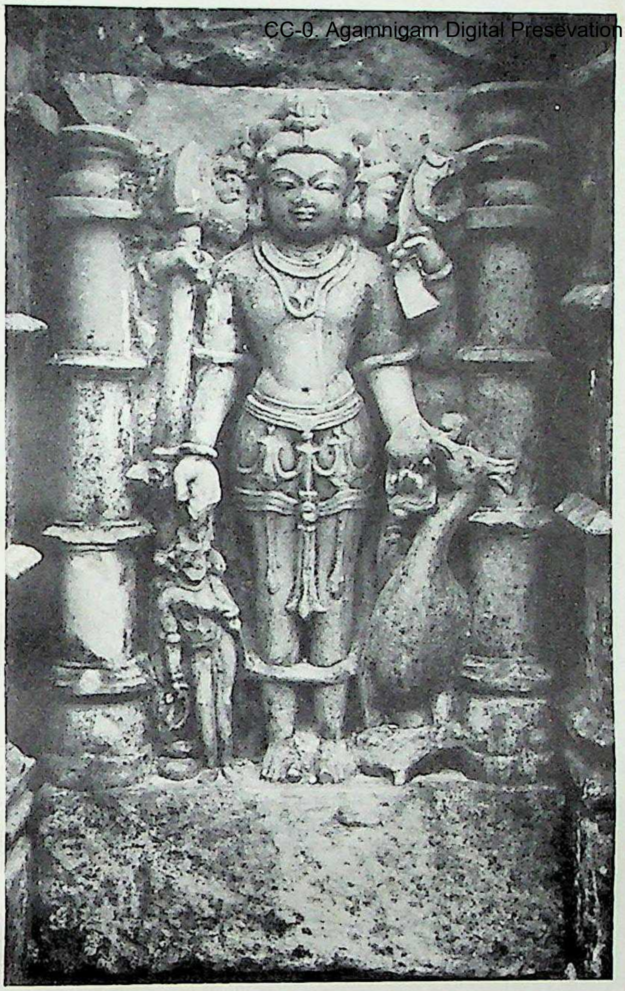
Pl. 35.1. Kārttikeya, Cave I, Badami (Bijapur, Karnatak), 6th century A.D. *(Copy right :* American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi)



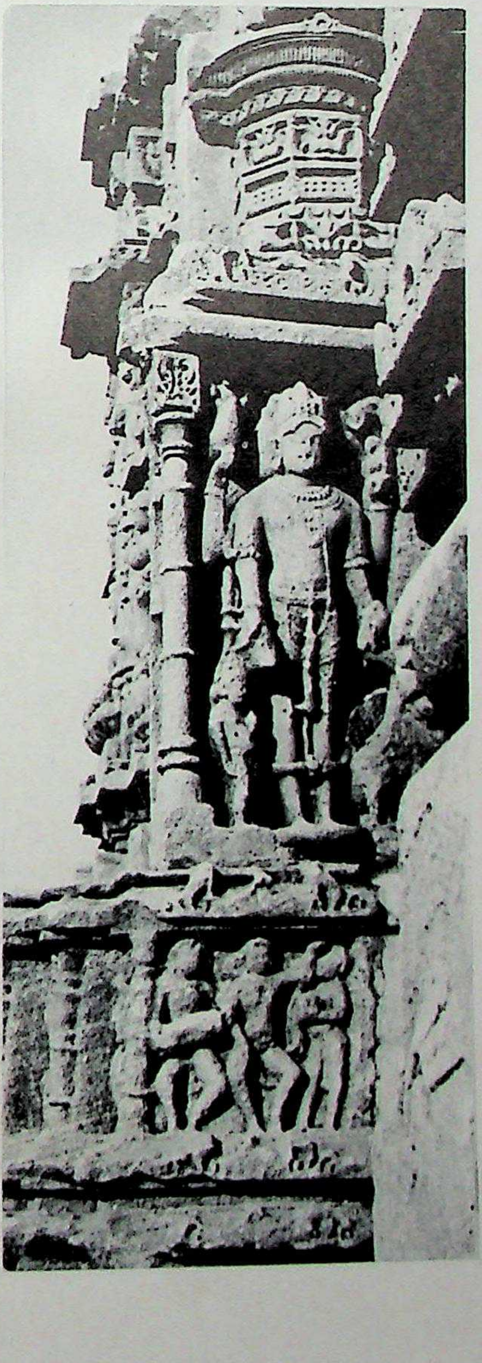
Pl. 35.2. Kārttikeya with Śakti, inner wall of *mahamandapa* (east) Lakshmaṇa Temple, Khajuraho, c. 950 A.D. (*Ibid.*)



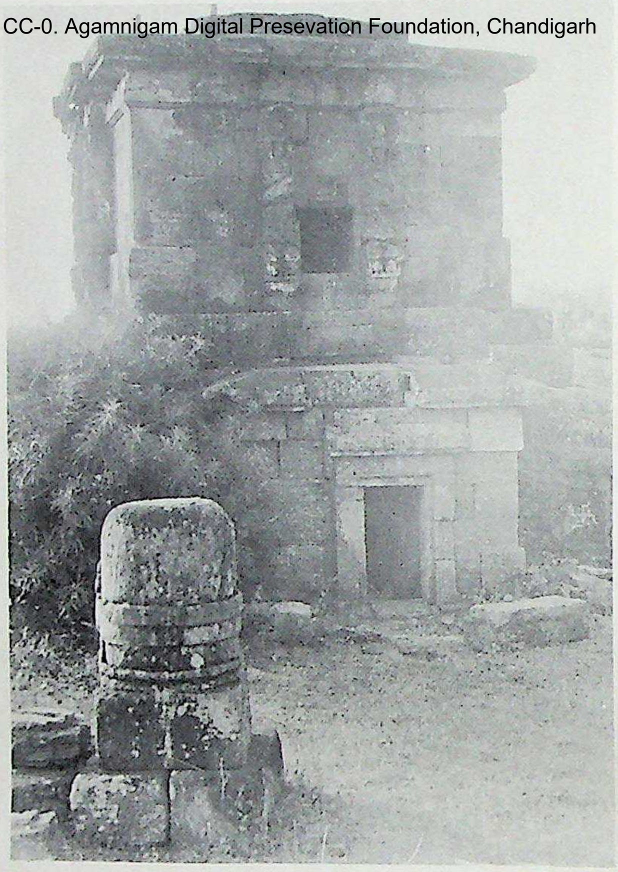
Pl. 35.3. Kārttikeya with Śakti in *āliṅgana-mudrā*, inner wall of *mahāmaṇḍapa* (East), Kandariya Mahadeva Temple, Khajuraho, early c. mid 11th century A.D. (*Ibid.*)



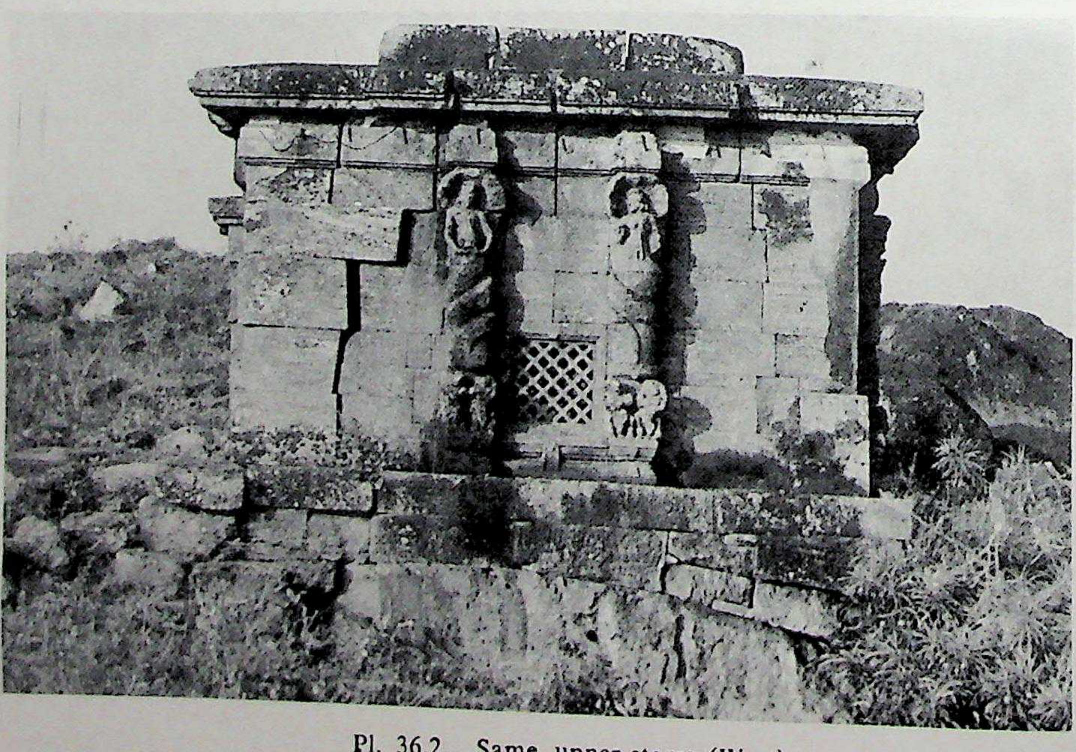
Pl. 35.4. Kārttikeya, South *Jagatī*, Viśvanātha Temple, Khajuraho, early 11th century A.D. (*Ibid.*)



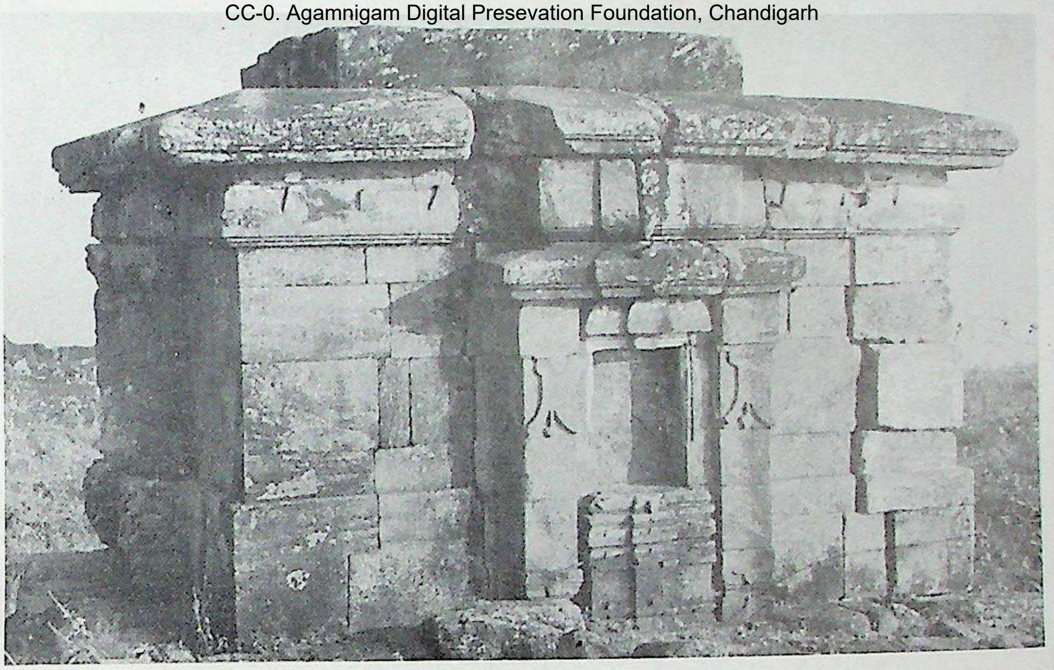
Pl. 35.5. Kārttikeya, *gūḍha-maṇḍapa* facade, Sun Temple, Modhera (Gujarat), 1026 A.D.



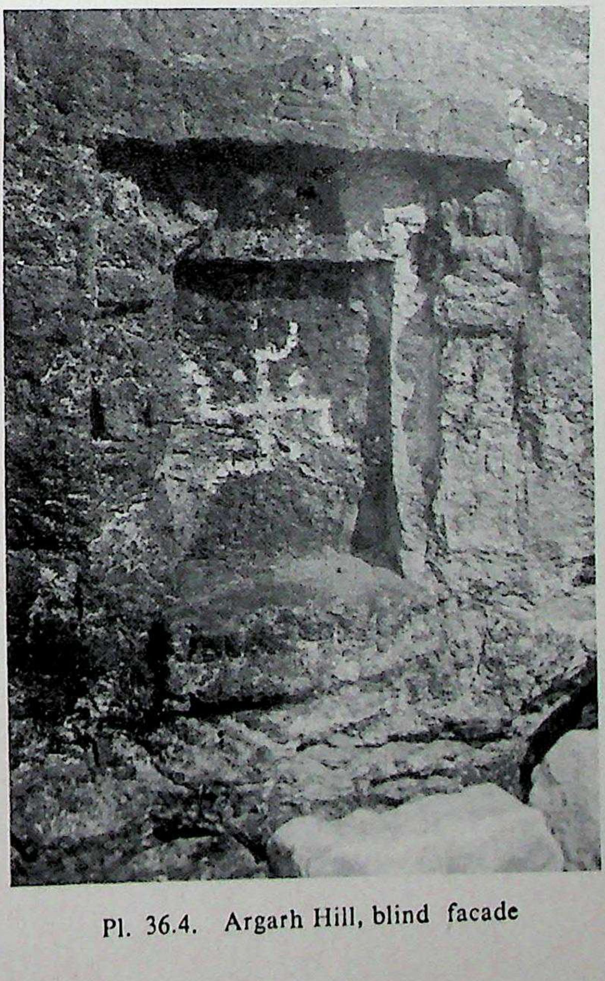
Pl. 36.1. Argarh Hill Temple, facade (North)



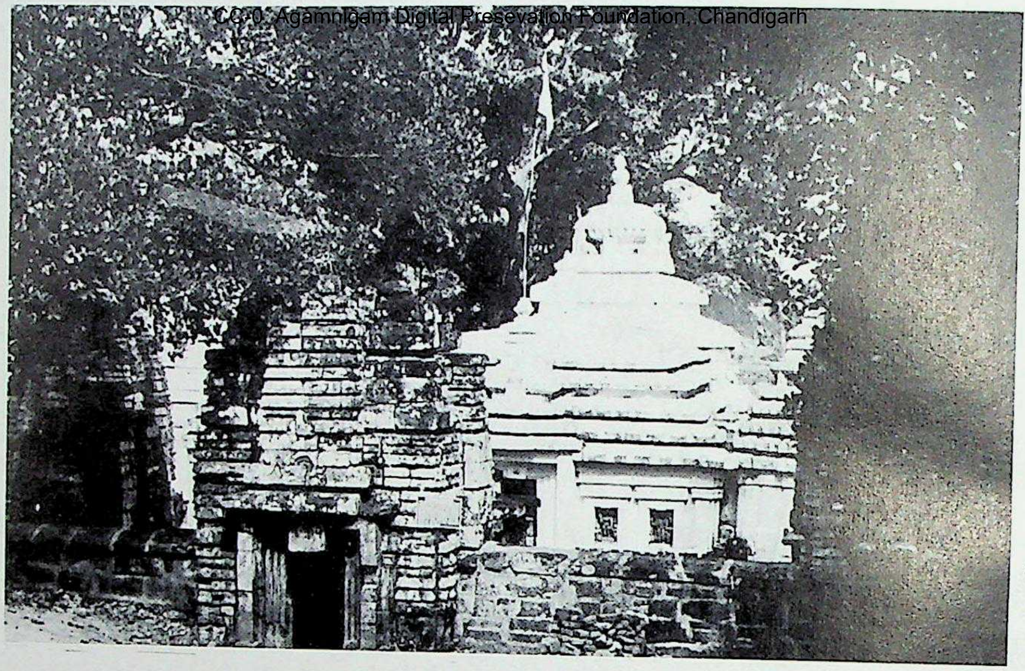
Pl. 36.2. Same, upper storey (West)



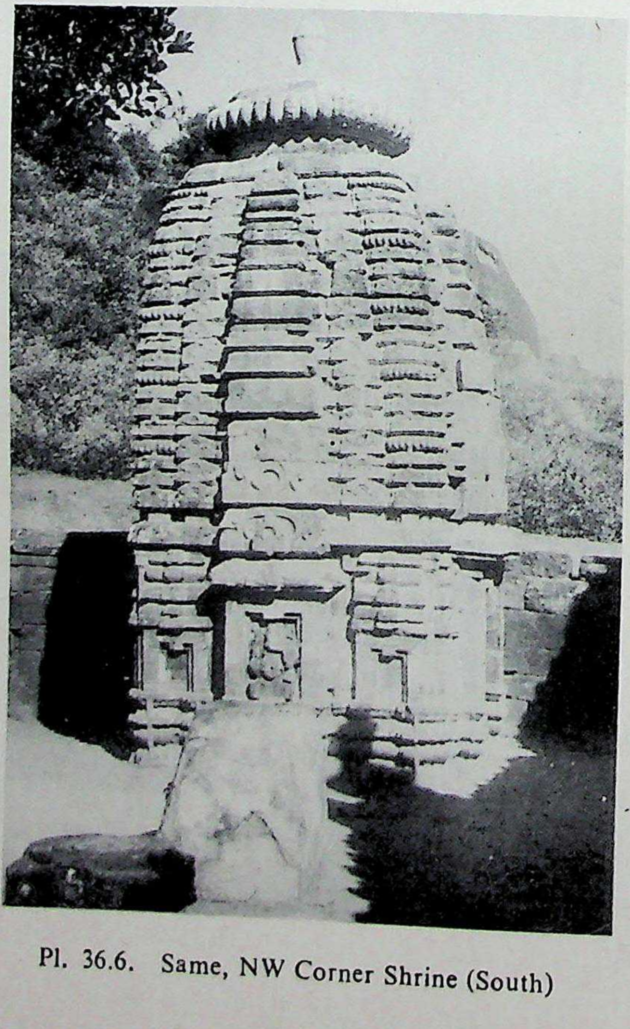
Pl. 36.3. Same, upper storey (South)



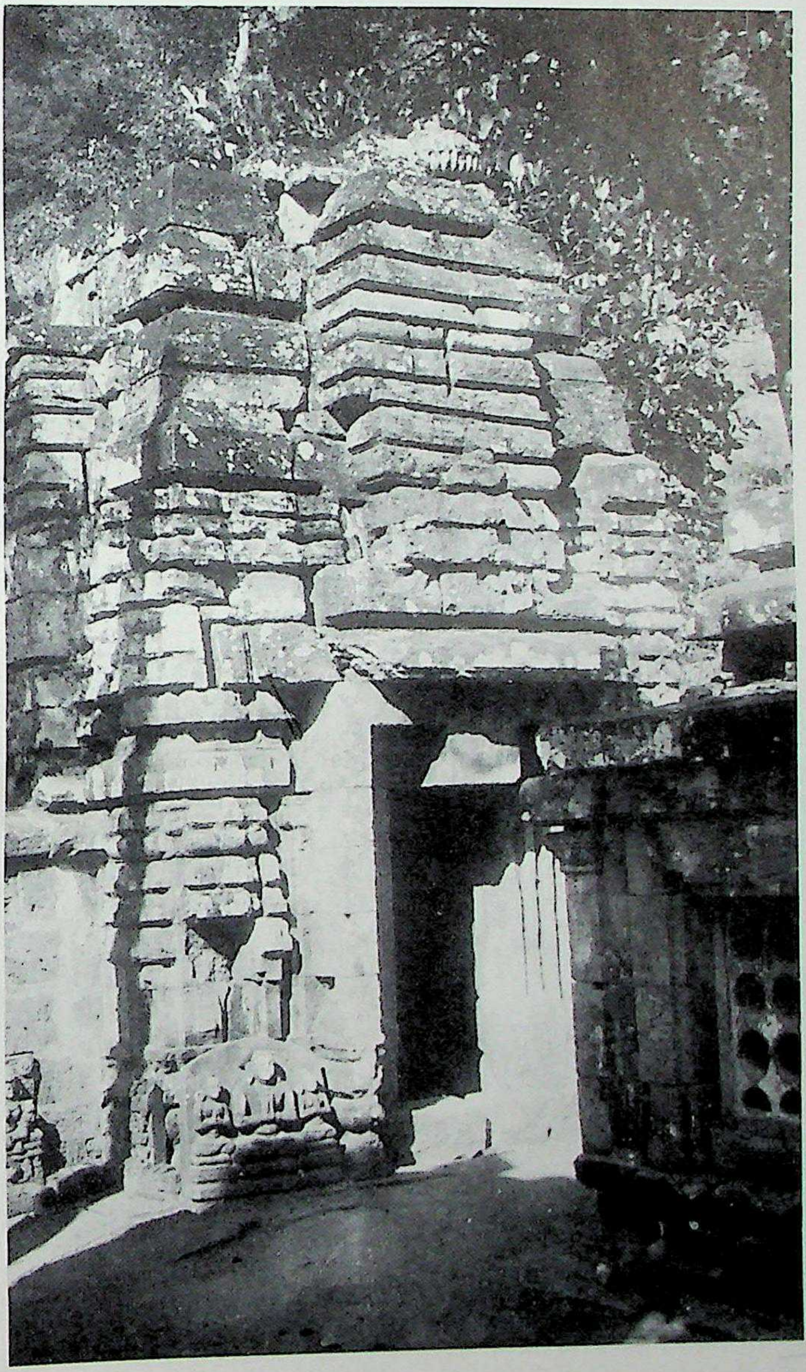
Pl. 36.4. Argarh Hill, blind facade



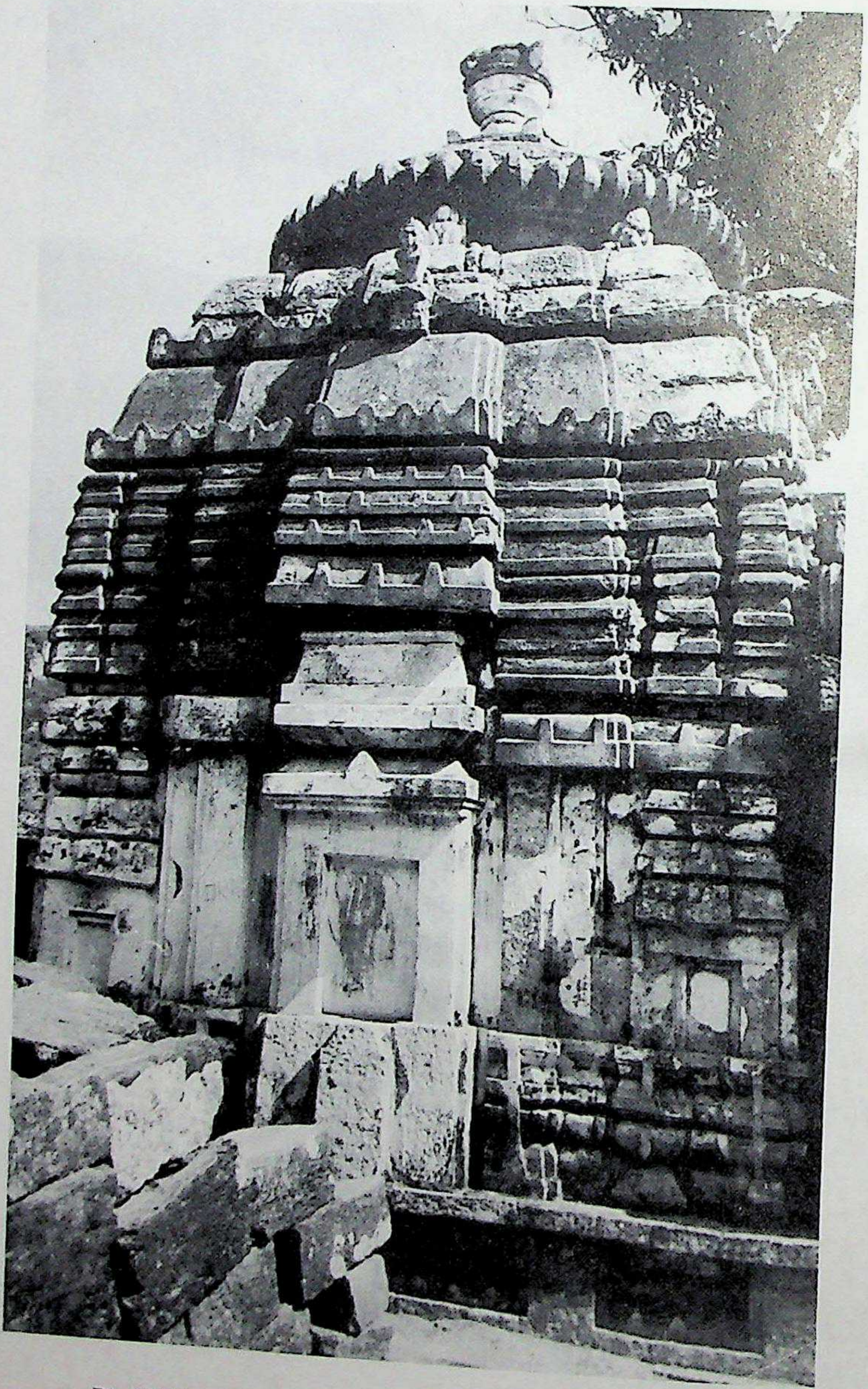
Pl. 36.5. Pātāleśvara Temple, general view (West)



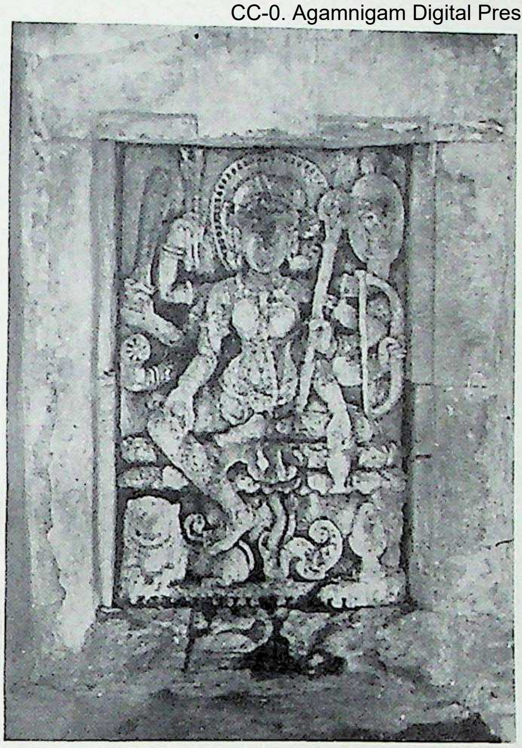
Pl. 36.6. Same, NW Corner Shrine (South)



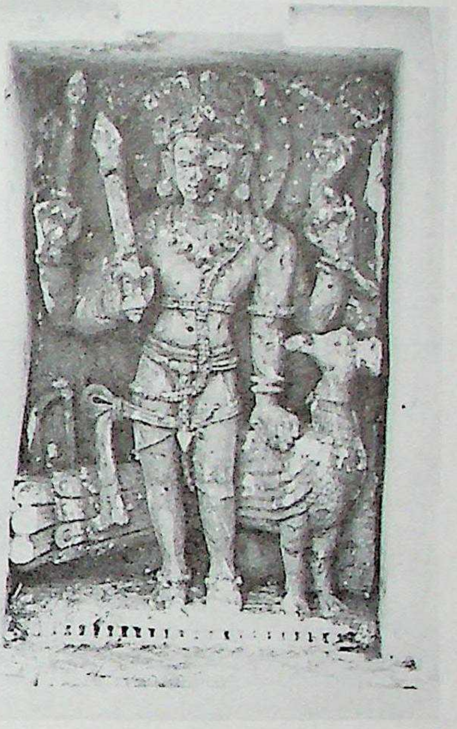
Pl. 36.7. Same, gate pavilion (East)



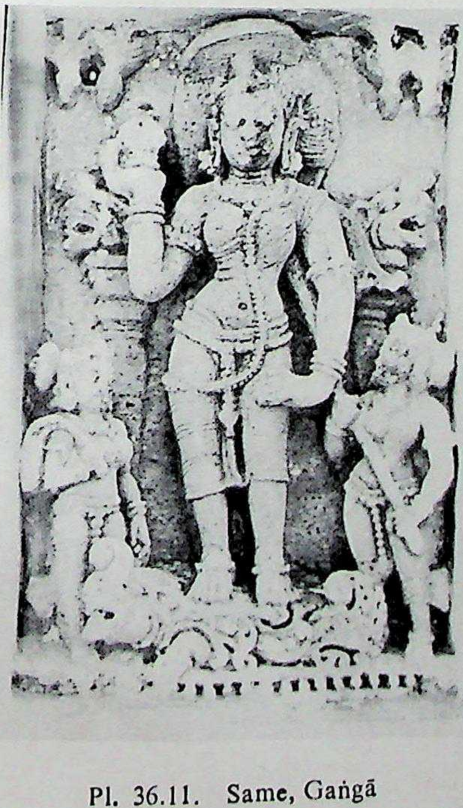
Pl. 36.8. Same, square *Khākharā* shrine in the court



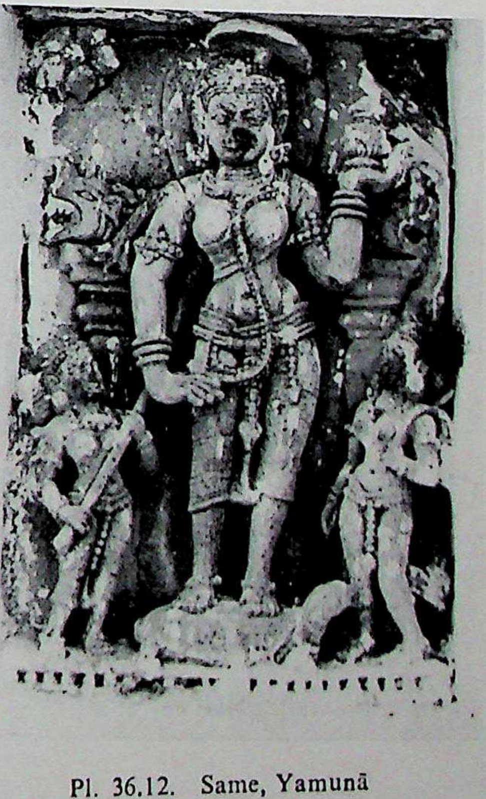
Pl. 36.9. Same, Devī



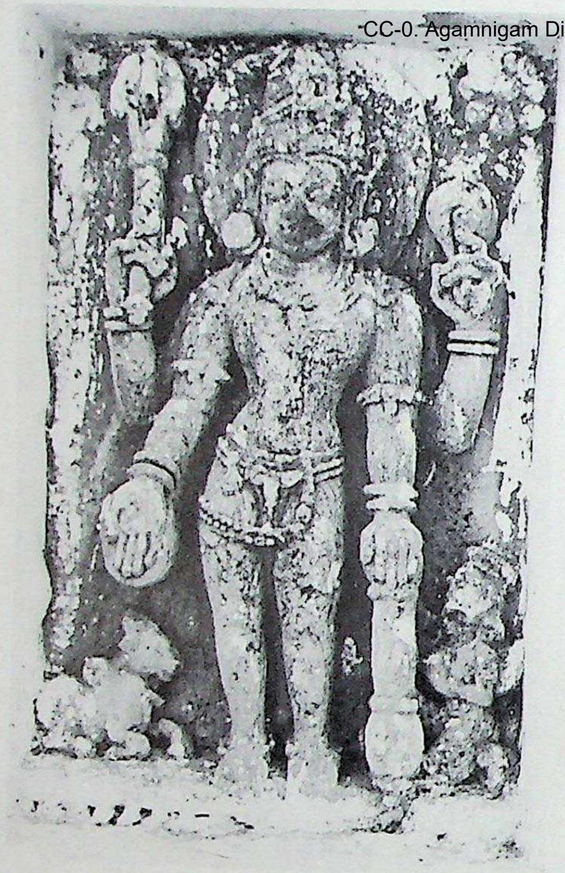
Pl. 36.10. Same, Kārttika



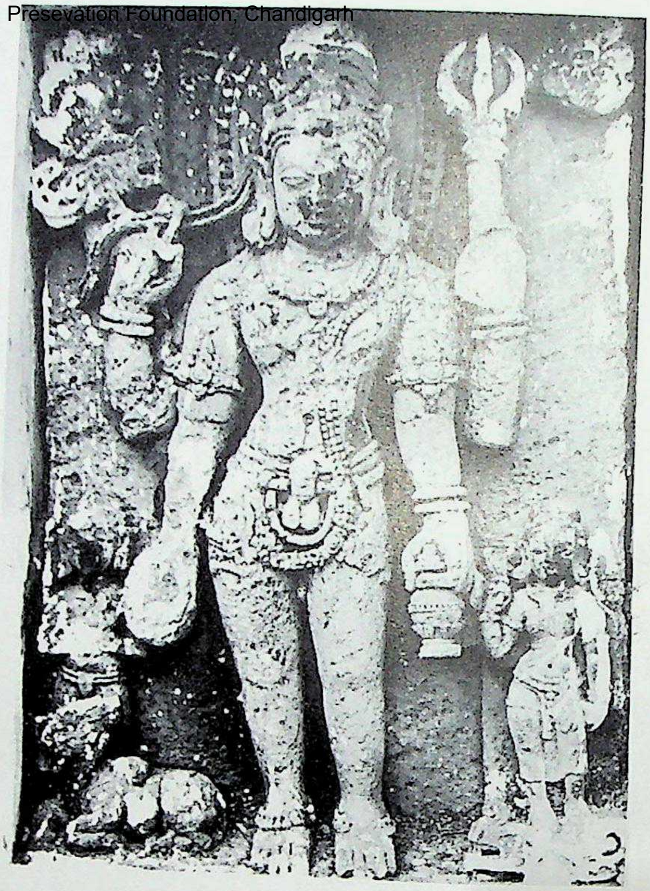
Pl. 36.11. Same, Gaṅgā



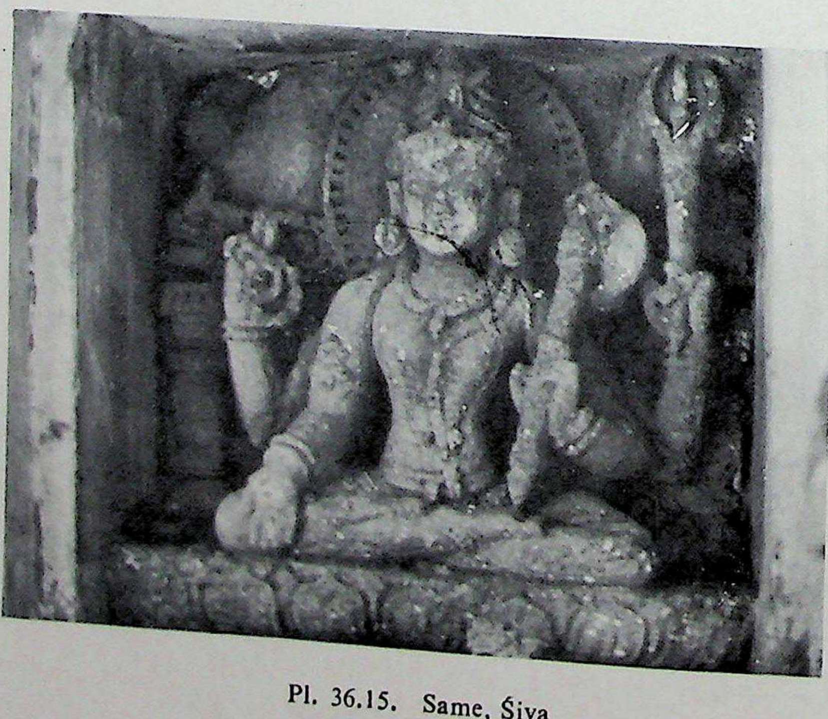
Pl. 36.12. Same, Yamunā



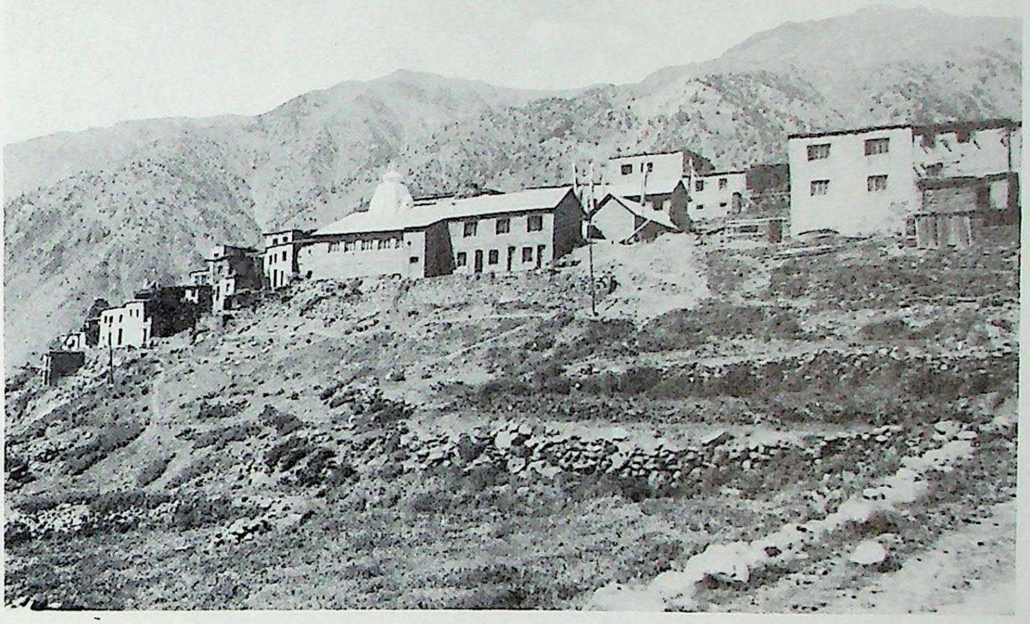
Pl. 36.13. Same, Hari-Hara



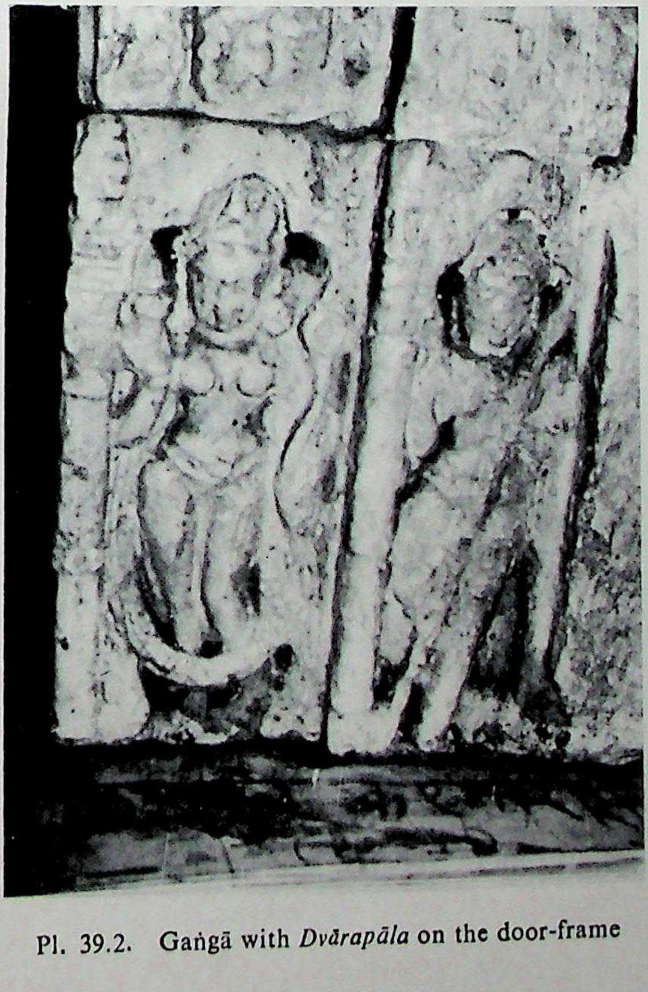
Pl. 36.14. Same, Gaṅgādhara



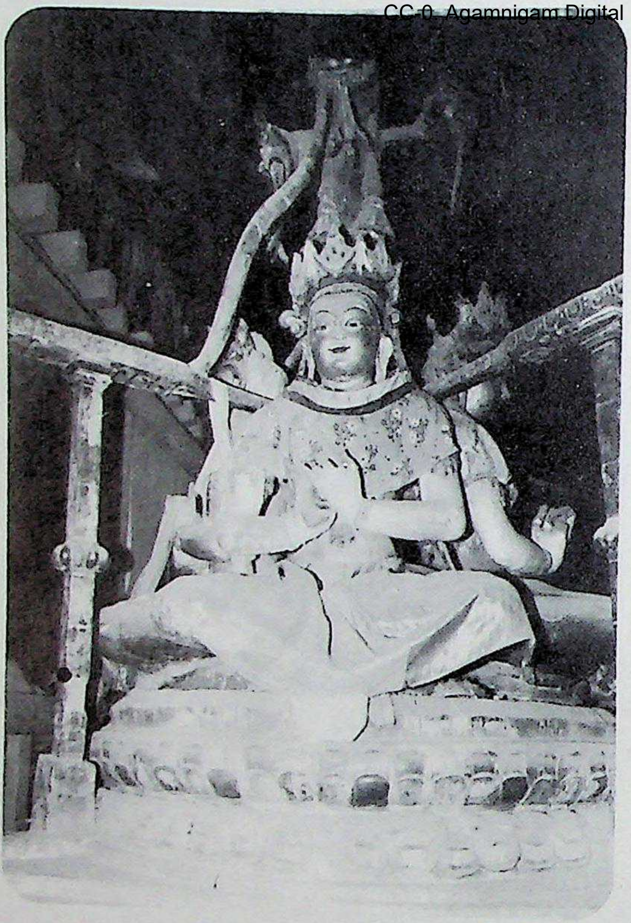
Pl. 36.15. Same, Śiva



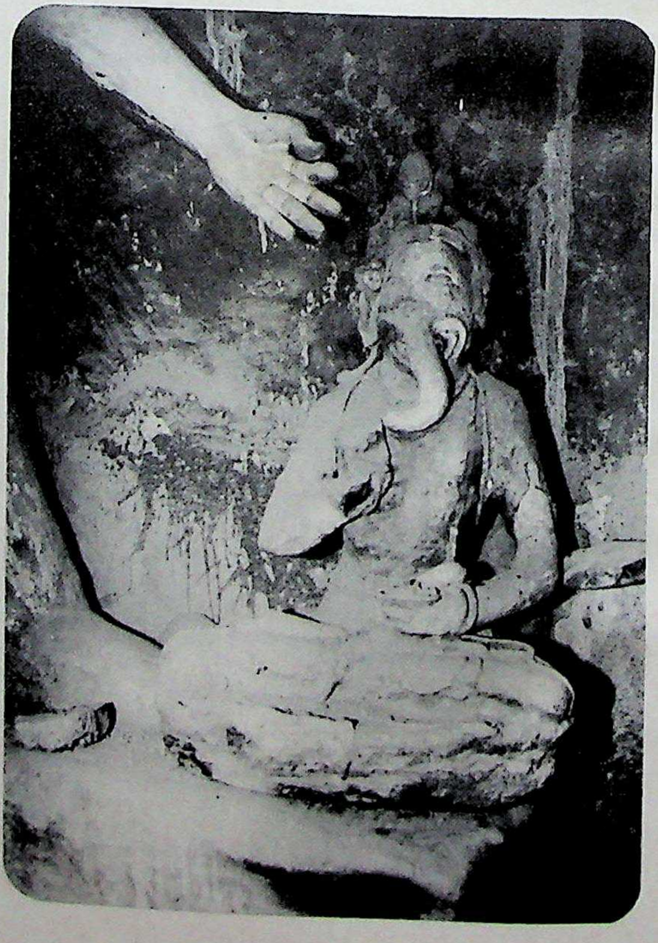
Pl. 39.1. Triloknath Temple, Lahaul-Spiti (H.P.)



Pl. 39.2. Gaṅgā with *Dvārapāla* on the door-frame

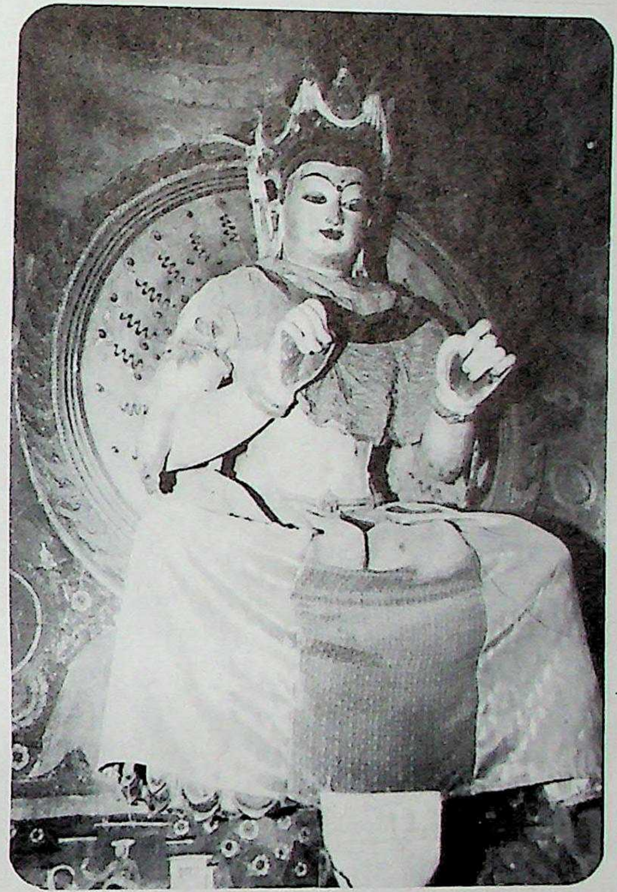


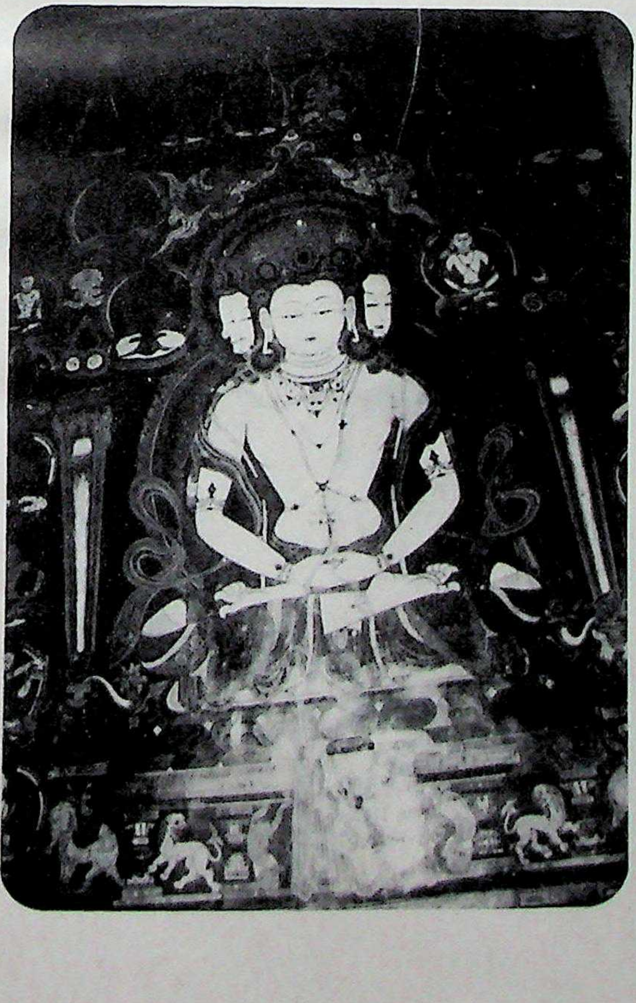
Pl. 39.3. Vairocana in the Dukhang, Western face, Tabo Monastery, c. 996 A.D.



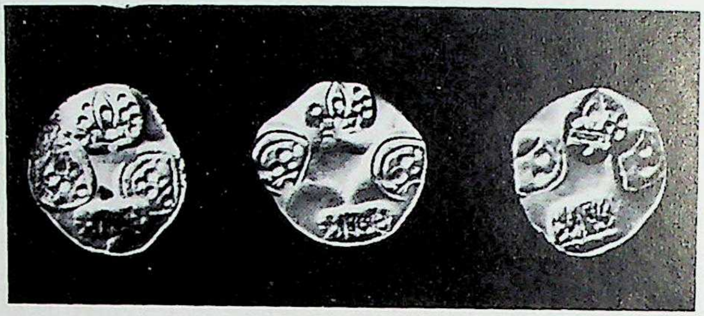
Pl. 39.4. Clay statue of Gaṇeśa in the *antarāla* of Dukhang, Tabo Monastery, c. 996 A.D.

Pl. 39.5. Clay statue of Vajrahāsa (?) on the southern wall of Dukhang, Tabo Monastery. c. 996 A.D.

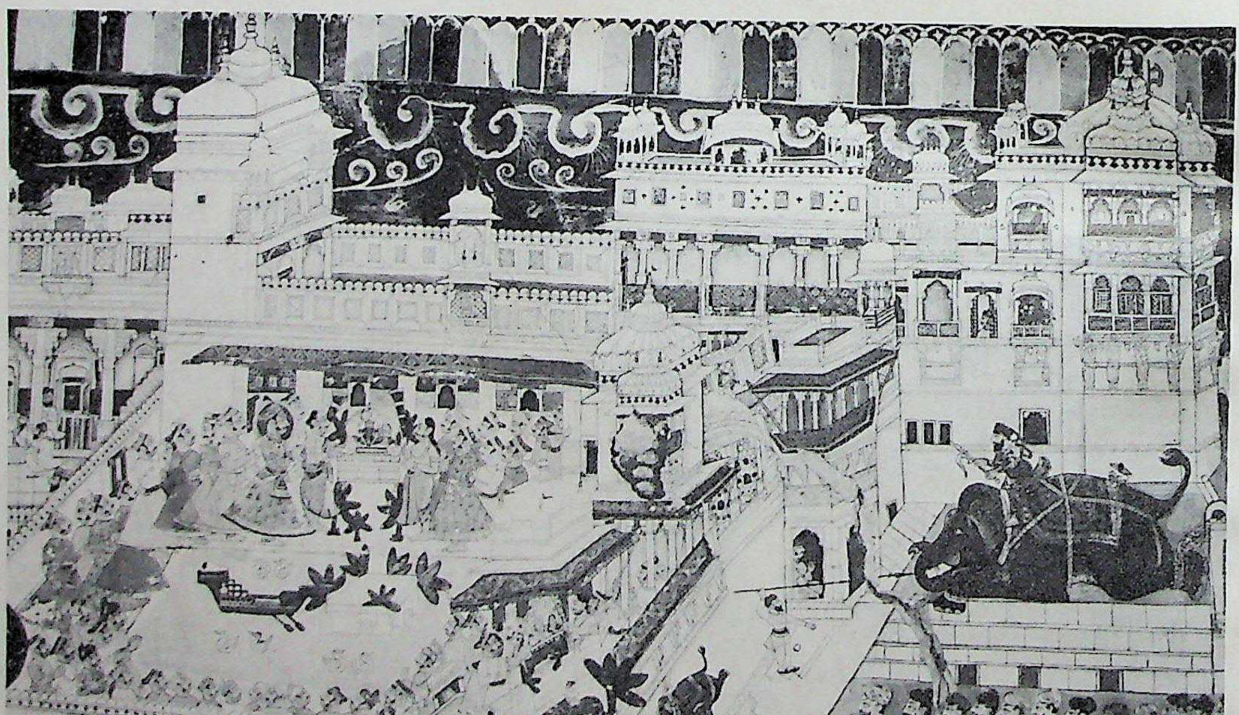




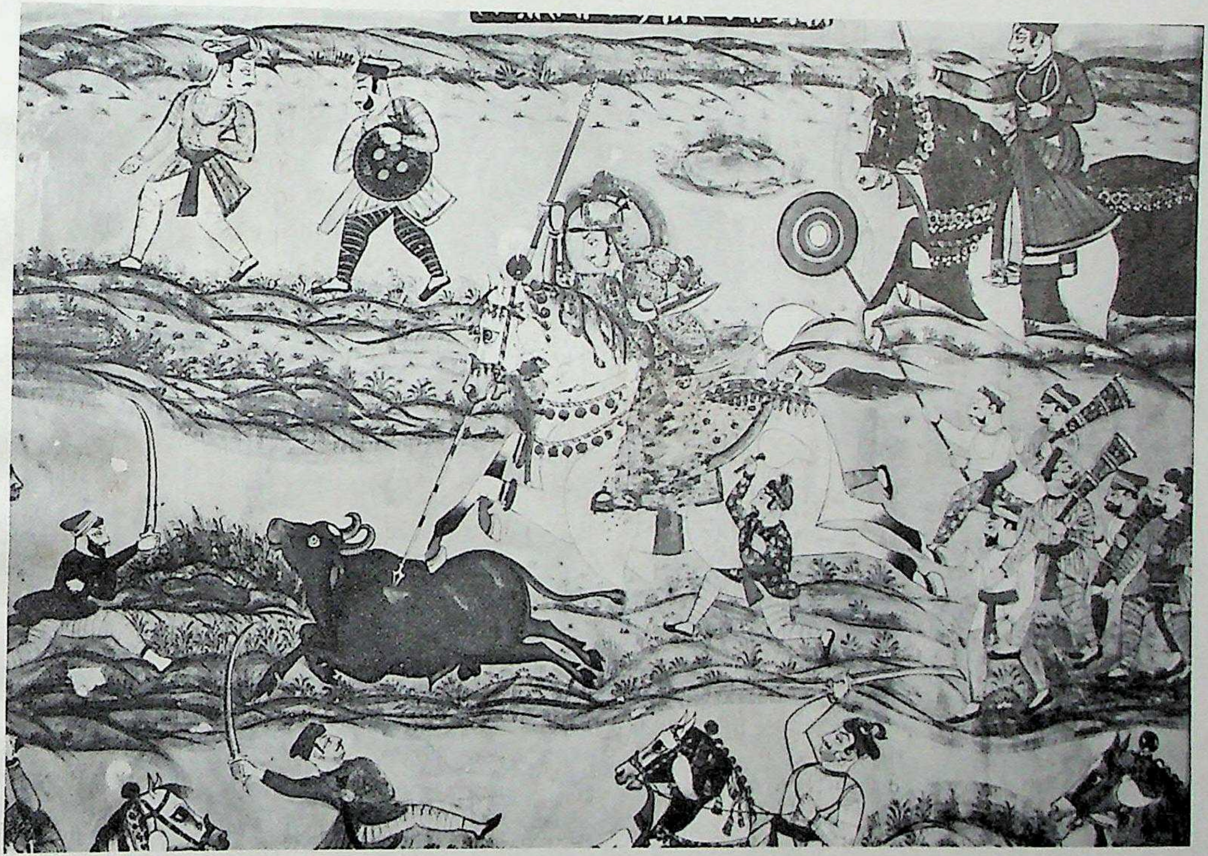
Pl. 39.6. Vairocana on the wall of Sher Long, Tabo Monastery, c. 17th century A.D.



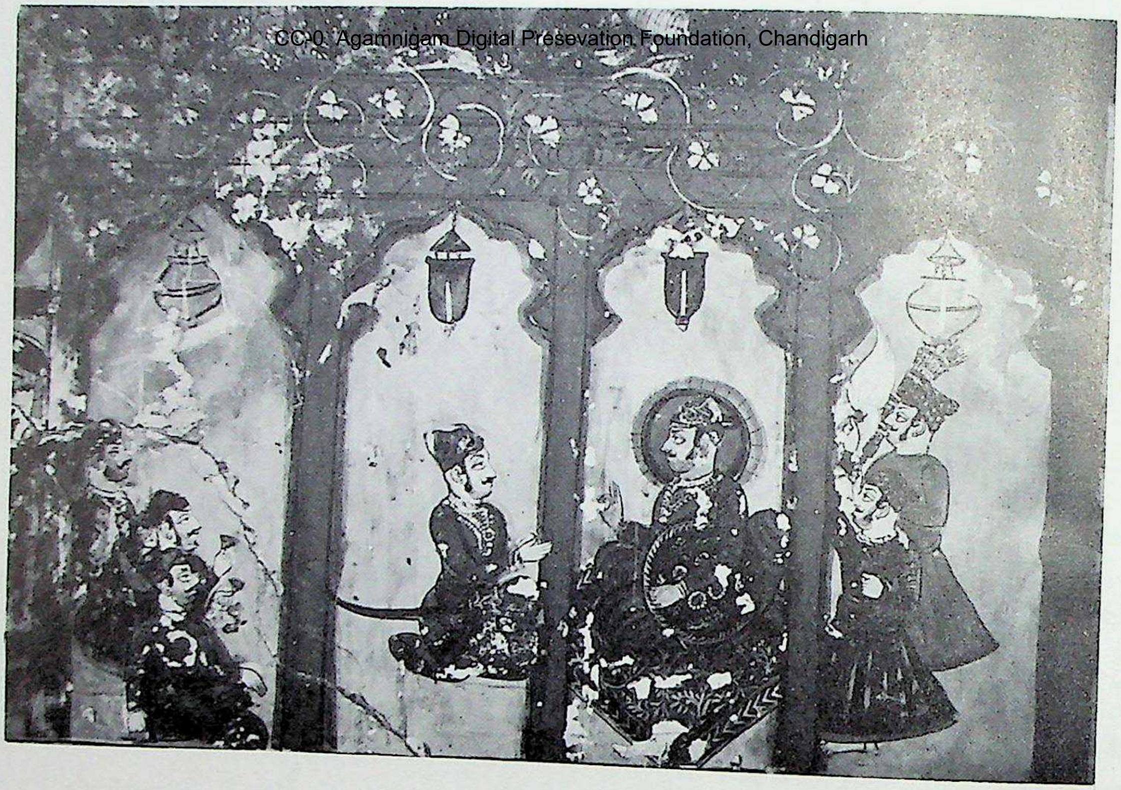
Pl. 41.1. (a-c) Coins of Jagaddeva Paramāra



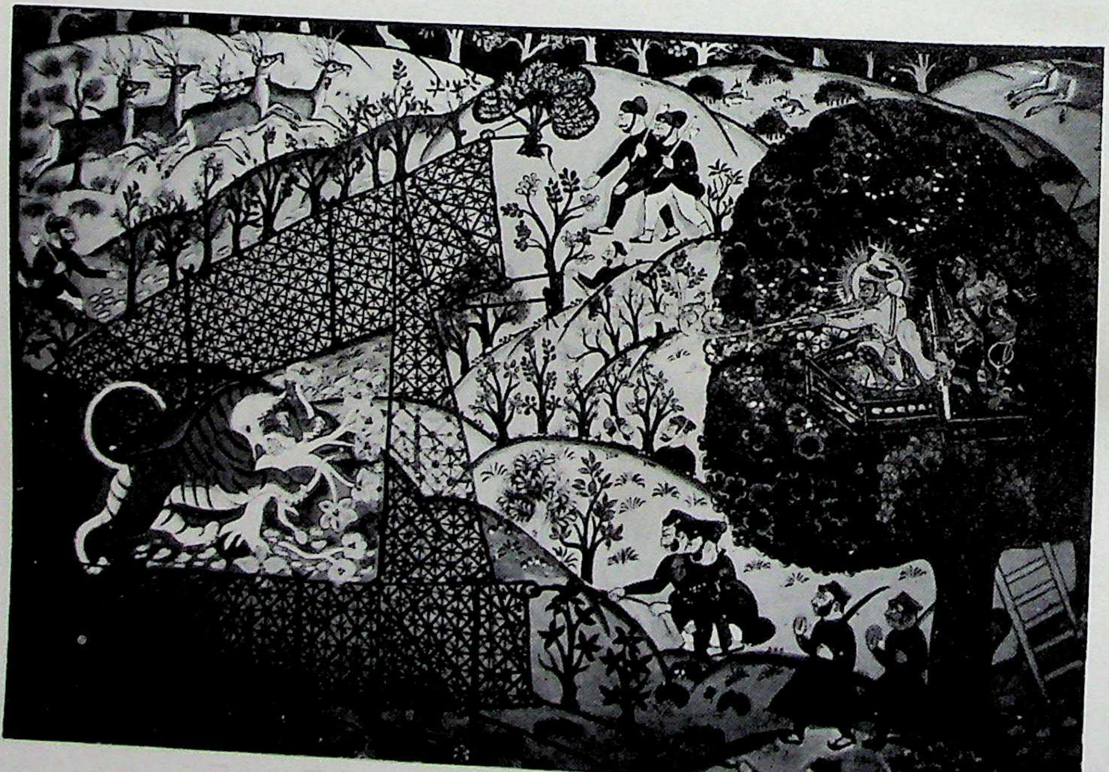
Pl. 44.1. Wall painting in the Arjun Mahal, Kota: The celebration of Janmāshṭamī festival in the Rajmahal of the Kota palace



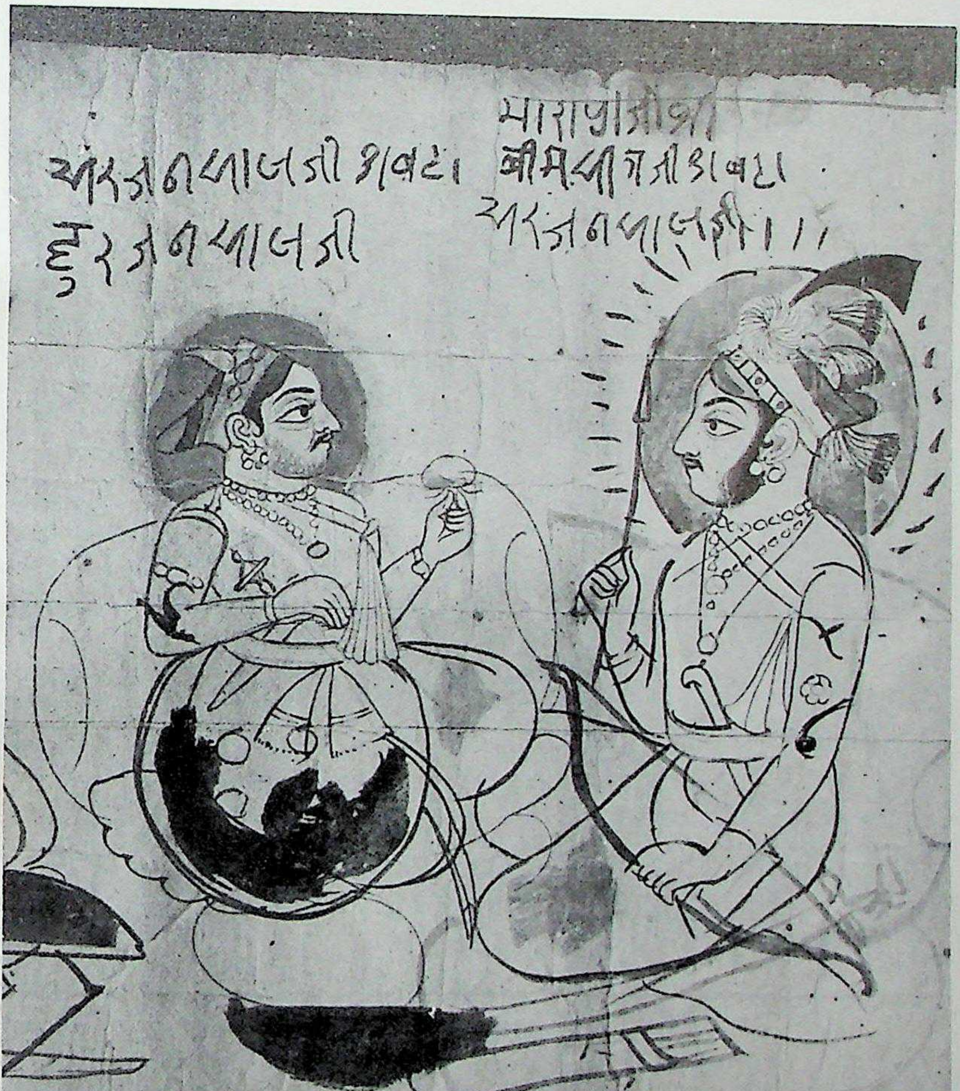
Pl. 44.2. Maharao Durjan Sal spearing a buffalo



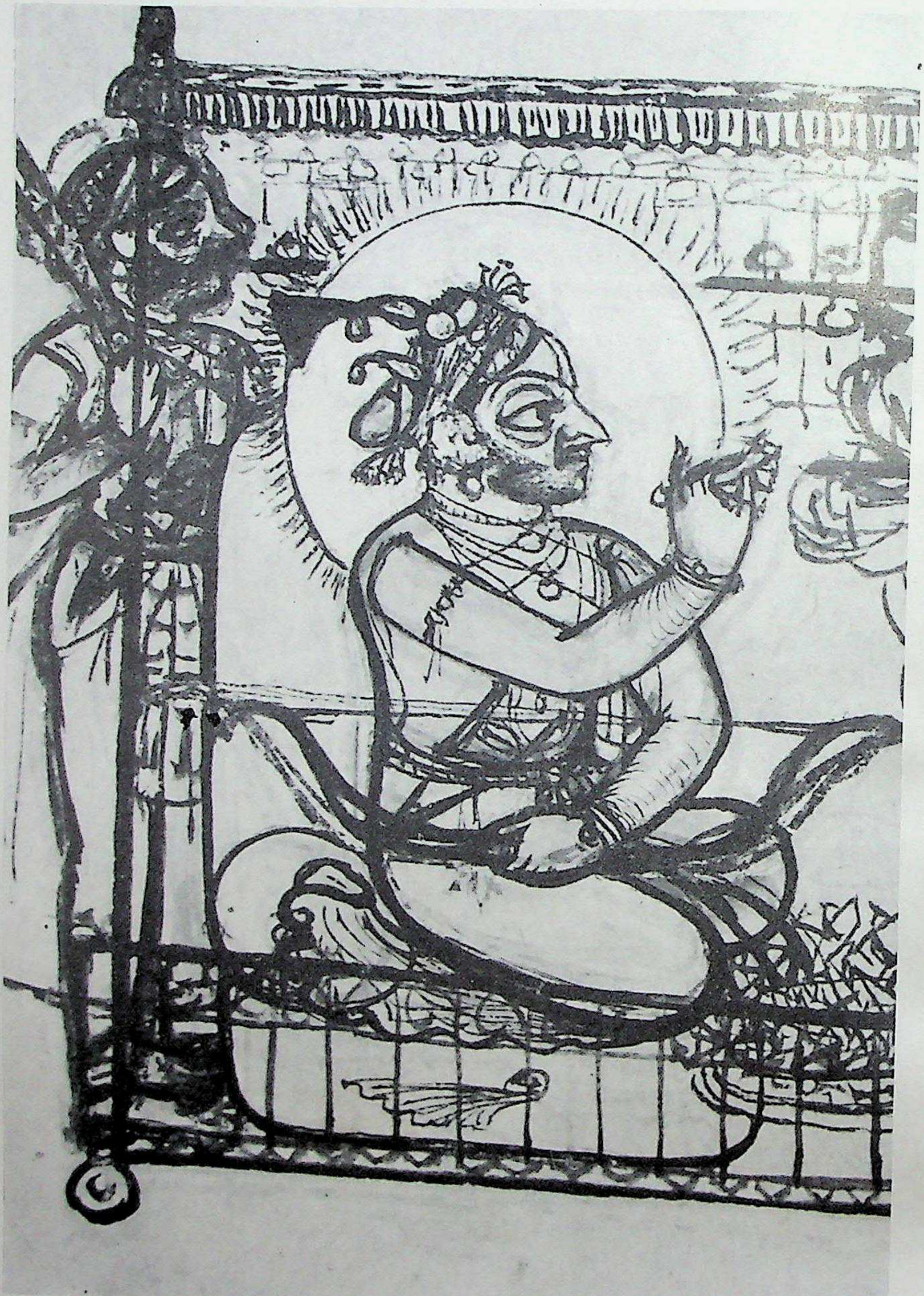
Pl. 44.3. Maharao Durjan Sal in conversation



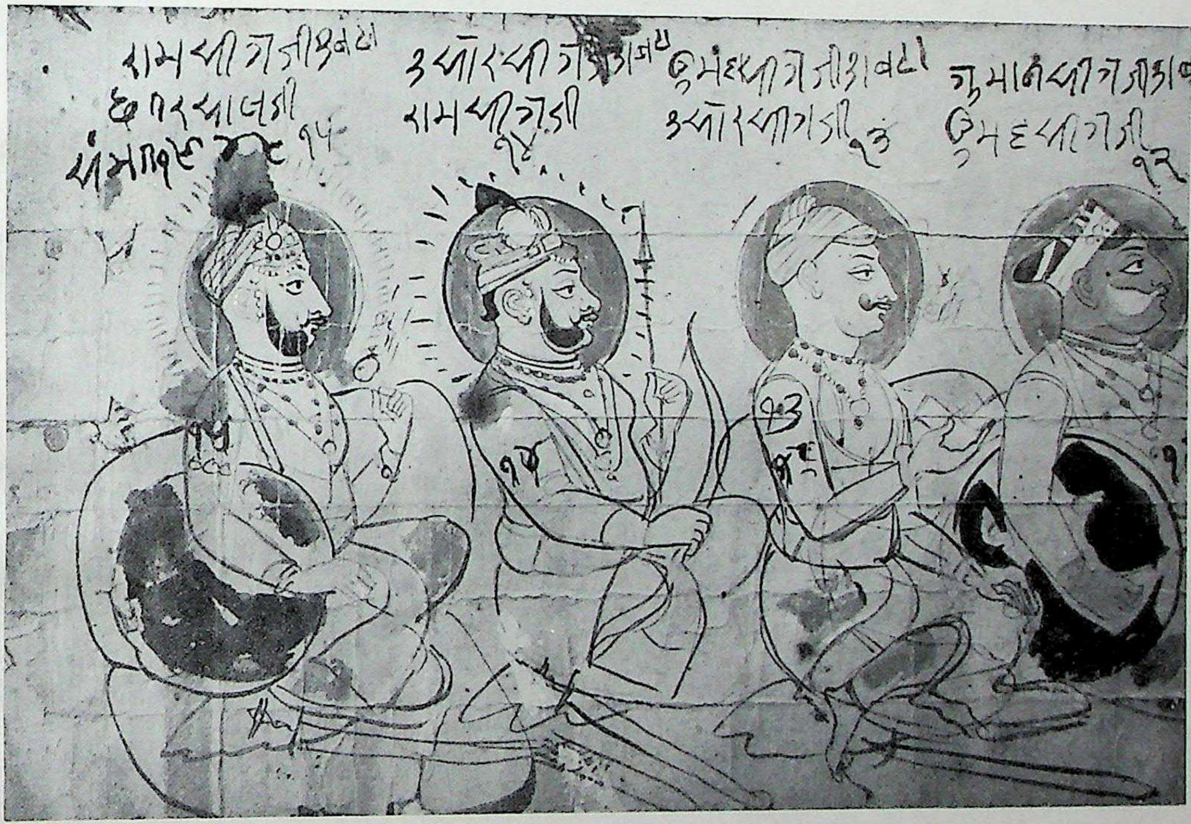
Pl. 44.4. Maharao Durjan Sal shooting a tiger from a tree-*machān*



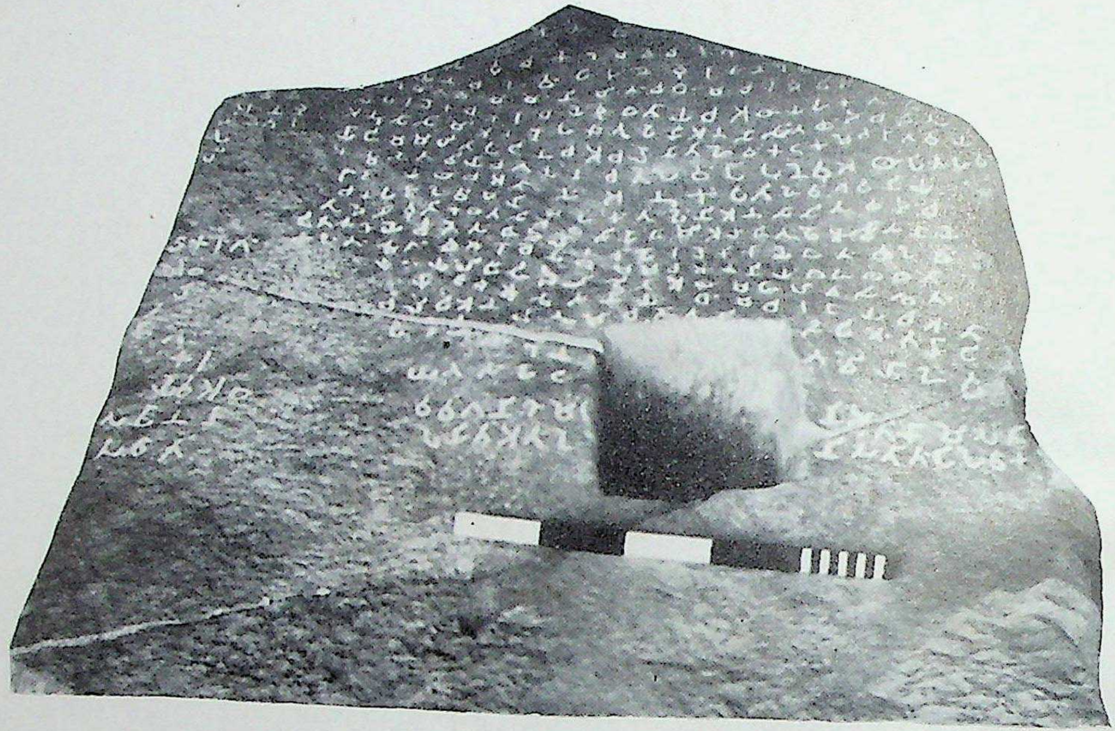
Pl. 44.5. Drawing with colours on paper: Portraits of Maharao Durjan Sal and Maharao Arjun Singh, Private Collection



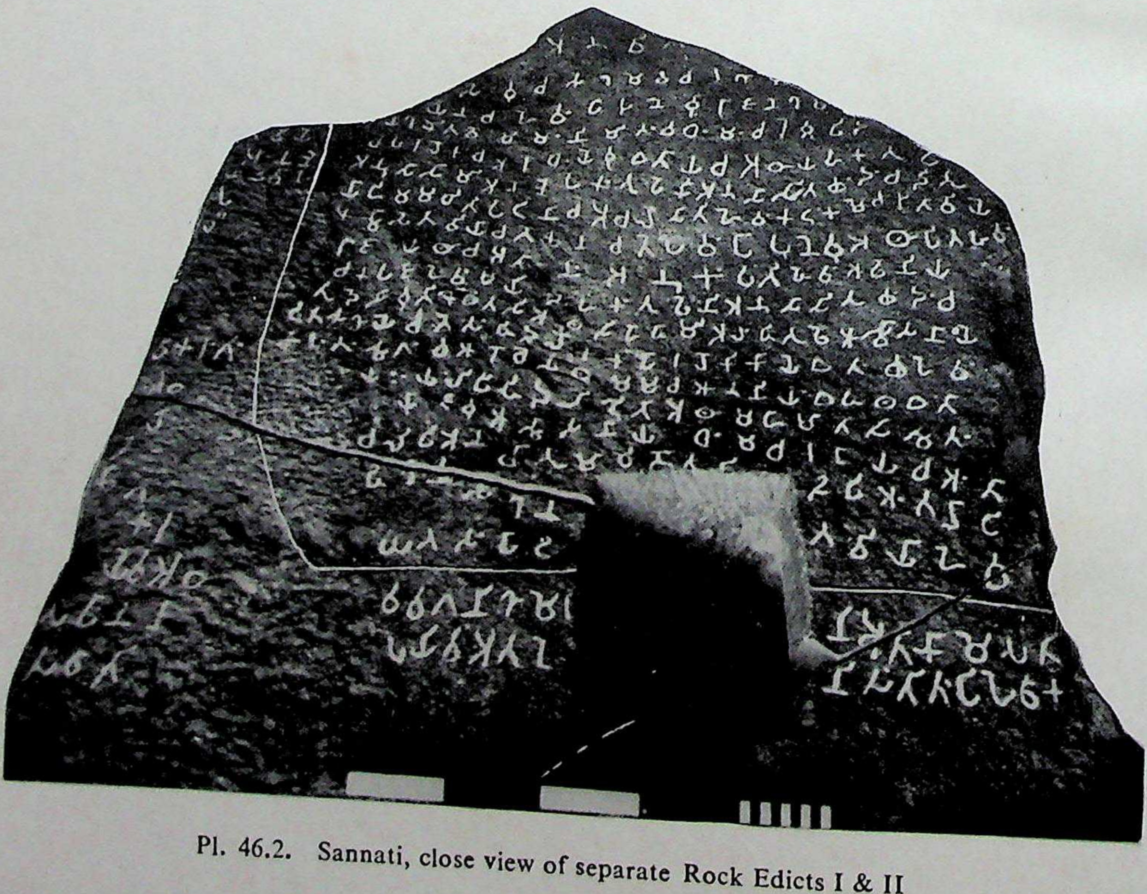
Pl. 44.6. Maharao Arjun Singh during the Janmāshṭmī celebrations (detail) Private Collection



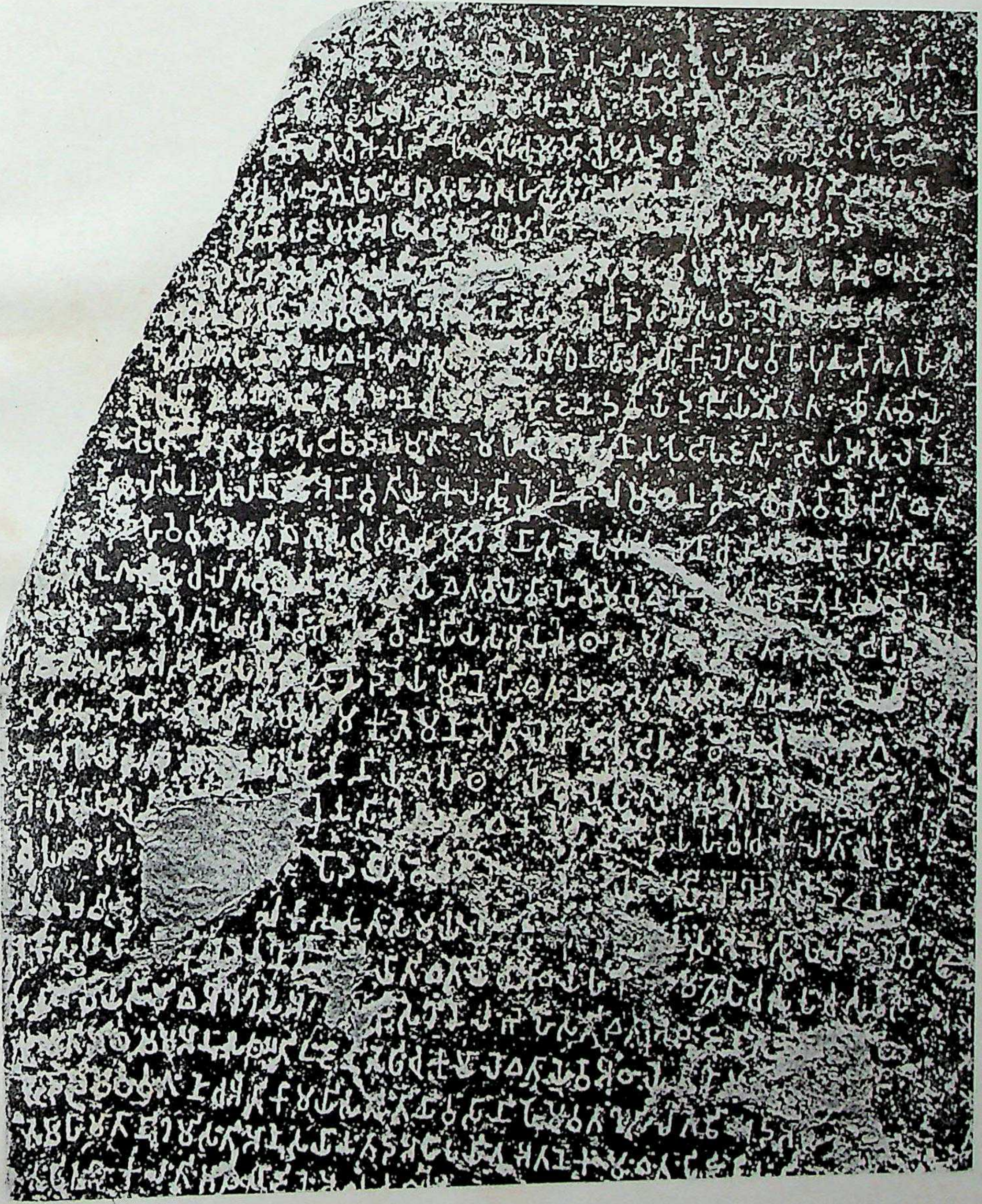
Pl. 44.7. Details of Pl. 5 showing (from left to right) Maharaos Shatru Sal, Ram Singh, Kishor Singh and Umed Singh, V.S. 1948, Private Collection



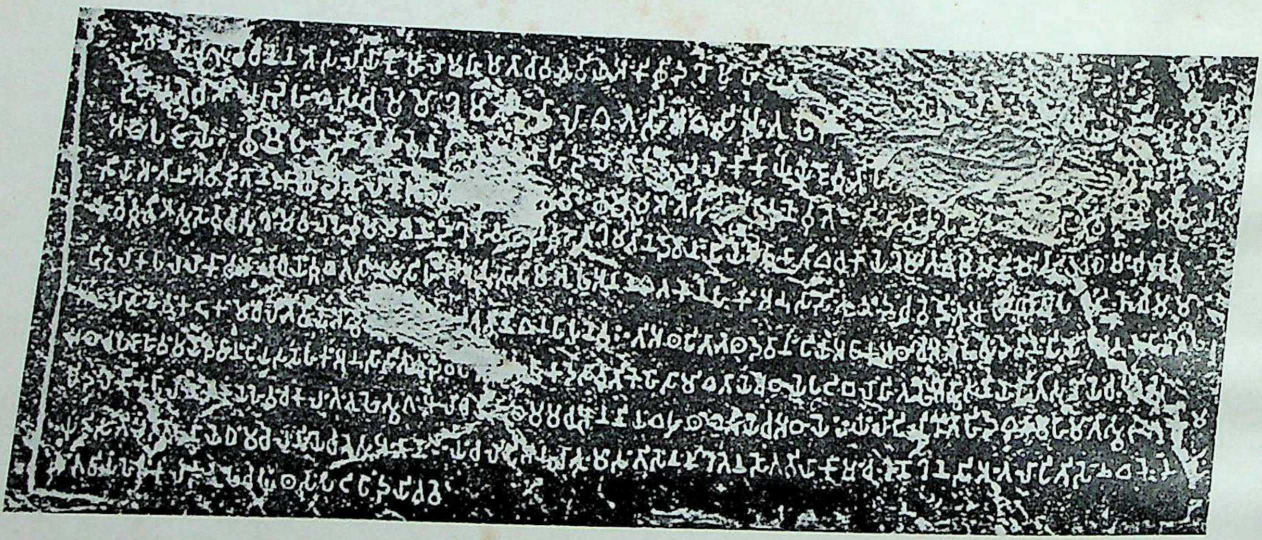
Pl. 46.1. Sannati, Granite slab containing separate Rock Edicts I & II



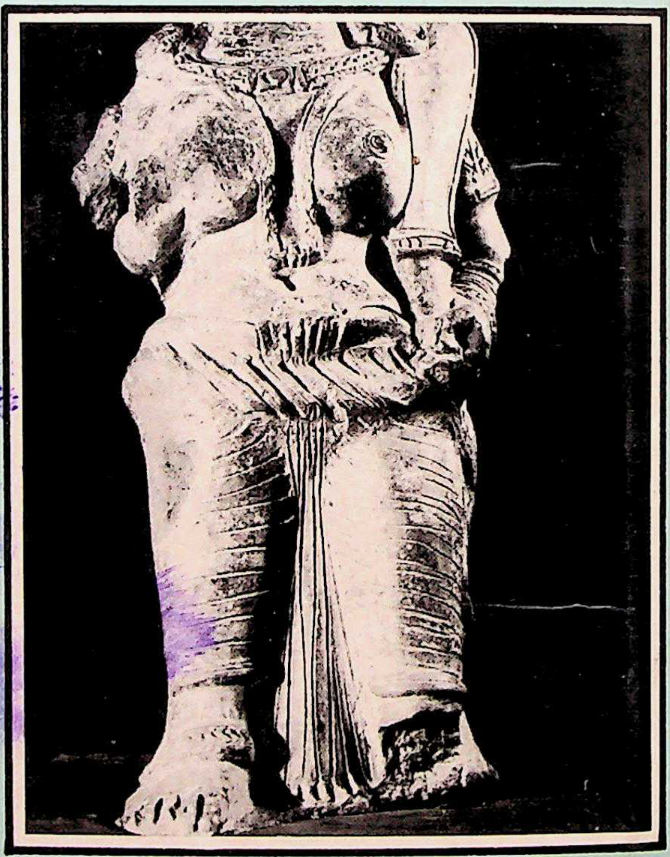
Pl. 46.2. Sannati, close view of separate Rock Edicts I & II



Pl. 46.3. Dhauli (Orissa), separate Rock Edict I (*after* Hultzsch)



Pl. 46.4. Jaugada (Orissa), separate Rock Edict II (*after* Hultzsch)



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